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PRINCIPLES

OF

ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY

BY THE

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FIRST SERIES

THE NATIVE ELEMENT

'Or should we careless come behind the rest
In power of words, that go before in worth,
Whenas our accent's equal to the best,
Is able greater wonders to bring forth?
When all that ever hotter spirits express'd
Comes better'd by the patience of the north.'

DANIEL, *Musophilus*

Oxford

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PREFACE.

THE present volume is intended to serve as a help to the student of English etymology. In my Etymological Dictionary, the numerous examples of similar letter-changes are invariably separated from each other, by the necessity for adhering to the alphabetical order. It is therefore advisable to re-arrange the results so as to shew what words should be under consideration at the same time. It is only by a comparison of this character that the various phonetic laws can be properly observed and tested.

I have found it advisable to follow the example of Mr. Sweet, in his History of English Sounds, and to consider what may be called the 'native element' of our language apart from the Romance or imported element. Hence I have *purposely* excluded all words of French origin from the present investigation. A few French words are quoted here and there by way of illustration, but no inferences are here drawn from the results which their history furnishes. If the present volume should meet with approval, I propose to issue another volume, to be entitled 'Second Series,' which will deal particularly, and almost exclusively, with the words which have been imported into English from French, as well as from Latin, Greek, and other languages (except Teutonic and Celtic) *after* the Norman Conquest.

I have, however, here taken into consideration such Latin and Greek words as found their way into Anglo-Saxon (see Chap. XXI); and have been careful to include words from

Scandinavian sources, as these mostly belong to an early stage of the language (see Chap. XXIII). I have also considered the Celtic element of the language (see Chap. XXII); as well as the words which have been borrowed, at various times, from Dutch or some other Low German source (see Chap. XXIV). A list of the few and unimportant words of German origin is also included, for the sake of completeness (see Chap. VI, p. 85); so that *all* the Teutonic sources of our language are thus accounted for. Whilst the main subject of the book is the 'native element' of our very composite language, it is convenient to consider, at the same time, all words of Teutonic origin (except such as have reached us, at second-hand, through the French or some other Romance language), as well as the words of Celtic origin and such as were borrowed from Latin at an early period.

The exact contents of the book may best be learnt from the very full 'Table of Contents' which follows this Preface. I may here say, briefly, that I begin with a very short sketch of the history of the language; and give an explanation, with specimens, of the three principal Middle-English dialects, corresponding to the three principal dialects of the earliest period. I then discuss the chief Anglo-Saxon vowel-sounds, purposely choosing the *long* vowels, because their history is more clearly marked and more striking than that of the short vowels. It will easily be seen how very largely I have here copied from Mr. Sweet. I then shew that Anglo-Saxon is cognate with the other Teutonic tongues, and explain what is meant by this; and further, that it is cognate with the other Aryan tongues, and explain what is meant by this also. Next follows a discussion of Grimm's Law, which is stated, first in its usual form, and secondly in a much more simple form, obtained by leaving out of consideration the com-

paratively unimportant sound-shiftings peculiar to the Old High German. The consideration necessarily involves the distinction of the guttural sounds into the two series known as 'palatal' and 'velar' sounds; a point which, I believe, nearly all English works on English etymology commonly ignore. I have here received much assistance from Dr. Peile. Next follows a statement of Verner's Law, with illustrations. This is succeeded by an account of vowel-gradation and of vowel-mutation; both subjects of the highest importance to the student of English etymology, yet frequently receiving but little attention. Chapters XII and XIII deal with Prefixes and Substantival Suffixes, of native origin only. Chapter XIV deals with Adjectival, Adverbial, and Verbal Suffixes, also of native origin only. Chapter XV explains what is meant by an Aryan root, and how English words can sometimes be traced up to such a root, or deduced from it. Chapter XVI attempts a short sketch of a highly important subject, viz. the changes that have at various times taken place in English spelling; in order to enable the student to see for himself that Early and Middle English spelling was intended to be purely phonetic, and that the present almost universal notion of spelling words so as to insinuate their etymology (often a false one) is of comparatively modern growth, and contradictory to the true object of writing, which is to express by symbols the spoken words themselves, and not their long-dead originals. This necessarily leads to a brief account of the phonetic systems of spelling employed by Mr. Ellis and Mr. Sweet, though of course the true student will consult the original works of these two masters of our language. In Chapter XVIII, I give an account of the various Teutonic consonants, and trace the history of each downwards to the present day,

which is the only way of dealing with them that avoids endless confusion; it also renders the results, after a little study, perfectly easy to remember. In the next Chapter, I consider the phonology of words (chiefly as regards the consonants) more fully, and shew the various modes by which their forms suffer change. Chapter XX deals with 'doublets,' or double forms of the same original word, and with words formed by composition. A list of compound words is appended, explaining all those, of common occurrence, of which the origin has been obscured. I then discuss, as I have already stated, the early words of Latin origin; words of Celtic origin; words of Scandian[1] origin (with a second list of compound words of obscure form); and words which may be of Friesic origin or which have been borrowed from Dutch or (continental) Low German. The last chapter treats, very briefly and perhaps inadequately, of the important effects produced upon the sound of a word by accent and emphasis.

The whole volume is nothing but a compilation from the works of others, and from results obtained in my own Dictionary. I trust there is in it very little that is original; for it is better to follow a good guide than to go astray. Some experience in teaching has suggested the general mode of arrangement of the book, which cannot be said to follow any particular order; yet I believe it will be found to conduce to clearness, and that, if the chapters be read in the order in which they stand, the whole will be more easily grasped than by another method. Perhaps, however, Chapters XVIII–XX, which are not difficult, may be read, with advantage, immediately after Chapter V. The exact and rigid order prescribed by theory is seldom best suited for a

[1] Scandian is just as good a word as the long and clumsy word Scandinavian; see note to p. 454.

beginner; and it is for beginners in philology that I have principally written. To the advanced student I can only apologise for handling the subject at all; being conscious that he will find some unfortunate slips and imperfections, which I should have avoided if I had been better trained, or indeed, trained at all. It is well known how completely the study of the English language was formerly ignored, and it is painful to see how persistently it is disregarded (except in rare instances) even at the present moment; for the notion prevails that it does not pay.

I append a list of some of the books which I have found most useful, and from which I have copied more or less. I also beg leave to acknowledge my great obligations to the works of Mr. Sweet, and to the kind and friendly assistance I have received, chiefly as regards Aryan philology, from Dr. Peile, Reader in Comparative Philology. Professor Rhys has kindly helped me in the chapter upon Celtic, and Mr. Magnusson in that upon Scandian; but for the present form of those chapters I am solely responsible. I have also received some assistance from Prof. Cowell and Mr. Mayhew. The Index of Words, intended to make the book useful for frequent reference, is my own work.

LIST OF BOOKS CONSULTED.

(*I mention the editions which I have used; they are not always the latest.*)

ANGLIA: *Zeitschrift für englische Philologie.* Halle, 1878–1886.

BAHDER, K. VON: *Die Verbalabstracta in den germanischen Sprachen.* Halle, 1880.

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indogermanischen Sprachen. Erster Band. Strassburg, 1886.

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SKEAT, W. W.: *The Gospel of St. Mark in Gothic.* Oxford, 1882.

SKEAT, W. W.: *The Gospels in the Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian* (*and Mercian*) *Versions.* 4 vols. Cambridge, 1871–1887. (St. Matthew, in the press, is nearly ready.)

STRONG, H. A., AND MEYER, K.: *Outlines of a History of the German Language.* London, 1886.

SWEET, H.: *A Handbook of Phonetics.* Oxford, 1877.

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TRENCH, R. C.: *English Past and Present.* Ninth edition, 1875. And *On the Study of Words.* Tenth edition, 1861.

WHITNEY, W. D.: *Language and the Study of Language.* Second edition. London, 1868.

WRIGHT, T.: *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies.* Second edition. Edited by R. P. WÜLCKER. 2 vols. London, 1884.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGNS.

A.S.—Anglo-Saxon; the Wessex or Southern dialect of the Oldest English.

M.E.—Middle English; chiefly of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

E.—Modern English.

The ordinary grammatical abbreviations, such as 's.' for 'substantive,' 'v.' for 'verb,' will be readily understood; as also the ordinary abbreviations for languages, such as 'Du.' for 'Dutch,' 'Skt.' for Sanskrit. (See Concise Etym. Dict.)

The following signs are introduced to save space:—

< is to be read as 'is derived from,' or 'comes from,' or 'is a later form than.' (Compare its ordinary algebraical meaning of 'is less than').

> is to be read as 'produces,' or 'becomes,' or 'is the original of,' or 'is an earlier form than.' (Compare its usual algebraical meaning of 'is greater than.')

.. is the symbol of mutation, and stands for the words 'by mutation.'

‖ signifies 'a stem of the same form as,' or 'the verbal stem which appears in.' It denotes parallelism of form.

Hence > .. is to be read as 'produces by mutation.'

< .. is to be read as 'is derived by mutation from.'

< ‖ is to be read as 'is derived from the verbal stem which appears in.'

< .. ‖ is to be read as 'is derived by mutation from the verbal stem which appears in.'

* prefixed to a word signifies that it is an original theoretical form, evolved by known principles of development.

√ signifies 'Aryan root.'

If it be desired to know to which conjugation a modern English strong verb belongs, the reader has only to consult the Index, referring to pp. 161–167.

*** I have not always been consistent in writing the theoretical Teutonic forms of words. Thus the theoretical Teutonic stem of E. *whole* is given sometimes as HAILA, and sometimes as HAILO. The former really represents the original Gothic stem, and the latter the original Teutonic stem. The inconsistency will not give much trouble, now that it is pointed out.

PRONUNCIATION OF ANGLO-SAXON.

The A. S. so-called *accent* (as in the case of *á*) really marks vowel-length; thus A. S. *á*=Lat. *ā*.

The pronunciation of the long vowels *á, é, í, ó, ú*, is given at p. 52; of *ý*, at p. 66; of *ǽ*, at p. 67; of *éa, éo*, at p. 68; of the short vowels *a, e, i, o, u; æ*, at p. 71; and of *y*, at p. 66. See also p. 301, and consult Sweet's A. S. Grammar or Primer.

For remarks on the A. S. consonants, see pp. 299–302.

ERRATA.

P. 79, l. 9. *For* usally *read* usually
P. 108, l. 15. For *tweir* read *tveir*
P. 117, l. 11. For *fader* read *fadar*; and for **father* read **fathar*
P. 155, l. 16. For **lis-an* read **leis-an*
P. 183, l. 4 from bottom. *For* pt. t. *read* pp.
P. 268, ll. 12–16. *Dele* from *Bo-th* to *bei-de.* [See p. 456.]
P. 291, l. 11. Dele *shire*
P. 352. For 13. *Vowel-influence* read 13. *Consonantal influence*
Pp. 386–408. In headlines, for *MORPHOLOGY* read *PHONOLOGY*
P. 406, l. 8 from bottom. *Dele* would
P. 445, notes, last line. For *suce* read *usce*
P. 470, note, last line. For *seiri* read *eiris*

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ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory.

§ 1. It will assist me in explaining the scope of the present book if I first of all make a few remarks upon a given passage of English literature. For this purpose, I open Booth's reprint of the celebrated 'First Folio' edition of Shakespeare's plays, first printed in 1623. In '*Actus Tertia*' of The Taming of the Shrew, Gremio thus speaks of Petruchio:—

'Tut, ſhe's a Lambe, a Doue, a foole to him:
Ile tell you ſir *Lucentio*; when the Prieſt
Shoulde aske if *Katherine* ſhould be his wife,
I, by goggs woones quoth he, and ſwore so loud,
That all amaz'd the Prieſt let fall the booke,
And as he ſtoop'd againe to take it vp,
This mad-brain'd bridegroome tooke him such a cuffe,
That downe fell Prieſt and booke, and booke and Prieſt,
Now take them vp quoth he, if any liſt.'

Those who are accustomed only to modern print and spelling will at once notice slight variations between the old and modern methods of printing this well-known passage. Thus the use of *I* to represent the affirmative *aye* has certainly a peculiar look; and few people would now make use of such an expression as 'if any list.' This will at once help us to see that our language has a history, and that it alters from time to time. The importance of studying our

language *historically* can hardly be over-estimated. A student who is unacquainted with the older forms of it, is in no wise qualified[1] to give opinions upon the derivation of English words, unless the word be derived from Latin or Greek in so obvious a manner that the derivation cannot easily be missed by such as have received a fair education in those languages; and even then, if the word has come to us indirectly, through the French, he is very likely to miss some important point concerning it.

§ 2. Glancing once more at the above quotation, let us consider the various points about it which call for special attention and study. First of all, we naturally ask, who was the author, and at what time did he live? What kind of literary work is here exhibited, in what relation does it stand to other works by the same writer, and what is the exact date of its composition? These are questions which chiefly belong to what is called the history of English literature, and to literary history in general. Looking at it once more from another point of view, we may ask, in what language is this written, and at what period? What were the peculiarities of the language at that period, as regards the pronunciation, the spelling, the method of printing and punctuation, the grammar, and the nature of the vocabulary? These are questions which belong to the history of the English language, and to the history of language in general.

§ 3. With a view to limiting the field of observation and enquiry as far as possible, I propose, in the present work, to consider chiefly the *vocabulary*, and further to limit this, for the most part, to the vocabulary of our language as it is current at the present day. And further, as regards the vocabulary, I propose to deal mainly with the *etymology* of

[1] I have frequently heard such grossly false statements concerning English so confidently uttered by supposed 'scholars' that any hint of contradiction was hopeless. Nothing was left but to listen in silent shame.

the words which go to compose it; so that the precise subject of our enquiry is, in fact, the ETYMOLOGY OF WORDS CURRENT IN MODERN ENGLISH. At the same time, it must be carefully borne in mind, that *all* the points mentioned above are more or less intimately connected with the subject. We shall certainly make a great mistake unless we are always ready to accept such help as may be afforded us by considering the literary use of words, the phonetic history of their changing forms, the dates at which certain changes of form took place, the dates at which certain words (previously unknown) came into current use, and the changes to which words are subject in consequence of their grammatical relation to each other in the sentence. Whilst, on the one hand, we limit the subject as far as possible in order to master the essential principles with less effort, we are often obliged, on the other hand, to make use of all the aid that can be afforded us by proper attention to chronology and linguistic history; and we often find ourselves compelled to seek for aid from all the resources which comparative philology can yield. Inasmuch, however, as the vocabulary and grammar of every language can be, to some extent, considered independently, I propose to leave the grammar in the background, and to refer the reader, for further information concerning it, to Morris's 'Historical Outlines of English Accidence,' and Mätzner's 'Englische Grammatik,' of which there is an English translation by C. J. Grece. Another highly important work is the 'Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache' by C. F. Koch, which, like the work by Mätzner, contains a great deal of valuable information about the vocabulary as well as the grammar. To these three books I shall have occasion to refer particularly, and I have frequently drawn upon them for illustrative examples.

§ 4. The most remarkable point about the vocabulary of modern English is its COMPOSITE NATURE. Certainly no language was ever composed of such numerous and such

diverse elements. The sentiment of the old Roman—'homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto[1]'—has been fully adopted by the Englishman, with a very practical effect upon his language. This important subject, of the various sources whence our language has been supplied, will form the subject of Chapter II; and the succeeding Chapters of the present volume will deal with what may be called the native element or the primary source of modern English. I also take into consideration Latin words found in Anglo-Saxon, and early words of Celtic and Scandinavian origin. The secondary sources, including the very important French element, will be dealt with in another volume.

[1] 'I am a man, and nothing which relates to man can be a matter of unconcern to me;' Terence, *Heautontimorumenos*, i. 1. 25.

CHAPTER II.

The Sources of the English Language.

§ 5. **Chronology.** In considering the various sources from which the vocabulary of modern English has been drawn, our most important help is *chronology*. A strict attention to chronology will often decide a question which might otherwise be somewhat obscure. A single example may suffice to shew this, and may furnish further instruction by the way. Johnson's Dictionary, in treating of the word *surloin*, under the spelling *sirloin*, refers us to the 5th sense of *sir*, under which we find, accordingly, that *sirloin* is 'a title given to the loin of beef, which one of our kings knighted in a good humour.' This is one of those famous and abundant falsehoods which the general public, who usually have no special linguistic experience, applaud to the echo and believe greedily; but any student who has had but a moderate experience of the history of language cannot but feel some doubts, and will at once ask the very pertinent question, *who was the king?* Turning to Richardson's Dictionary, we are told that *surloin* is 'the loin of beef, so entitled by King James the First.' Not the slightest evidence is offered of this historical event, nor is any hint given as to the author who is responsible for such a statement. But in an account of some expenses of the Ironmongers' Company, in the time of *Henry VI*, quoted by Wedgwood from the Athenæum of Dec. 28, 1867, we find the entry—'A *surloyn* beeff, vii*d.*' Thus chronology at once tells us that the word was in use at least a century before King James I was born, and effectually disposes of this idle and mischievous invention.

In fact, our *loin* is merely borrowed from the French *longe* (formerly also spelt *logne*), and our *surloin* from the French *surlonge*[1]. In Littré's French Dictionary is a quotation shewing that *surlonge* was already in use in the fourteenth century, which carries the word's history still further back. Hence we learn the very necessary lesson, that etymology requires scientific treatment, and does not consist in giving indolent credence to silly guesses; and we at once establish the value of chronology as a helpful guide to the truth.

§ 6. Additions to the Vocabulary. The vocabulary of the English language has, for many centuries, been steadily increased by the constant addition of new words borrowed from extraneous sources. It is true that many words, being no longer wanted, or having their places supplied by more convenient or more popular expressions, have from time to time become obsolete; but the loss thus occasioned has always been more than counterbalanced by additions from without. In some cases we are able to tell the exact date at which a word has been introduced. Two examples of this may be readily given. The verb to *boycott* was first used in 1880, being suddenly brought into use by the peculiar circumstances of the case. Captain Boycott, of Lough Mask House, in Mayo (Ireland), was subjected to a kind of social outlawry by the people among whom he lived, and to whom he had given offence. Such treatment was called *boycotting*, and the use of the word may be readily understood by help of the following extract from the *Scotsman* newspaper of Dec. 4, 1880:—'They advise that men who pay full rents shall be *Boycotted*; nobody is to work for

[1] Thus *surloin* is really the upper part of the loin; from F. *sur*, above, and O. F. *logne*, *longe*, the loin. Again, the F. *sur* is from Lat. *super*, above; and *longe* represents a Lat. fem. adj. *lumbea*, formed from *lumbus*, a loin. In many cases I shall not give the details of such etymologies, as they can be found in my Etymological Dictionary, or in the epitome of it, called the Concise Etymological Dictionary, both of which are published by the Clarendon Press.

them, nobody is to sell them anything, nobody is to buy anything of them.' Further, the people who acted against Captain Boycott were called *Boycotters*, and the *Echo* newspaper of Dec. 7, 1880, even ventured to speak of 'the latest victim of *Boycottism*[1].' Here is a case still fresh within the memory of most of us, which at once shows how readily a new verb can be formed to express a new kind of social oppression; whilst the date of its introduction is so well determined, that it would be useless to search for examples of it earlier than 1880. The other example to which I allude is the word *mob*, which is a mere contraction of the Latin *mobile* or *mobile vulgus* (the fickle crowd or multitude), first introduced as a convenient form for common use, and afterwards retained because of its convenience. This word can be dated, without much risk of error, about 1688. In Shadwell's Squire of Alsatia, 4to., 1688, the word is spelt *mobile* on p. 3, but *mob* on p. 59. (See Notes and Queries, 6th S. xii. 501). In Dryden's Don Sebastian, written in 1690, we find the word *mobile* in Act i. sc. 1, whilst in Act iii. sc. 3 it is shortened to *mob*. In 1692, he again uses *mob*, in his preface to Cleomenes. I have given, in my Dictionary, examples from the Hatton Correspondence, of the use of *mobile* in 1690, but *mob* in 1695. We shall not be likely to find many examples of the use of *mob* before 1688, nor of *mobile* long after 1690.

§ 7. **Changes introduced unceasingly but silently.** These constant additions to our language are seldom much noticed by any of us. They usually creep in unobserved; or if, as in the case of *boycott*, they are so curious as to force themselves upon our attention, the novelty soon wears off, and we soon come to employ them without much regard to the manner or time of their introduction. 'In this matter of language,' says Archbishop Trench, 'how few aged persons . . . are conscious of any serious difference

[1] The word is well explained and illustrated in Cassell's Dictionary.

between the spoken language of their early youth, and that of their old age; are aware that words and ways of using words are obsolete now, which were usual then; that many words are current now, which had no existence at that time; that new idioms have sprung up, that old idioms have past away. *And yet it is certain that so it must be.* . . . But there are few to whom this is brought so distinctly home as it was to Caxton, who writes—"our language now used varieth far from that which was used and spoken when I was born[1]." It will thus be seen that it is best to fix an absolute date for the period of the language under discussion; and I therefore take the year 1885 as our starting-point, being the year in which this work was commenced.

§ 8. **Sources of the Language.** Before we can discuss the etymology of any word employed in modern English, it is necessary to be quite certain, if possible, as to the source whence the word has come to us. It would be useless to try to explain such a word as *elixir* by the help of Latin or Dutch, because, as a matter of fact, it is a term of alchemy, and, as such, is due to the Arabic *el-iksir*. Here *el* (*al*) is the definite article, and *iksir*, i.e. essence or 'the philosopher's stone,' is not a true Arabic word, but borrowed from the Greek ξηρόν, dry or dried up, a term applied to the residuum left in a retort[2]. Archbishop Trench gives a long list of words which have found their way into English from various sources[3], but I have since given a fuller and more exact list in the Appendix to my Dictionary[4]. In the attempt to settle this question of 'distribution' of our words according to the languages whence they are derived, we always receive great

[1] Trench; 'English Past and Present,' lect. 1; 9th ed., pp. 8–10. See the whole passage.

[2] Explained in the Supplement to my Etymological Dictionary, p. 801.

[3] 'English Past and Present,' lect. 1. See also Morris, Eng. Accidence, § 29.

[4] 'Distribution of Words,' at p. 747 of the larger edition, or p. 603 of the Concise edition.

help from chronology and history. Hence the following 'Canons for Etymology' are of primary importance. **Before attempting an etymology, ascertain the earliest form and use of the word, and observe chronology. If the word be of native origin, we should next trace its history in cognate languages. If the word be borrowed, we must observe geography and the history of events, remembering that borrowings are due to actual contact.** We may be sure, for example, that we did not take the word *elixir* directly from the Moors, but rather obtained it through the medium of Latin, in which language alchemical treatises were usually written.

§ 9. **Enumeration of these sources.** The various sources of English may be thus enumerated[1]. Taking English to represent the native speech of the Low-German conquerors of England, the earliest accessions to the language, after A.D. 450, were due to borrowings from the Celtic inhabitants of our island. Latin occupies the curious position of a language which has lent us words at many different dates, from a period preceding historical record[2] down to modern times. Many Scandinavian words were introduced at an early date, chiefly before the Norman Conquest in 1066, although many of them cannot be traced much further back than 1200, or even somewhat later. Owing to an almost constant trade or contact with Holland, Dutch words have been borrowed directly at various periods; the chief of these being, in my opinion, the reigns of Edward III and Elizabeth. A considerable number of words have been borrowed from Greek, many of which belong purely to science or literature rather

[1] For fuller details, see Morris, English Accidence, ch. iii.

[2] Several Latin words were known to the Teutonic tribes before the Saxon invasion of England. Such words are *camp*, *cásere*, *míl*, *pín*, *stræt* (camp, Cæsar, mile, pine, i.e. punishment, street); 'Dialects and Prehistoric Forms of Old English,' by H. Sweet; *Phil. Soc. Trans.*, 1876, p. 543. Some, such as *port* (harbour), *wall*, &c., may have been learnt from the Britons.

than to the spoken language. Such as have been borrowed *directly* may mostly be dated from a period not earlier than the reign of Edward VI, when the revival of the study of Greek took place owing to the teaching of Sir John Cheke and others at Cambridge [1]. Before that period, many Greek words found their way indeed into English, but only *indirectly*, through the medium of Latin or French; such words commonly refer to ecclesiastical affairs or to the art of medicine. The Norman conquest opened the way for the introduction of French words into English, but this introduction was at first very sparing, so that the number of them extant in English writings before the year 1300 is by no means large. After that date, the influx of them was immense, especially during the fourteenth century; so much so that by the end of that century the composite character of our language was completely established. One great cause of this was certainly the influence of the law-courts, which notoriously retain to the present day many old French words that have dropped out of current use, or have never found their way into our daily speech. Besides these sources, there are no others of importance much before 1500, with the sole and curious exception of the Semitic languages, Hebrew and Arabic. The Hebrew words are due to the influence of the Hebrew Scriptures, which rendered such words as *seraph* and *sabbath* familiar to Greek, Latin, and French authors at an early period. Arabic words came through contact with Eastern commerce, or were due to some acquaintance, either through the medium of Latin or by way of France and Spain, with the Moors who had established themselves in the latter country.

But about the year 1500, our language entered upon what

[1] 'Thy age, like ours, O Soul of Sir John Cheek,
Hated not learning worse than toad or asp,
When thou taught'st Cambridge, and King Edward, Greek.'
Milton; *Sonnet* vi.

may be definitely called its *modern* stage. Not only did the discovery of America render possible the gradual introduction of a few native American words, but English was brought into closer contact with Spanish and Portuguese, owing to the stimulus thus given to foreign travel and trade, and the increased facilities for them. At the same time, the French language began to borrow largely from Italian, especially during the reigns of Francis I (1515–1547) and Henry II (1547–1559); and we frequently borrowed Italian words, not only indirectly, through the French, but directly also. Wyatt and Surrey studied and imitated Italian, and already in 1545 we find Ascham, in his Preface to *Toxophilus*, complaining that many English writers use 'straunge wordes, as latin, french, and *Italian*;' see Arber's reprint, p. 18[1]. The end of the sixteenth century, and the century succeeding it, made our travellers familiar with such foreign languages as German[2], Russian, Turkish, and Persian; and later still, words have been introduced from many others, including various Indian languages, and the diverse tongues scattered over the continents of Asia, Africa, and America, the remoter parts of Europe, and the distant islands of Polynesia. We have also borrowed Spanish words indirectly, through the medium of French, from the time of Henry IV of France (1589–1610); and even directly, from a somewhat earlier date. It may be remarked that the influence of French upon English has now lasted for more than five centuries.

§ 10. **The Modern Period begins about 1500.** It will thus appear that a tolerably distinct, though arbitrary, line of separation may be drawn by taking the date 1500[3]

[1] See an essay on 'The Influence of Italian upon English Literature,' by J. Ross Murray; 1886.

[2] The number of words directly derived from German is very small. A considerable number were derived from Old or Middle High German through the medium of French. The common popular delusion about the 'derivation' of English from German is refuted below.

[3] Some prefer to take the date 1485, i. e. the date of the accession of

as indicating the commencement of a new stage in the history of our language. Roughly speaking, and with very few exceptions, this date separates the earlier stages of the language from nearly all contact with such languages as Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, German, Greek (as used in science or as an immediate source), Turkish, Russian, and Hungarian in Europe, and (with the exceptions of Hebrew, Arabic, and, to a slight extent, of Persian) from nearly every tongue not spoken within the European continent. If, therefore, we ascertain that a given word was already in common use in the fifteenth century, or earlier, the range of our search is much limited. Words of Eastern origin are, in general, easily detected and set aside; and when these are disposed of, the choice is usually limited to English, Low German, Scandinavian, or Dutch on the one hand, or to French, Latin, or Greek (in a Latin or French form) on the other. The Celtic words stand apart from these, and often present much difficulty; and there are doubtless some cases in which a word borrowed from French turns out to be ultimately of Celtic origin. Owing to this gradual narrowing down of the number of original sources as we recede from modern to more ancient times, the question of a word's origin frequently resolves itself into the tolerably simple form—is it native English, Scandinavian, Latin, or French? These four sources are all of primary importance, and will each of them be considered hereafter; but (with the exception of words borrowed before the Norman Conquest) only the two former fall within the scope of the present volume.

§ 11. **Foreign things denoted by foreign words.** The best way to set about the enquiry into the etymology of a given word is, as I have said, to find out the earliest example of its use. Yet even without this aid, our general knowledge

Henry VII, as the date of the commencement of the modern period. Nothing is gained by it. The discovery of America did not take place till 1492, and the very year 1500 is famous for the discovery of Brazil.

of history and geography will often indicate the true source, by telling us something about the *thing* which the word indicates.

Examples of this may be seen in Trench's 'English Past and Present,' lect. i. The mere mention of *holland* suggests Dutch; whilst geography tells us that Holland contains the town of Delft, whence our *delf*, as well as the province of Gelderland, whence our *guelder-rose*[1]. The *geysir* suggests Icelandic, and *meerschaum* German. Such words as *clan*, *claymore*, *gillie*, *loch*, *pibroch*, *slogan*, *whisky*, can hardly be other than Gaelic. Such musical terms as *allegro*, *andante*, *duet*, *opera*, *pianoforte*, *solo*, *sonata*, *soprano*, *trio*, are of course Italian; and so are *canto*, *cicerone*, *doge*, *incognito*, *intaglio*, *lava*, *macaroni*, *mezzotinto*, *stanza*, *stiletto*, *vermicelli*, *vista*. The very forms of the words at once betray their origin. Similarly the student of Spanish easily recognises the words *armada*, *armadillo*, *don*, *duenna*, *flotilla*, *grandee*, *hidalgo*, *junta*, *lasso*, *matador*, *mosquito*, *negro*, *peccadillo*, *primero*, *quadroon*, *real* (as the name of a coin), *tornado*, *vanilla*; and even those who have no acquaintance with that language naturally associate *armada*, *don*, *duenna*, *grandee*, *hidalgo*, *matador* with Spain, and *lasso*, *negro*, *quadroon*, with the Spanish colonies. We cannot mention a *drosky*, a *rouble*, a *steppe*, or a *verst* without thinking of Russia, nor such words as *amazon*, *ambrosia*, *antistrophe*, *asphodel*, *episode*, *Hades*, *ichor*, *myriad*, *myth*, *nepenthe*, *panoply*, *strophe*, *tantalise*, *threnody*, without being reminded of the glorious poetry of ancient Greece. Tales of Persian origin or accounts of travels in that country are sure to introduce us to the *bazaar*, the *caravan*, the *divan*; the *shah*, the *pasha*, and the *dervish* will not go unmentioned; nor will the Eastern imagery be complete without the *ghoul*, the *houri*, and the *peri*. It is the Malay who calls his sword a *creese*, and who runs *amuck*; the Chinese who grows *tea*; the Thibetan who acknowledges a supreme *lama*,

[1] The spelling *guelder-* is due to the French spelling *Gueldre*.

while the Tartar calls his chief lord a *khan*, and the Russian a *czar*[1]. *Bantam* is in Java; *gamboge* is only a French spelling of *Cambodia*. Australia possesses the *kangaroo* and the *wombat*; the inhabitant of Tahiti *tattooes* himself. *Guinea* is on the west coast of Africa, and the *Canary* islands have given a name to a bird, a wine, and a dance. Stories about the North American Indians speak of the *moose*, the *opossum*, the *racoon*, and the *skunk*; of the warrior with his *moccassins*, *tomahawk*, and *wampum*, and his *squaw* in the *wigwam*. These instances may suffice for the present; I propose to give other examples in due course.

§ 12. **Useful dates.** The following dates are all of them more or less important in relation to the changes which have taken place in the English language.

First landing of Cæsar in Britain	B.C.	55
Agricola builds his line of forts, and reduces Britain to a Roman province	A.D.	81
Christianity introduced into Britain	*about*	180
Hengest founds the kingdom of Kent		449
Augustine converts Æthelberht		597
Northumberland submits to Ecgberht		829
Ecgberht defeats the Danes		836
The Danes winter in Sheppey		855
Peace of Wedmore; between Ælfred and Guthorm		878
Danish invasions begin again		980
Ascendancy of Cnut		1016
Battle of Hastings		1066
English proclamation of Henry III.		1258
First parliament of Edward I.		1275
Year-books of Edward I. (Reports of cases in Anglo-French)		1292–1306
Edward III. invades France		1339–40
Pleadings first conducted in English, though recorded in Latin		1362

[1] Not, however, a true Russian word; but a Slavonic modification of *Cæsar*. Similarly the *knout* is denoted by a word borrowed from Swedish, and allied to E. *knot*.

English first taught in schools	A.D. 1385
Wars of the Roses	1455–71
Introduction of Printing into England . .	1477
Columbus discovers San Salvador . . .	1492
Modern stage of English begins	*about* 1500
Ariosto publishes his Orlando Furioso. (Beginning of Italian influence)	1516
Tyndale's New Testament first printed . .	1525
Sir John Cheke teaches Greek at Cambridge .	1540
The Netherlanders resist Spain	1566
Battle of Ivry. (Beginning of frequent borrowings in French from Spanish)	1590
Authorised version of the Bible	1611
First folio edition of Shakespeare . . .	1623
Civil War	1642–9
Proceedings at law recorded in English . .	1730
Clive gains the battle of Plassey	1757
Captain Cook's discoveries in the Pacific Ocean	1769
Goethe's 'Sorrows of Werter' translated into English	1779
Carlyle translates Goethe's 'Wilhelm Meister' .	1824

§ 13. Historical Survey. A few remarks will make clear the bearings of these events upon our language. When Julius Cæsar arrived in Britain, the inhabitants of the south were speaking a Celtic dialect, but the reduction of the island to a Roman province under Agricola gradually introduced a knowledge of Latin, which led in its turn to a knowledge of Christianity. After the Romans withdrew from the island, it fell an easy prey to English invaders, who founded in it various kingdoms, the oldest of which was that of Kent. Ecgberht's acquisition of Northumberland brought the whole of England under one ruler; whilst the mission of St. Augustine brought in Christianity amongst the pagan English. Ecgberht's defeat of the Danes only marks the beginning of a long struggle of two centuries[1]. Their incursions still continued, so that in 855 they spent the whole

[1] The Danes, in small numbers, had invaded England even earlier, in 787 and 832; see Morris, Eng. Accidence, § 23.

winter in Kent, instead of retreating homeward for that season, as they had been wont to do. The peace of Wedmore brought with it some cessation, but at the close of the tenth century we find them again aggressive, until a Danish kingdom was at last established under Cnut. Thus we already see that there must have been a considerable fusion of English with Latin and Scandinavian before the Norman conquest, whilst a few terms had probably been borrowed from the vanquished Britons, who spoke Celtic dialects. Edward the Confessor's relations with Normandy first introduced a slight acquaintance with French, and the battle of Hastings rendered that language and Latin almost paramount for a time. But English remained so much the language of the people that the knowledge of it was never lost, and on one solitary occasion Henry III actually issued a proclamation in the native language, on the 18th of October, 1258[1]. Throughout his reign and that of Edward I all the Statutes and Reports of cases in the law-courts were in French or Latin; but there was always a succession of various literary works in English[2]. The wars of Edward III brought us into closer relation with French as spoken in France, which by this time differed considerably from the Anglo-French into which the original Norman-French had passed, along a path of its own. Trevisa, an English writer born in Cornwall, records the interesting fact that, in the year 1385, children left off translating Latin into Anglo-French, of which many of them scarcely knew a word, and were wisely allowed by their masters to express themselves

[1] Edited by A. J. Ellis, in the 'Transactions of the Philological Society.' Another copy of it was edited by myself for the same society in 1882.

[2] This succession of English writings may most easily be seen by consulting, in order, the four following works in the Clarendon Press Series: viz. Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader; 'Specimens of English from 1150 to 1300,' ed. Morris; 'Specimens of English from 1298 to 1393,' ed. Morris and Skeat; 'Specimens of English from 1394 to 1579,' ed. Skeat.

in their native tongue[1]. This circumstance, together with the permitted use of English in the law-courts, marks the period when, after a long struggle, English had completed its ascendancy over Anglo-French, though not without borrowing from the latter a large number of words. Down to the time of the Wars of the Roses we find three distinct and well-marked literary dialects of English, the Northern, Midland, and Southern; but the result of that struggle gave the ascendancy to the Midland dialect, which then became the standard literary dialect and has ever since so remained. The introduction of printing gradually brought about an enormous difference in the principle of spelling words. Before that date, none but phonetic spelling was in use, every word being written as pronounced by the scribe, and sometimes according to a rule of his own, thus producing considerable variety. This variety was gradually lessened, till at last it became uniform; but this gain in uniformity to the eye was accompanied by a far greater loss, viz. the absence of phonetic truth in representing the sounds, so that the unphonetic and indeed unsystematic spelling of modern English is truly deplorable.

§ 14. Modern Period. The discovery of America gave an enormous impetus to foreign commerce and travel, not only opening out a new world, but making us better acquainted with distant regions of the old world also. Tyndale's New Testament marks the period of a great reformation in religion, and of a large advance towards freedom of thought. The teaching of Greek had much influence upon the revival of 'classical' learning. The marriage of Henry II of France with Catharine de Medici made Italian popular at the French court; whilst Wyatt and Surrey again introduced among us the study of Italian, which had fallen into neglect since the days of Chaucer

[1] For this curious passage, see 'Specimens of English, 1298–1393, p. 241. Or see p. 31 of the present volume.

and Lydgate[1]. The revolt of the Netherlands against Spain induced many English volunteers to serve in the Low Countries against the Spaniards, and brought us into closer contact both with Dutch and Spanish; the latter also became partially known in France during the wars of Henry IV (of Navarre). Our sailors frequently obtained some knowledge of Spanish and Portuguese, besides gaining words from the new lands which they visited. The influence of the Authorised Version of 1611 and of the plays of Shakespeare requires no comment. It is remarkable that great changes in English pronunciation seem to have taken place about the time of the Civil War[2]; but some obscurity still rests upon this difficult subject. In 1730 a national reproach was taken away by the tardy confession that English was a fit language in which to record proceedings at law. The victories of Clive opened up to us the great resources of India; and the discoveries of Captain Cook largely extended both our geographical knowledge and our territory. Perhaps the most remarkable fact of all is the almost total ignorance of the German language among Englishmen down to 1824; even to this moment the marked neglect of German in our English schools proves an amazing lack of wisdom on the part of parents and teachers. Still there has been a great advance of late years towards a more general admission of its value; and this hopeful sign of progress bids us not to despair of the coming of a time when not only German, but even English itself, will be considered worthy of careful and scientific study in our schools and colleges.

[1] These authors were acquainted with Italian literature, but they introduced into English no Italian words.

[2] Some very important changes took place still earlier, soon after 1500.

CHAPTER III.

The Native element: Dialects of Middle English.

§ 15. It is worth while to consider whether there is any test whereby words of native English origin may be known from others. It is here that even a small knowledge of grammar is of great service. With all our word-borrowing, nearly the whole framework of our grammar was English at the beginning, and has so remained ever since. Borrowed words have usually been made to conform to English grammar, irrespective of their source. Thus the Latin plural of *index* is *indices*, but the use of the form *indices* is not to be commended. The English plural *indexes* is much better, and will sooner or later prevail. For a list of pure English words, see Morris, English Accidence, § 31. It may suffice to say here that all the commonest prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbs of time and place belong to this class; all strong, auxiliary, and defective verbs; all pronouns and demonstrative adjectives; adjectives that form their degrees of comparison irregularly; most substantives ending in *-dom*, *-hood*, and *-ship*; all the cardinal numerals except *million*, *billion*, &c.; all the ordinal numerals except *second*, *millionth*, *billionth*, &c.; and finally, a large number of substantives expressing the most homely, familiar, and necessary ideas. It is quite easy to form sentences that shall contain no word that is not purely English; see e.g. the first four verses of St. John's Gospel in the Authorised Version. Pure English words are often characterised by strength, pith, and brevity,

being frequently monosyllabic[1]. They form, in fact, the backbone of the language, and give it vitality. Words from other languages are annexed and, as it were, subjugated, being usually made to conform to the native words in their inflexions and grammatical use[2]. This is remarkably exemplified in the case of borrowed verbs, which (with the exception of the Scandinavian *take*, *rive*, *thrive*) invariably form the past tense in *-ed*, *-d*, or *-t*. Thus the F. *claim* and Lat. *adapt* make the past tense *claim-ed*, *adapt-ed*; and the verb to *boycott* (see sect. 6) makes the past tense *boycott-ed*.

§ 16. By way of further example, I here repeat (but in modern spelling) the quotation from Shakespeare already given at p. 1, and print in italics all the words that may be considered as purely English.

'*Tut* (*?*), *she's a lamb, a dove, a* fool *to him*:
I'll tell you, sir Lucentio; *when the* priest
Should ask, if Katharine *should be his wife,*
Aye, *by Gog's woun's, quoth he, and swore so loud,*
*That all a-*mazed *the* priest *let fall his book,*
And, as he stoop'd again to take *it up,*
This mad-brained bride-groom took *him such a* cuff,
That down fell priest *and book, and book and* priest;
Now take *them up, quoth he, if any list.*'

This result is not a little remarkable, but might perhaps have been expected, when the force of the passage is considered. As for the words left in roman type, it may be remarked that *fool*; *sir*, are French; *priest* is a Latin word (of Greek origin), borrowed in the Anglo-Saxon period; *aye*, *take* (pt. t. *took*), *cuff*, are Scandinavian; *a-mazed* is a

[1] The chief exceptions are commonly French; as *air*, *hour*; *fruit*, *grain*, *grape*, *juice*; *beast*, *vein*, *chair*, *fork*, *dress*, *robe*, *cap*, *boot*, &c. Some are Scandinavian. See Morris, Eng. Accidence, § 31.

[2] For a list of some foreign words which keep their original plurals see Morris, Eng. Accidence, § 84.

hybrid word, the root being Scandinavian, while the prefix *a-* is English; *Lucentio* is an Italian name of Latin origin, whilst *Katharine* was formed from a Greek adjective.

§ 17. Changes in pronunciation. The difference between the above passage in its original spelling, and the same in modern English, is so slight as to cause but little trouble to any one who tries to read the former. But there is really a *concealed* difference between the two of the most startling character; one which hundreds of readers would never suspect, and which many who are ignorant of phonetics will hardly credit. The researches of Mr. Ellis[1] have proved, past all controversy, that the *pronunciation* of words in the time of Shakespeare differed so widely from that now in use, that Shakespeare himself, if he could now be heard, would scarcely receive a patient hearing, but would probably be at once condemned as speaking a kind of foreign language, or, at least, a kind of bad broad Scotch. Such is the prejudice due to mere custom, that scarcely one of his hearers would care to consider the question—is our modern pronunciation, after all, a real improvement? But the scientific student of language knows perfectly well that the difference is really a source of trouble to us. We have, in fact, so modified and altered the old vowel-sounds, that modern spelling, as compared with the *sound* of the words, is a mere chaos of confusion. The vowel-sounds expressed by our written symbols now differ from those of every nation in Europe, however closely they once agreed, as they certainly did, with the continental system. A single example will illustrate this. We now pronounce *tea* so as to rime with *he*, *we*, *she*; but no other nation ventures on a pronunciation so extraordinary. The F. *thé*, G. and Du. *thee*, Swed. and Dan. *te*, are all alike pronounced as an E. *tay*, riming with *day*, *fay*, *gay*. It is not long ago since we said *tay* ourselves; as is

[1] 'Early English Pronunciation,' by A. J. Ellis.

witnessed by the famous lines of Pope[1]. I have frequently met with people who were entirely unaware that the third line of Cowper's poem of Alexander Selkirk, ending in *sea*, gives a perfect rime to *survey*; and that the same pronunciation of *sea* (as *say*) reappears in the third line of his hymn beginning with the words—

'God moves in a mysterious way.'

Sea, in fact, was in Middle English spelt *see*, and was pronounced with the *ee* like *a* in *Mary*; not far removed from the *ee* in the Dutch *zee*, G. *See*. The A. S. *sé*[2], though differently spelt, was pronounced just the same. Whence we deduce the perplexing result, that the A. S. *sé*, M. E.[3] *see*, expressed precisely the same sound by different symbols; whilst Tudor-English and Modern English express, on the contrary, different sounds by the same spelling *sea*. This ought to shew that some study of Middle-English and Anglo-Saxon pronunciation should precede all our attempts to trace backwards the etymology of English words; otherwise we, literally, cannot pretend to say that we know *what word it is* that we are talking about. For the *real word* is, of course, the uttered sound, not the written symbol by which it is truly (or falsely) represented.

§ 18. Since, however, it is only with the written symbols that I can easily deal in a book like the present, I propose to trace chiefly the variations *in spelling* from time to time; and in quoting words from foreign languages, I shall quote them as they are written, without at the same time indicating their pronunciation. It may, nevertheless, be clearly understood, that the difficulty of ascertaining the pronunciation is far

[1] 'Here thou, great Anna, whom three realms obey,
Dost sometimes counsel take—and sometimes *tea*.'
Rape of the Lock, iii. 8 (1712).

[2] A. S. = Anglo-Saxon, the dialect of Wessex before the Conquest.

[3] M. E. = Middle English; from about A.D. 1100 to 1500.

greater in the case of English than of any other language, especially in the case of the vowels. Nearly all the continental languages, including Latin—the usual Southern-English pronunciation of which is simply execrable—agree in a uniform system of simple vowels, and usually employ the symbols *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, to represent (nearly) the sounds heard in E. *baa*, *bait*, *beet*, *boat*, *boot*. The fact that old French words were introduced freely and in great number into Middle English *without any change of spelling*, is quite enough to shew that the pronunciation of M. E. did not materially differ from that of Anglo-French; for the spelling at that date was still phonetic. This enables us to say, definitely, that, in the time of Chaucer, the symbols *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* had their modern (and ancient) continental values[1].

§ 19. **Middle-English Vowels.** The student who has as yet made no special study of Middle English may, at any rate, gain some clear notion of it by making this his starting-point. That is, he may take the words *baa*, *bait*, *beet*, *boat*, *boot* as mnemonics for remembering the sounds indicated by *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*; and he should at once learn these five words by heart. This will give him the sounds of the long vowels; and some idea of the short ones may be gained by an attempt to shorten these sounds respectively. Thus the M. E. *cat*, *but*, were pronounced like *caat*, *boot*, but with the vowels somewhat shortened. There are plenty of Northern Englishmen who pronounce them so still; for the speech of the North is much more archaic, in many respects, than the clipped, affected, and finical pronunciation of the Southerner, who has done his worst, only too successfully, in his attempts to ruin our pronunciation.

From what has been here said, it will be manifest that,

[1] It is quite certain that Celtic, English, and French scribes all obtained their symbols from the Latin alphabet; and employed them, at the first, with nearly the same powers. Our insular position has altered this.

if we wish to choose good symbols for the representation of sounds, and especially if we wish them to be in the least degree understood by foreigners, such symbols as *ai*, *ee*, *oa*, *oo* (in *bait*, *beet*, *boat*, *boot*) are the worst possible to take. It is owing to this consideration that Mr. Ellis has founded the alphabet which he calls *palæotype*, upon the *old*[1] or foreign values of the vowel-symbols; and Mr. Sweet has similarly constructed the alphabet which he calls *Romic*[2]. As the subject presents some difficulty, I shall not now further pursue it; but I must remind the reader that he will never clearly understand what Middle English was like, unless he will at least take the trouble to read some passages of Chaucer with attention. If he will do this, he will find the selections in the Clarendon Press Series of great use. The best and clearest explanation of the pronunciation of Chaucer's English is that by Mr. Ellis, which will be found near the beginning of the introduction to my edition of Chaucer's 'Man of Law's Tale.'

§ 20. **Chaucer's spelling. Midland Dialect.** In order to exemplify the *spelling* of Chaucer's time, consider the following passage from the Man of Law's Tale, lines 281–287.

'Allas! vn-to the Barbre nacioun
I moste gon, sin that it is your wille;
But Crist, that starf for our sauacioun,
So yeue me grace, his hestes to fulfille;
I, wrecche womman, no fors though I spille.
Wommen ar born to thraldom and penance,
And to ben vnder mannes gouernance.'

In modern English this would be spelt as follows:—

'Alas! unto the Barbar[3] nation
I must go, since that it is your will;

[1] *Palæo-type*, i. e. old type, old symbol. See Ellis's Early English Pronunciation.

[2] *Romic*, i. e. according with the *Roman* values of the symbols. See Sweet's Handbook of Phonetics.

[3] Barbarian.

But Christ, that starved[1] for our salvation,
So give me grace[2], his hests to fulfil;
I, wretch[3] woman, no force[4] though I spill[5];
Women are born to thraldom and penance,
And to be under man's governance.'

The reader will at once perceive that one of two alternatives must be true. Either Chaucer had no ear for melody, and wrote very bad poetry; or else his English must have materially differed in accent and pronunciation from that now in use. The former of these alternatives is not found to be true. A careful examination of Chaucer's metre shews that he had an unusually delicate ear for melody, and that his versification exhibits surprising regularity. There is also reason to believe that poetry, at least, was then pronounced with an utterance more deliberate and measured than we should now use. The word *na-ci-oun* had three full syllables, and *sa-va-ci-oun* had four. But the most remarkable points are (1) that the old plural in *-es* (now *-s*) formed a distinct syllable, as in the dissyllabic *hest-es*; (2) that the same is true of the genitive singular, as *mann-es*; and (3) that in many instances the final *-e* also formed a distinct and separate syllable. Hence there are two syllables in *most-e, will-e, wrecch-e, spill-e*; three syllables in *ful-fill-e, pen-án-ce*; and four in *góv-er-nán-ce*. Observe also the secondary accent on the final syllables of *ná-ci-oún, sa-vá-ci-oún*; and on the penultimate syllable of *góv-er-nán-ce*. Lastly, note that the accent of *pen-án-ce* was, at that date, on the latter part of the word, not (as now) at the beginning[6]. If the reader will now take the trouble to read the above passage aloud rather slowly, at the same time bearing in

[1] Died. [2] I. e. may He give me such grace.
[3] Wretched. [4] It is no matter. [5] Perish.
[6] English has a way of *throwing back* the accent nearer the beginning of the word. Thus the Ital. *balcóne* has actually, in modern English, become *bálcony*, though first introduced as *balcóny*. We even have *ántic* as a variant of *antique*; and *Áugust* as well as *augúst*.

mind the above hints, he will, even with the modern (very wretched) pronunciation, gain a faint notion of its melody.

§ 21. Another lesson may be drawn from the same passage, by printing it so as to shew, by the use of italics, the words of native origin. With this understanding, it appears as follows:—

'Allas! *vn-to the* Barbre nacioun
I moste gon, sin that it is your wille;
But Crist, *that starf for our* sauacioun,
So yeue me grace, *his hestes to fulfille*;
I, wrecche womman, no fors *though I spille*;
Wommen ar born to thral-*dom and* penance,
And to ben vnder mannes gouernance.'

Here once more there is a remarkable preponderance of true English words, which may be thus grammatically distributed. Definite article: *the.* Pronouns: *I, me, it, his*; *our, your*; *that, no.* Substantives: *wille, womman*; genitive, *mannes*; plural, *hestes, wommen.* Adjective: *wrecche.* Auxiliary and anomalous verbs: *moste*; *ben, is, ar.* Strong verbs: *starf, yeue, born.* Weak verbs: *gon, fulfille, spille.* Adverb: *so.* Prepositions: *unto, for, to, under.* Conjunctions: *sin, that, but, though, and.* Of the remaining words, one is of hybrid formation, viz. *thral-dom*; its first syllable is Scandinavian, but the suffix is English. *Barbre* and *Crist* are French spellings of words which are ultimately Greek. The remaining words are all French; *nacioun, savacioun, grace, fors, penance, governance,* being substantives, while *allas!* is an interjection. All these French words are of Latin origin. The remarks in § 15 lead us to expect, in general, that words of foreign origin are likely to be substantives, adjectives, adverbs, or weak verbs. We may indeed go a little further, and expect the weak verbs to be of Scandinavian, French, or Latin origin; whilst words from remoter languages are commonly mere names, that is, nouns substantive.

§ 22. **Changes in spelling.** As regards the spelling of

the English words in this passage, we may first remark that the use of *v* for initial *u* in *vn-to*, *vnder*, has merely a sort of ornamental value, and is not otherwise significant. It lasted for many centuries; indeed, we have already seen the spelling *vp* for *up* (twice) in the extract from Shakespeare on p. 1. This use is not found in Anglo-Saxon, the MSS. of which have the same spellings of *un-to*, *under*, *up*, as we use now. The word *moste* is not only dissyllabic (as already noted), but is remarkable for having the *o* long. The A. S. word was *móste* (= *mōst-e*), also dissyllabic, where the accent denotes the length of the vowel. We thus see the word's history clearly enough. It was at first *móste*, the past tense of an obsolete present *mót*; but the present being lost, the same form was used for both present and past. Then the final *e* dropped off, giving *most*, riming with *host*; next the vowel-sound altered till it rimed with *roost*; after which, the vowel-sound was shortened, and altered in character by what Mr. Sweet calls 'unrounding,' till it rimed with *rust*, as at present. These changes were slow and regular, and can be explained by analogy with other words. This is indeed the chief object of this present work, viz. to exhibit so many examples of regular changes in the vowel-sounds as to enable the student to observe some of the phonetic laws for himself, or at least to understand them clearly. And it may be remarked, by the way, that the comparative lateness of the discovery of printing was in one respect a great gain, since we now have an abundance of MSS. written before that date, in which the spelling was free and phonetic. In fact, the Englishman who hastily rushes to the silly conclusion that Chaucer's MSS. are remarkable for their 'bad spelling' will some day discover, if he cares to take the pains and happens to be open to conviction[1], that the spelling of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is, in general, fairly good. As a

[1] Our very familiarity with modern English is a source of much foolish prejudice.

guide to the sounds of words, it is vastly superior to that of the present day, which is utterly untrustworthy as indicating the sounds which the symbols mean. It is not for us moderns to talk of 'bad spelling.'

§ 23. The fact that *will-e* is, in Chaucer, dissyllabic, is due to the fact that the A. S. *willa* was the same. Here again, the word's history is easy. The A. S. form was *will-a*; the final *a* was weakened or dulled into an obscure sound denoted by a final *-e*; after which this light syllable dropped off, giving the modern *will*; just as the A. S. *spill-e* is now *spill*. The word *starf* is interesting grammatically. The M. E. infinitive *sterven* (usually written *steruen*[1]) meant to die. The verb was a *strong* one, forming its past tense as *starf*, and its past participle as *storven* or *y-storven* (written *storuen*, *y-storuen*), often shortened to *storv-e* or *y-storv-e* by dropping the final *n*. But in course of time the true past tense and past participle were lost sight of, and *sterven* became the modern weak *starve*, pt. t. and pp. *starved*. At the same time, the general sense of the word was narrowed, so that it no longer means *to die in any manner*, but only *to die by famine*; or more frequently takes the causal sense, *to make to die by famine*. These curious changes in the form and sense of words are full of interest to the student of language. Of the remaining words in this passage, I shall say no more at present.

§ 24. **The three main Dialects.** In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and in the former part of the fifteenth century, there were three distinct literary dialects, the Northern, Midland, and Southern. Roughly speaking, the Humber and the Thames formed a part of the boundary-lines between them. The Northern dialect occupied the land to the north of the Humber, including a considerable part of Scotland, and extending as far north as Aberdeen, of which

[1] The symbol *u* is sounded as *v* when a vowel succeeds it.

town John Barbour, author of the poem of 'The Bruce,' was a native. The Southern dialect occupied the country to the south of the Thames; and the Midland dialect, the district between the other two[1]. These are only the main divisions; sub-dialects are found which frequently combine some of the characteristics of *two* of the above dialects. The Midland district contained the very important city of London, built on the *north* side of the Thames; and Chaucer, as a Londoner, employed this dialect. It is a curious reflection that, if London had been built on the other side of the river[2], the speech of the British empire and of the greater part of North America would probably have been very different from what it is. It might have abounded with Southern forms, and we might all have been saying *vox* for *fox*; as indeed, curiously enough, we actually say *vixen* instead of *fixen*.

§ 25. The Southern Dialect. By way of exemplifying this Southern dialect, and illustrating the whole question of dialects still further, I now quote a part of the famous passage from the translation of Higden's Polychronicon made by John of Trevisa, a Cornishman, in 1387[3].

'As hyt ys yknowe hou3[4] meny maner people bu\þ[5] in þis ylond, þer bu\þ also of so meny people longages and tonges; no\þeles Walschmen and Scottes, þat bu\þ no3t ymelled wi\þ o\þer nacions, holde\þ wel ny3 here furste longage and speche, bote-3ef[4] Scottes, þat were som tyme confederat and wonede

[1] For more exact information, see Specimens of English, ed. Morris and Skeat; introd. sect. 6.

[2] This supposition is merely made for the sake of illustration. Practically, it is absurd. No sane men would have placed a town on the less convenient side of a river.

[3] See Morris and Skeat, 'Specimens of English,' pt. ii, p. 240. The date shews that Trevisa was precisely Chaucer's contemporary. In translating from Higden, he adds several remarks of his own.

[4] The symbol 3 (except when initial) indicates a guttural sound, and is now written *gh*, though the true sound is lost. As an initial letter, it means *y*; thus *3ef=yef*.

[5] The symbol þ is now supplanted by *th*; read *buth, this*.

wiþ þe Pictes, drawe somwhat after here speche. Bote þe Flemmynges, þat woneþ in þe west syde of Wales, habbeþ yleft here strange speche, and spekeþ Saxonlych ynow. Also Englysch men, þey3 hy hadde fram þe begynnyng þre maner speche, Souþeron, Norþeron, and Myddel speche (in þe myddel of þe lond) as hy come of þre maner people of Germania; noþeles, by commyxstion and mellyng, furst wiþ Danes and afterward wiþ Normans, in menye þe contray-longage ys apeyred, and som vseþ strange wlaffyng, chyteryng, harryng and garryng, grisbittyng.

Þis apeyryng of þe burþ-tonge ys by-cause of twey þinges:—on ys, for chyldern in scole, a3enes[1] þe vsage and manere of al oþer nacions, buþ compelled for to leue here oune longage, and for to construe here lessons and here þinges a Freynsch, and habbeþ, suþthe þe Normans come furst in-to Engelond. Also, gentil-men children buþ ytau3t for to speke Freynsch fram tyme þat a buþ yrokked in here cradel, and conneþ speke and playe wiþ a child hys brouch; and oplondysch men wol lykne ham-sylf to gentil-men, and fondeþ wiþ gret bysynes for to speke Freynsch, for to be more ytold of.'

§ 26. In modern English, this will run as follows:—

'As it is known how many manner (of) people be in this island[2], there be also, of so many people, languages and tongues. None-the-less, Welshmen and Scots, that be not mixed[3] with other nations, hold [i. e. preserve] well nigh their[4] first language and speech, but-if [i. e. except that the] Scots, that were (at) some time confederate and dwelt[5] with the Picts, draw somewhat after their speech. But the Flemings, that dwell[4] in the west side of Wales[6], have left their strange speech, and speak Saxon-ly

[1] Here *3* begins the main part of the word, *a-* being a mere prefix. It therefore represents *y*. Read *a-yenes*.

[2] The modern *s* in *island* is due to confusion with F. *isle*. The right spelling is rather *i-land*; so that Trevisa's *ylond* is well enough.

[3] Lit. 'melled,' or meddled.

[4] *Here* for *their* is Southern; from A. S. *hira*, of them, gen. pl. of *hé*, he.

[5] From A. S. *wunian*, to dwell; the pp. *wuned* is the M. E. *woned*, mod. E. *wont*.

[6] This is an interesting notice of the colony of Flemish weavers in Wales.

enough. Also Englishmen, though they[1] had from the beginning three manners (of) speech, Southern, Northern, and Middle-speech (in the middle of the land), as they came of three manners (of) people of Germany—none-the-less, by commixture and mingling, first with Danes and afterward with Normans, in many (of them) the country-language is impaired[2]; and some use strange babbling, chattering, growling and snarling, (and) gnashing (of teeth). This impairing of the birth-tongue is because of two things:—one is, for (i. e. because) children in school, against the usage and manner of all other nations, be compelled for to leave their own language, and for to construe their lessons and their things in French, and have (done so), since the Normans came first into England. Also, gentlemen's children be taught for to speak French from (the) time that they be rocked in their cradle, and can speak and play with a child's[3] brooch; and uplandish men[4] will (i. e. desire to) liken themselves to gentlemen, and try[5] with great business (i. e. diligence) for to speak French, for to be more told of (i. e. held in higher estimation).'

The remainder of the passage is also of such importance that I here subjoin the general sense of it in modern English[6].

'This predilection for French was common before the first pestilence of 1349, but was afterwards somewhat changed. For John Cornwall, a master of grammar, changed the mode of teaching in his grammar-school, and substituted English for French construing; and Richard Pencrich learnt that kind of teaching from him, and other men from Pencrich; so that now, in the year of our Lord 1385, in all the grammar-schools of England, the children leave French and construe and learn in English, whereby they have an advantage in one way and a disadvantage in another. The advantage is, that they learn

[1] A. S. *hí, hig*, they; pl. of *hé*, he.

[2] *A-peired* and *im-paired* merely differ in the prefix.

[3] Lit. *child his*, which is an idiom not found earlier than the twelfth century. The A. S. is *cildes*, mod. E. *child's*.

[4] I. e. country people.

[5] A. S. *fandian*, to endeavour, try; orig. to try to *find*, as it is a derivative of *findan*, to find.

[6] For the original, see Specimens of English, 1298–1393, p. 241.

their grammar in less time than they used to do; the disadvantage, that now children from the grammar-school know no more French than does their left heel, which is a loss to them if they have to cross the sea and travel in strange lands, and in many other cases. Moreover gentlemen have now much left off teaching their children French. Also, as regards the aforesaid Saxon tongue that is divided into three and has remained here and there with a few country people[1], it is a great wonder; for men of the east agree more in pronunciation with men of the west, being as it were under the same part of heaven[2], than men of the north with men of the south. Hence it is that the Mercians, that are men of the Middle of England, being as it were partners with the extremities, better understand the side-languages, Northern and Southern, than Northern and Southern understand each other. All the language of the Northumbrians, and especially at York, is so sharp, slitting, grating, and unshapen, that we Southerners can scarcely understand that language[3]. I believe it is because they are nigh to strangers and aliens that speak strangely, and also because the kings of England always dwell far from that country. For they turn rather towards the South country; and, if they go northwards, go with a great army. The reasons why they live more in the South than in the North may be, that there is better cornland there, and more people; also nobler cities, and more profitable havens.'

§ 27. This passage contains many points of interest. By Welshmen and Scots, Trevisa means, of course, those who retained the old Celtic dialects. The remark that Englishmen came of three kinds of people of Teutonic race, may be true. In the North, the Angles prevailed; in the Midland district, the Angles and Saxons[4]; in the South, the Saxons and Jutes. There were also certainly a considerable number

[1] This statement is Higden's; it is certainly too strongly put.

[2] I. e. under the same parallel of latitude.

[3] This is Trevisa's own statement; men dislike any dialect that is unfamiliar to their own ears.

[4] Or, possibly, the Frisians; we should then have three chief races, Angles, Frisians, and Saxons, the Jutes being limited to Kent and the Isle of Wight.

of Frisians, but it is hard to say in what part they were located; they were probably distributed over the Midland and Southern rather than the Northern part of the island. Trevisa also distinctly recognises the mixture of English with Scandinavian and French, and bears witness to the great, but unsuccessful, efforts made to replace English by French; the latter being in especial favour with the upper classes[1]. As regards the linguistic points of the passage itself, it may first be remarked that the grammatical inflexions in Southern English are more numerous and elaborate than in the Midland, whilst in the Northern dialect, on the contrary, they are fewer and simpler. In this respect, modern English shews more of the Northern than the Southern manner. Especial characteristics of the Southern dialects are the use of *buþ*, a variety of *bēth*, i. e. be; the use of the suffix *-eth* (*-eþ*) in the plural of the present indicative, as in *holdeþ*, *woneþ*, *habbeþ*; the frequent use of the prefix *y-* before past participles, as in *y-knowe*, *y-melled*[2], etc. We should also notice the use of *hy* (A. S. *hīg*) as the plural of *he*, where modern English employs the Northern *they*, which is of Scandinavian origin; also the curious use of *a*, once with the sense of 'in,' as in *a Freynsch*, and once with the sense of 'they,' as in *þat a buþ yrokked*. One more remark of great importance may be made here, viz. that it is the *Southern* dialect which agrees more closely than either of the others with what is called Anglo-Saxon. Turning to the consideration of the vocabulary, we notice that the French words in this passage are rather numerous, viz. *maner*, *people*, *longage*, *y-melled* (where the prefix *y-* is the A. S. *ge-*), *nacions*, *strange*, *mell-yng* (with an

[1] Anglo-French was the court-language. I suppose that, even down to nearly the end of the fourteenth century, many of the nobles habitually spoke nothing else.

[2] The Midland dialect sometimes employs this prefix, and sometimes drops it. The Northern dialect, like modern English, drops it always. But in Barnes's (modern) Dorsetshire poems, we find *a-zent* for *sent* (M. E. *y-sent*), *a-gone* for *gone*.

E. suffix), *contray*, *apeyr-ed*, *apeyr-yng* (both with E. suffixes), *vs-eth* (with E. suffix), *cause*, *vsage*, *lessons*, *gentil*, *brouch*. As Trevisa is translating from the Latin, he keeps several of the Latin words of his original; these are *confederat*, *commyxstioun*, *scole*, *compelled*, *construe*; see the original Latin in the note to Specimens of English, p. 344. The word *rokked* is Scandinavian. *Cradel* is found in A. S. as *cradol*, but is probably of Celtic origin. The remaining words are English.

§ 28. **The Northern Dialect.** It has just been remarked that the Northern dialect dispenses with inflexional suffixes more than either of the others. This it did at so early a period that poems in this dialect often present a curiously modern appearance, and would do so to a still greater extent if it were not for the frequent introduction of Scandinavian words, many of which are now obsolete in our modern literary language. In other words, the difference between the Northern English of the Middle period and the English of the present day lies rather in the vocabulary and in the pronunciation than in the grammar. Barbour's Bruce is as old as the poetry of Chaucer, but has a more modern appearance[1]. By way of exhibiting a short specimen of the Northern dialect, I here quote Hampole's description of heaven, written about 1340[2].

'Alle maner of ioyes er in that stede,
Thare es ay lyfe with-outen dede;
Thare es yhowthe ay with-outen elde,
Thare es alkyn welth [illegible]y to welde;
Thare es rest ay, with-outen trauayle;
Thare es alle gudes that neuer sal fayle;
Thare es pese ay, with-outen stryf;
Thare es alle manere of lykyng of lyfe;

[1] It was written in 1375. Unluckily, the MSS. are a century later; but this is not the real cause of the difference. On the other hand, the extract from Trevisa has a more archaic appearance, and this may be taken as a general rule. That is, Northern poems look later, and Southern writings earlier, than they really are.

[2] See Specimens of English, 1298–1393, p. 124.

Thare es, with-outen myrknes, lyght ;
Thare es ay day and neuer nyght ;
Thare es ay somer fulle bryght to se,
And neuer mare wynter in that contre.'

Here it should be particularly noted that the scribe's spelling is somewhat faulty[1]; he probably added a final *e* to many words from habit, but they *are not to be pronounced*, so that *lyfe*, in l. 8, is a mere monosyllable, and rimes with the word *stryf*, which is correctly written. In modern English the passage is as follows:—

'All manner of joys are in that stead ;
There is aye life without(en) death[2] ;
There is youth ay without(en) eld[3],
There is all-kind wealth aye to wield.
There is rest aye, without travail ;
There is all goods that never shall fail ;
There is peace aye, without(en) strife ;
There is all manner of liking[4] of life ;
There is, without(en) murkness[5], light ;
There is aye day and never night.
There is aye summer full bright to see,
And nevermore winter in that country.'

[1] I subjoin a more phonetic spelling of the above passage :—

Al maner of ioys er in that sted,
Thar es ay lyf with-outen ded ;
Thar es youth ay with-outen eld,
Thar es alkin welth ay to weld.
Thar es rest ay, with-outen trauail ;
Thar es al guds that neuer sal fail ;
Thar es pees ay, with-outen stryf ;
Thar es al maner of lyking of lyf ;
Thar es, with-outen mirknes, lyght ;
Thar es ay day and neuer nyght ;
Thar es ay somer ful bryght to se,
And neuer mar winter in that contrè.

[2] *Ded* is still a provincial English form of *death* ; it answers, not to A.S. *dēaþ* (*dĕath*), but to the Dan. and Swed. *död*.

[3] *Eld*, old age, used by Shakespeare and Spenser.

[4] Pleasure ; *lyking of lyfe*, pleasure in life.

[5] Darkness ; we still use the adj. *murky*, and the sb. *murki-ness*.

The great characteristic of this dialect is the absence of final *e* as an inflexion in the spoken language, at least in the fourteenth century. The words which exhibit the final *e* should rather have been written *Al*, *sted*, *Thar*, *lyf*, *ded*, *youth*, *eld*, *weld*, *trauayl*, *fayl*, *pees*, *maner*, *lyf*, *ful*, *mar*. A characteristic form is *sal*, for *shall*; this is never found except in Northern works. Another characteristic mark of this dialect is the use of *a* for long *o*, as in *mar*, more. As regards the grammar, there is little to call for remark beyond the use of *es* (is) for *er* (are) before *alle gudes*; this is really due to the use of the preceding word *Thare* (there), just as Shakespeare has, 'There *is* no more such masters,' Cymbeline, iv. 2. 371; see Abbott's Shakesp. Gram. 3rd ed. § 335. As regards the vocabulary, the French words are *maner*, *ioyes*, *trauayle*, *fayle*, *pese*, *contre*, all of which are of Latin origin. *Stryf* (O. Fr. *estrif*) is a French form of a Scandinavian word (Icel. *strið*). The forms *er* (are), *es* (is), *dede* (death), *ay* (aye), *sal* (shall), are specifically Anglian or Scandinavian, as distinct from Anglo-Saxon. The rest are ordinary English.

§ 29. East-Midland Dialect of Robert of Brunne. Now that the three main dialects have been thus illustrated, it is worth while to add one more example, which in some respects comes even nearer to modern English than does the language of Chaucer, though written before he was born. We have already seen that modern English belongs to the Midland dialect, and has a somewhat closer affinity with Northern than Southern. We find, further, that it is fairly represented in the dialect employed by Robert Mannyng, of Brunne (Bourn), in Lincolnshire, who translated William of Wadyngton's 'Le Manuel des Pechiez' into English in 1303, with the title of 'Handlyng Synne[1].' He tells a story about Pers (or Piers) the usurer, who never gave away

[1] See Specimens of English, 1298–1393, p. 51.

anything in charity. One day he was standing near his door, when an ass came to it, laden with loaves of þread. At the same time a beggar approached him:—

'He sagh Pers comë[1] ther-with-al;
The porë[2] thoght, now ask I shal.
"I ask thee sum good, pur charite;
Pers, yif thy willë be."
Pers stood and loked on him
Felunlich[3], with y-ën[4] grim.
He stoupëd down to seke a stoon,
But, as hap was, than fond he noon[5].
For the stoon he took a loof,
And at the porë man hit droof.
The porë man hent hit vp belyuë[6],
And was therof ful ferly[7] blythë.
To his felaws[8] fast he ran,
With the loof, this porë man.
"Lo!" he seidë, "what I haue
Of Pers yift[9]; so God me saue!"—
"Nay," they sworë by her[10] thrift,
Pers yaue neuer swich a yift[11].—
He seid, 'ye shal weil vnderstondë
That I hit had at Pers hondë;
That dar I swere on the halidom[12]
Heer beforë yow echoon[13].'"

Of this passage it is hardly necessary to give a modern English rendering, although we have now traced some English words back to the very beginning of the fourteenth century. As regards the grammar, we may chiefly notice the grammatical use of the final *-e*. Thus *com-e* is short for *com-en* (A. S. *cym-an*), the infinitive mood of the verb. *The*

[1] I mark with two dots such final *e*'s as are to be distinctly pronounced. I also amend the faulty spelling of the MS.
[2] The poor one (understand *man*). [3] Felon-ly, angrily.
[4] Eyne, i. e. eyes. [5] Then found he none. [6] Caught it up quickly.
[7] Wonderfully. [8] Fellows, companions. [9] Gift.
[10] Their. [11] Gave never such a gift. [12] Holy relics.
[13] Each one.

por-e has a final *-e*, because the adjective is what is called *definite*, that is, is used with the definite article preceding it. An adjective is also definite, if preceded by a demonstrative or possessive pronoun; hence *this por-e* likewise. *Will-e* is from A. S. *will-a*, as has been explained once before (p. 28). The form *y-ën* (dissyllabic) answers to the A. S. *éag-an*, eyne; for which we now use *eyes*. In the seventh line, *to seke* is a gerund, and should take the final *-e*; but it happens to be elided before the following vowel. *Belyv-e* stands for A. S. *be líf-e*, lit. by life, but here meaning 'with life,' in a lively way, quickly. *Blyth-e* is from the A. S. dissyllabic *blíð-e* (*blíth-e*). *Seid-e* is the past tense of a weak verb (A. S. *sægd-e*), and is dissyllabic; but the final *-e*, in such a case, is often dropped, as in *seid* four lines below. *Swor-e* is the pt. t. pl. of a strong verb (A. S. *swór-en*). *Vnderstond-e* is an infin. mood (A. S. *understand-an*). *Hond-e* is a dat. case (A. S. *hond-e*, *hand-e*, dat. of *hond* or *hand*). *Befor-e* is short for *befor-en* (A. S. *befor-an*). All the grammatical forms, in fact, are easily explained from Anglo-Saxon. As regards the vocabulary, the French words are few, viz. *Pers* (from Lat. *Petrus*, originally Greek); the adj. *pore* (O. F. *povre*); the phrase *pur charite* (*pour charité*), for charity; the sb. *felun* in *felun-lich*; and the verb *save*. Five words are Scandinavian, viz. *hap*, *took*, *felaws*, *thrift*, and *halidom*. The rest are English.

§ 30. **East-Midland different from West-Midland.** We have thus seen that the standard literary language agrees more closely with the Old Midland dialect than with either the Northern or the Southern. It is worth enquiring if we can find out any limits of it as we pass from East to West. This is a more difficult question; yet we find that the Midland dialect can be subdivided into East-Midland and West-Midland, and that it is the former of these that comes nearest to our current speech. It is not easy to define the limits of these dialects, but perhaps we

may say that the West-Midland included Shropshire, Staffordshire, a part of Derbyshire, Cheshire, and South Lancashire[1]. As concerning the area from which the chief characteristics of our modern literary language are drawn, we can hardly do more than define it as one of irregular shape, bounded more or less exactly by the German Ocean, the Humber, the Trent (?), the Severn (?), and the Thames; and we can only assign to the dialect the general name of East-Midland. It is tolerably certain that it contained numerous subdivisions, so that it can hardly be said to present any perfectly uniform type, until the time came when it at last began to supersede the others and to spread beyond its original borders. We can, however, safely draw these conclusions, viz. (1) that it contained fewer Scandinavian words than the Northern dialect, but more than did the Southern; (2) that its grammar was somewhat more complex than that of the Northern dialect, but much less so than that of the Southern; and (3) that, as Trevisa says, it was tolerably intelligible to men of all parts of England. These facts would be quite sufficient to suggest the probability of its ultimate ascendancy, and the matter was entirely settled by the importance of London as the centre of traffic and the seat of government. To which considerations we may perhaps add yet another, that both the universities of Oxford and Cambridge lie within the Midland area.

[1] Introd. to Allit. Poems, ed. Morris, where West-Midland is used to signify the dialect which Garnett called Mercian.

CHAPTER IV.

The Native Element: the oldest dialects.

§ 31. In the last Chapter specimens have been given of the three principal dialects of the Middle-English, and one of these, that from Robert of Brunne, takes us back almost to the beginning of the fourteenth century. We now proceed to push back our enquiries a little further. There are sufficient specimens to enable us to do this during the thirteenth century and a little earlier[1], but at the earliest period the extant monuments of the language relate almost exclusively to *one* dialect only, the Southern; whereas we should be extremely glad of more information concerning the Midland dialect. For the period before 1200, we still find traces of the same three dialects, but (especially before 1100) they are called by different names. The Northern, Midland, and Southern, as found in the earliest period, are called Northumbrian, Mercian, and Wessex or Anglo-Saxon[2]. It is a common mistake to suppose that the terms 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'Old English' (or 'Oldest English') are convertible terms; for 'Anglo-Saxon' only accounts for a third part of Old English. Yet the mistake does not lead to much confusion in practice, owing to the unfortunate and deplorable scantiness of the materials representing the other two dialects. We can only deal with what we happen to possess; so that,

[1] The Middle English of the period from 1150 to 1300 is sometimes called Early English, a name which is convenient, when required.

[2] I here omit, for the sake of clearness, the *Kentish* variety of Southern English; though its forms are fairly well marked.

in the absence of works written in Northumbrian and Mercian, we are very thankful to accept such evidence as can be obtained from the very considerable remains of the Wessex dialect[1] that have come down to us. It will clear the way for future consideration to enumerate the sources of our information.

§ 32. Old Northern Dialect: Old Mercian. The old Northumbrian literature must, at one time, have been considerable. The great historian Beda usually wrote in Latin, but we are told that he was 'doctus in nostris carminibus,' i. e. learned in our native songs, and five lines have been preserved of a poem written by him in the Northumbrian dialect[2]. He also tells us the famous story of Cædmon, a monk of Whitby, who composed, in that dialect, a long poem concerning many events recorded in the Old and New Testaments, beginning with the history of the Creation. Of this poem only the first nine lines have been preserved[3], although there is a later poem, also frequently attributed to Cædmon[4], upon similar subjects. These thirteen lines form, unfortunately, the sum total of the remains of the Old Northumbrian poetry, with the exception of the 'Leiden Riddle,' printed by Mr. Sweet in his Oldest English Texts, p. 149, and the Northumbrian Runic Inscription upon the Ruthwell Cross, printed in the same, p. 125. The incursions and

[1] To which we may add the extant remains of Kentish. The Old Northumbrian was the dialect of the Angles, and was thus a kind of ancient Danish. The Wessex dialect was the dialect of the Saxons. It is well known that great numbers of Frisians accompanied the Saxons; and I throw out the suggestion, for what it is worth, that the Mercian dialect was partly of Old Frisian origin.

[2] See the edition, by Mayor and Lumby, of Books III and IV of Beda's Ecclesiastical History, p. 177; Earle, A. S. Literature, p. 110; Sweet, Oldest Eng. Texts, p. 149.

[3] Earle, A. S. Literature, p. 101; Sweet (as above).

[4] It is, however, a different version, with a different, though similar, beginning. It is only necessary to say here, that it is not in the Northumbrian, but the Wessex dialect. See Earle, A. S. Lit., p. 111.

ravages of the Danes swept it all away, so that king Ælfred feelingly deplores the almost total decay of learning in England caused by their devastations[1]. Fortunately, however, we possess somewhat more of the old Northumbrian prose. The famous copy of the four Latin Gospels, known sometimes as the Lindisfarne MS., sometimes as the Durham book[2], contains Northumbrian glosses, or explanations of the Latin words, throughout. The MS. known as the Durham Ritual, edited by Stevenson for the Surtees Society in 1840, also abounds in Northumbrian glosses of the Latin prayers contained in it[3]. Another copy of the Latin Gospels, known as the Rushworth MS., is also glossed throughout[2]. In this copy, the glosses or explanations are in the Northumbrian dialect throughout the Gospels of St. Mark[4], St. Luke, and St. John[5], but the glosses upon the words of St. Matthew's Gospel are in the Mercian or Midland dialect, and were formerly supposed to furnish the only extant specimen of this dialect before the Norman conquest. But in Mr. Sweet's Oldest English Texts, published for the Early English Text Society in 1885, we find some additional and highly important examples of Mercian, the principal being (1) the 'Vespasian Psalter and Hymns,' i.e. a copy of a Latin Psalter and Hymns with Mercian glosses, extant in MS.

[1] See Earle, A. S. Literature, p. 190.

[2] See the Northumbrian and A. S. Gospels, synoptically arranged, published by the Pitt Press, ed. Kemble and Skeat. (The Gospel of St. Matthew is now being reprinted.) The Lindisfarne MS. is in the British Museum, marked 'MS. Cotton, Nero, D. 4.' The Rushworth MS. is in the Bodleian Library.

[3] The glosses are not very correctly printed. See my Collation of the Durham Ritual, published for the Philological Society in 1879, Appendix, p. 51*.

[4] The glosses to St. Mark, chap. i, and chap. ii, verses 1–15 are sometimes said to be Mercian, but this is a mistake. The *handwriting* changes in the middle of v. 15 of St. Mark, chap. ii; but the *dialect* changes at the very beginning of that gospel.

[5] Excepting, strangely enough, the glosses to the first three verses of chap. xviii, which are Mercian.

Cotton, Vespasian A. 1, in the British Museum, and (2) the 'Corpus Glossary,' i. e. a collection of Latin words with Mercian glosses extant in MS. No. 144 in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. These scanty remains are all that we possess of the Northumbrian and Mercian dialects, and are not such as to give us much help. We can never judge of a dialect so well from mere glosses as we can from a connected and original composition. What we most desire, viz. a fair specimen of what the Mercian dialect was like before the conquest, is precisely the thing which is almost unattainable. Being thus deprived of the very great help which might have been obtained from fuller information concerning the Mercian and Northumbrian dialects, we are almost entirely thrown back upon the extant specimens of the Southern, or Wessex dialect, usually called 'Anglo-Saxon[1].' Fortunately, these are abundant, or we should be badly off indeed. For specimens of this dialect, see Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Primer and Anglo-Saxon Reader.

§ 33. Modern Literary English derived from Old Mercian. It ought, then, to be carefully borne in mind, that, when we say a word is 'derived' from the Anglo-Saxon, we commonly mean that it is derived from an *Old Mercian* form, which in some cases probably coincided with the recorded A. S. form, but in other cases certainly *did not*. This is an obscure point, especially as the Mercian glosses which we possess do not always exhibit the dialect very distinctly, but rather shew some slight variations from the Wessex (A. S.) dialect. Still the following table (compiled solely from the Mercian glosses upon a Latin text of St. Matthew's Gospel) may be of some slight interest, as furnish-

[1] Some call it 'Old English'; but 'Anglo-Saxon' is best retained as being generally understood. Besides, it has a special *technical* meaning, viz. the old southern dialect of Wessex. It does not in the least follow that the *people* of ancient England, or even of the South of it, ought to be called 'Anglo-Saxons.' They should be called 'English.'

ing examples in which the modern English form seems closer to the Mercian than to the A. S. type.

MODERN.	O. MERCIAN.	WESSEX (A.S.).
all.	all, 5. 15[1].	eall.
are.	arun, 19. 28.	(*not used*).
betwixt.	betwix, 27. 56.	betweox.
cheek.	ceke, 5. 39.	céace.
cold.	cald, 10. 42[2].	ceald.
eke.	ek, 5. 39.	éac.
eleven.	enlefan, 28. 16.	endlufon.
eye.	ége, 5. 29.	éage.
falleth.	falleþ, 10. 29.	fealleþ.
fell, *pt. t. pl.*	fellun, 7. 25.	féollon.
fee.	feh, 27. 6.	féoh.
-fold (*as in* tenfold).	-fald, 19. 29.	-feald.
gall, *sb.*	galla, 27. 34.	gealla.
half, *sb.*	half, 20. 23.	healf.
halt, *adj.*	halt, 11. 5.	healt.
heard, *pt. t.*	(ge)hérde, 2. 3.	(ge)híerde.
lie (tell lies).	ligan, 5. 11.	léogan.
light, *sb.*	liht, 5. 16.	léoht.
light, *adj.*	liht, 11. 30.	léoht.
narrow.	naru, 7. 14.	nearu.
old.	áld[3], 9. 16.	eald.
sheep.	scép, 25. 32.	scéap.
shoes.	scoas, 10. 10.	scéos, scý.
silver.	sylfur, 10. 9.	seolfor.
slept, *pt. t. pl.*	sleptun, 13. 25.	slépon (*strong form*).
sold, *pp.*	sald, 10. 19.	seald.
spit, *v.*	spittan, 27. 30.	spætan.
wall.	wall, 21. 33.	weall.
yard (rod).	ierd, 10. 10.	gyrd.
yare (ready).	iara, 22. 4.	gearo.
yoke.	ioc, 11. 29.	geoc.
youth.	iugu$\eth$, 19. 20[4].	geógu$\eth$.

[1] The references are to the Chapters and Verses of St. Matthew's Gospel (Rushworth Gloss).

[2] The scribe has miswritten *galdes* for *caldes*, an obvious blunder; the Lindisfarne MS. has *cald*.

[3] The accent is marked in the MS., though the vowel was not originally long.

[4] Several of these Mercian forms agree nearly with O. Frisian. Cf.

§ 34. Anglo-Saxon 'broken' vowels. Even a glance at this comparative table will reveal a peculiarity of the Wessex dialect which properly belongs neither to the Mercian dialect[1] nor to modern English. This is the use of *ea* for *a* before the letters *l*, *r*, *h*, *x*. The symbol *ea* denotes that the vowel was, to speak technically, 'broken,' i. e. was resolved into the diphthong *e-a*, the two vowels being pronounced in rapid succession[2]. Hence such forms as *eall*, *ceald*, *fealleþ*, *-feald*, *gealla*, *healf*, *healt*, *nearu*, *eald*, *seald*, *weall*, *gearo*, where the Old Mercian dialect preserved the old vowel *a* in its purity, and the modern English has partly done the same, though with the slight change of *cald*, *-fald*, *ald*, *salde*, to *cold*, *-fold*, *old*, *sold*. In all these words the Southern 'breaking' is due to the influence of the following *l* or *r*. Similarly, we notice the Southern use of the 'broken' sound *eo*, substituted for *i*, in the words *betweox*, *seolfor*, where modern English has kept the original sound. Still more marked and curious are the cases in which the Southern dialect has *éa*, *éo*, diphthongs in which the former element is long[3]. These would require fuller explanation, which I pass over for the present. It is sufficient to notice that our standard modern English follows the Mercian dialect here also, and knows nothing of 'broken' vowels in such instances as those above[4].

O. Fr. *alle*, all; *keke*, cheek; *elleva*, eleven; *falla*, to fall; *-fald*, -fold; *half*; *halt*; *herde*, heard; *licht*, adj. light; *liaga*, to lie; *ald*, old; *selover*, *silver*, silver; *wal*, wall; *ierde*, a rod.

[1] The scribe of the Rushworth glosses *sometimes* inconsistently writes *ea* for *a*; he doubtless knew that the Southern scribes used the symbol, and needlessly followed their example.

[2] For an account of A. S. pronunciation, see Sweet's A. S. Primer, or A. S. Reader.

[3] In my Etym. Dict., I have unfortunately placed the accent, or mark of length, upon the *latter* element. This was the method formerly in vogue, but it is probably less correct.

[4] But they are found in the dialects. Barnes, in his Dorsetshire poems, writes *meäke* for *make*, *sheädy* for *shady*, *leädy* for *lady*, &c.

§ 35. **Chronology.** The necessity of paying due regard to chronology is just as great when we deal with Anglo-Saxon writings as in any other case. Strange mistakes have arisen from neglect of it. Our materials are abundant, and some of them are of very early date. We have MSS. containing Latin words, with 'glosses' or explanations in Anglo-Saxon, going back at least to the eighth century. We have MSS. of the time of Ælfred, who died in 901, and many homilies by Ælfric, which, in round numbers, may be dated a little earlier than the year 1000. Other late A. S. MSS. were certainly not written till after the Conquest. One copy of the celebrated A. S. Chronicle records events of the year 1154. It is obvious that MSS. ranging over three and a half centuries ought not to be treated as if they were all contemporaneous. Some change in the language might be expected to take place during that time, and such is found to be the case. Curiously enough, the Anglo-Saxon of the dictionaries is generally given according to the spelling of the later period, i. e. of the eleventh century or the latter part of the tenth, merely because the MSS. of that period were most accessible and first received attention. This stage of the language was taken as the standard, and anything that differed from it was looked upon as 'dialectal.' A curious example of this occurs in Dr. Bosworth's edition of Ælfred's translation of Orosius, the preface to which exhibits much painstaking and care. The editor gives an accurate description of the two extant MSS., one of which, called the Lauderdale MS., is proved by him to be considerably older than the other, or Cotton MS. He next proceeds to prove that the Lauderdale MS. is the *original*, and the Cotton MS. simply a *late copy* of it. He truly says: 'It is not only the antiquity of the Lauderdale MS. for which it is distinguished, but for its use of accents, its grammatical forms, and important readings. . . . It is more accurate than the Cotton MS., in distinguishing the termination of *-an* and *-on*

both in nouns and verbs. In the Cotton MS., there is great confusion in these terminations; whilst in the Lauderdale MS., they are generally correct.' He even goes so far as to say that 'there are so many instances of great carelessness in the scribe of the Cotton MS. as to lead a casual observer to say, it is the work of an illiterate scribe.' After this explanation, it is clear that, in editing the work, the correct course would have been to take the older MS. as the basis of the text. Curiously enough, this was not done, the reason for the other course being thus assigned. 'The Cotton MS. was made the basis of the text, as its style and orthography have more the appearance of pure West-Saxon[1] than the Lauderdale, which, though older than the Cotton, has a more northerly aspect.' Mr. Sweet, however, has since edited the earlier MS. for the Early English Text Society, and we now know that the peculiar spellings of the Lauderdale MS. are due solely to its superior antiquity[2].

§ 36. Specimen of Anglo-Saxon. A simple specimen of late Anglo-Saxon is here subjoined. It is taken from an A. S. version of St. Matthew (xiii. 3–8), made in the tenth century, as extant in MS. Corp. Chr. Coll., No. 140.

'Sóþlice[3] út éode se sǽdere his sǽd tó sáwenne. And þá þá hé séow, sume hig féollon wiþ weg, and fuglas cómun and ǽton þá. Sóþlice sume féoilon on stǽnihte, þǽr hit nǽfde micle eorþan, and hrædlice up sprungon, for þám þe híg nǽfdon þǽre eorþan

[1] I.e. the West-Saxon of the dictionaries. I owe so much to the bounty of Dr. Bosworth that I wish to clear him from blame in this matter. Writing in 1859, more than a quarter of a century ago, he had not sufficient confidence to make what would *then* have been condemned as an innovation. His arguments really go to shew that he would have preferred the bolder course.

[2] Mr. Sweet has lately published some 'Extracts from Alfred's Orosius,' in a very cheap form; so that the spelling of this famous MS. can be easily studied.

[3] The þ denotes *th*, as in M.E. The accent indicates that the vowel is long; thus *ó* would be marked *ō*, if we adopted the notation of the Latin grammar.

dýpan; sóþlice, up sprungenre sunnan, híg ádrúwudon and forscruncon, for þám þe híg næfdon wyrtrum. Sóþlice sume féollon on þorńas, and þá þornas wéoxon, and forþrysmudon þá. Sume sóþlice féollon on góde eorþan, and sealdon weastm, sum hundfealdne, sum síxtig-fealdne, sum þrittig-fealdne[1].'

Notwithstanding the unfamiliar and strange appearance of the spelling and grammar, a large number of the words in this passage are only old forms of words still in use. The word *forþrysmudon* soon perished, and has been obsolete for many centuries, but to most of the others there is some clue. In very literal modern English, the passage runs thus:—

'Soothly, out went[2] the sower his seed to sow. And when that he sowed[3], some, they fell with (i. e. beside the) way, and fowls came and ate them. Soothly, some fell on stony (places), where it had-not (lit. *nad*=ne had) mickle earth, and quickly[4] (they) up sprung, for that that they had-not of-the earth depth; soothly, up-sprung sun, they dried-away and for-shrunk (i. e. shrunk extremely), for that that they had-not root[5]. Soothly, some fell on thorns, and the thorns waxed, and choked them. Some soothly fell on good earth, and produced (lit. sold) fruit[6], some hundred-fold, some sixty-fold, some thirty-fold.'

§ 37. So important is the study of Anglo-Saxon to such as are interested in modern English, that some good and useful lesson might be learnt from nearly every word of the above passage. As regards our grammar, for example, such words as *fugl-as=fowl-s*, *þorn-as=thorn-s*, at once shew that the modern English plural commonly ends in *-s* because a considerable number of A. S. plurals ended in *-as*. This *-as* was weakened to *-es*, as in the M. E. *foul-ës*, *thorn-ës*, and

[1] Compare Sweet, A. S. Primer, p. 62; where the spelling is somewhat normalised.

[2] M. E. *yede*, went; now obsolete.

[3] The true modern equivalent is *sew*, the verb being once strong. In Cambridgeshire, they say 'I *sew* the field,' and 'I *mew* the grass.'

[4] Lit. rathly; from *rath*, soon, whence *rather*, sooner.

[5] Compare E. *wort*.

[6] Lit. growth; allied to *wax*, i. e. grow.

then these dissyllabic words were crushed into monosyllables, with loss of the indistinct sound denoted by *e*. Leaving such things to the grammarian, we may turn to the vocabulary, and the first word tells us two facts. The first is, that the adverbial suffix *-ly* was once spelt *-lic-e* (two syllables), an extension of *-lic*, which is nothing but an unaccented form of the adj. *lic*, like; so that *sooth-ly* is *sooth-like*, i.e. in a manner like sooth or truth. The second is of far greater importance, because it concerns phonology. It is, that the A. S. long *ó*[1] (as in *sóð*) came to be written *oo* (as in *sooth*), the doubling denoting length. After this, a change came over the *pronunciation*, but the *symbol* remained the same; the result is, that *oo* no longer denotes the sound of *oa* in *boat*, but the sound of *oo* in *boot*, or *ou* in *soup*. This latter sound is strictly represented, according to the Italian method, by long *u*, or *ū*, whereas the original sound is strictly represented by *ō*. We see, then, that as far as *the written symbol* is concerned, the A. S. *ó* has (at least in this instance) been replaced by *oo*, whilst *the sound indicated* has shifted from *ō* to *ū*. The period at which this shifting took place seems to have been between 1550 and 1650; see Sweet, English Sounds, p. 56. If the reader follows this explanation, which is not difficult, let him at once learn this example by heart, and treasure it up. Whoever knows this fact, has laid hold of a great general principle, some of the beafings of which will be shewn in the next Chapter.

[1] Pronounced nearly as *oa* in *boat*, but without any after-sound of *u*; exactly as *oh* in G. *Sohn*.

CHAPTER V.

English Long Vowels.

§ 38. Returning to the consideration of the comparison of A. S. *sóð* with E. *sooth*, the first question we naturally ask is, whether this is an isolated instance of a changed pronunciation, or are there other words in the same predicament? We find that it is no isolated instance, but only a particular example of a general law. If we look to the older forms of such words as *cool, stool, tool, tooth, goose, soon, moon, noon, broom, doom, gloom, brood, mood, rood,* and even *look* (in which the vowel has been shortened), we shall find that the M. E. scribes wrote these words sometimes with a double *o*, but sometimes also with a single one; in the latter case, they meant the long sound all the same, but this sound was to them a long *o*, not a long *u*. Strange as it may seem, it is certain that many millions of Englishmen have for years accepted the symbol *oo* (plainly a long *o*) as expressing the sound of the Italian long *u*, without ever stopping to wonder how they came to employ so extraordinary a spelling! To return to the consideration of the words cited above, it may next be observed that the words *moon* and *soon* were formerly dissyllabic, written *moon-e* or *mon-e*, and *soon-e* or *son-e*; whilst the verb *look* took, in the infinitive, the suffix *-e*, earlier *-ien*, and appeared as *look-e, lok-ien.* Hence, the A. S. forms of the above words are, with perfect regularity, as follows: *cól, stól, tól, tóþ, gós*[1], *són-a, món-a, nón*[2], *bróm, dóm, glóm,*

[1] The final *e* in the mod. E. *goose* is a mere (late) orthographic expedient (i. e. a phonetic spelling), in order to shew that the *s* is hard, or (technically) voiceless; if written *goos*, it might be read as *gooz*. So also in the case of *horse*, M. E. and A. S. *hors*.

[2] The A. S. *nón* is borrowed from Lat. *nōna*, i. e. *nōna hora*, ninth

bród, mód, ród, lócian. This A. S. *ó* will be again discussed hereafter, when some apparent exceptions to the law will receive attention (§ 45).

§ 39. Shifting of vowel-sounds. Another important result is this. Such a change of pronunciation as that from long *o* (*oa* in *boat*) to long *u* (*oo* in *boot*) could not have taken place without a general shifting of pronunciation all along the line. If in the series *baa, bait, beet, boat, boot*, we disturb one of the set, we run the risk of upsetting the whole scheme. This is precisely what took place; the whole of the long-vowel scheme fell, as it were, to pieces, and was replaced by a new scheme throughout, the net result being that the A. S. sounds of *á, é, í, ó, ú*, (as in *baa, bait, beet, boat, boot*) have been replaced by the modern English sounds denoted *phonetically* by *ó, í, ai, ú, au* (sounded as in *boat, beet, bite, boot, bout*). Three of the old sounds, *í, ó, ú*, are shifted; two of the old vowels, *í, ú*, are developed into diphthongs, whilst the remaining A. S. sounds *á, é* (as in *baa, bait*) seem to disappear[1]. From this brief account, it will be at once seen that the investigation of the old sounds of modern English vowels requires great care, and must be conducted on regular principles, each sound deserving to be studied separately. This is even the case, as we have seen, with the *long* vowels, which are the easiest to trace; the *short* vowels require even more attention, and should therefore, in my opinion, be studied afterwards, when the changes in the long vowel-sounds have become familiar.

Meanwhile, it will prove useful to commit to memory the fact that the A. S. sounds, as occurring in *baa, bait, beet, boat,*

hour, originally 3 p.m., but afterwards shifted to midday. This drives home the fact that the A. S. *ó* = Lat. *ō*.

[1] The word *baa* is merely imitative, and the pure sound of the Italian *a* is rather scarce in English, *father* being the stock example of it, and the words *balm, calm*, &c., being of *French* origin. The sound in *bait* is common, but answers to A. S. *a, æ, ea, e*, or *ǽ*, not to any of the above series of A. S. long vowels.

boot, have most commonly been replaced by the modern English sounds heard in *boat, beet, bite, boot, bout*[1]. The easiest way of remembering this is by the help of simple examples, such as these that follow.

1. A. S. *bát* (pronounced *baat*), is our mod. E. *boat*.

2. A. S. *bét-e*[2] (pronounced nearly as *bait-y*, or as *bait-er* with quiescent *r*), is our mod. E. *beet*.

3. A. S. *bít-an* (pronounced *beet-ăhn*), is our mod E. *bite*.

4. A. S. *bót* (pronounced nearly as *boat*) is our *boot*, in the sense of advantage, as in the phrase 'to boot.'

5. A. S. *á-bútan* (pronounced *ah-boot-ăhn*), is our *a-bout*.

All this has been learnt from a full consideration of the first word *Sóplice* of the A. S. extract in § 36 above. This may serve as a faint indication of the lessons to be obtained from a study which has fallen into so great neglect.

§ 40. English should be traced downwards as well as upwards. Hitherto my object has been to prepare the way by tracing English words backwards from the present time to the period before the Conquest, when the literary monuments which have come down to us were mostly written in the Southern dialect, commonly called Anglo-Saxon. This course is a natural one to take, because we thus pass from what is familiar to what is less known. Yet this is clearly not the scientific course, because it reverses the order of succession. Hence, when we have obtained the A. S. form, we ought to return over the same ground once more, as we can then more easily account for, or at any rate record, all changes of pronunciation, and we are in a better position to explain results that appear to be anomalous. This is the course pursued by Mr. Sweet, in his History of English

[1] This general rule has several exceptions, some of which are noted below. The present account is merely general or popular. For scientific details see the article by Mr. Wells, noticed at the end of § 40.

[2] This is an excellent example, because the A. S. *béte* is not an English word, but merely borrowed from Lat. *bēta*, where the *ē* was pronounced nearly as *ai* in *bait*, or (strictly) as *ê* in F. *bête*.

Sounds[1], and I now extract several examples from his book in order to complete the history of the English long vowels, as we are now in a position to understand it. I beg leave also to draw attention to an admirable article 'On the Development of Old English Long Vowels,' by B. H. Wells, which appeared in the German periodical called 'Anglia,' vol. vii. pp. 203–219. Mr. Wells gives the results of his investigations in the following words:—'We find that the extreme A. S. vowels *í* and *ú* have, by a sort of guna, been brought nearer to Ital. *a*, the one becoming *aí* [mod. E. *ī*] and the other *au* [mod. E. *ou*, *ow*][2]. The other long vowels on the contrary, shew exactly the opposite tendency, for A. S. *é*, *íe*, *íé*, *éa*, *éo*, *ǽ* have become *ī* [mod. E. *ee*], while *á* has become *o*, and *ō*, *u*. Wherever, then, the vowels could move toward the extremes of the vowel-scale [given by Ital. *u*, *o*, *a*, *e*, *i*], they did so; where this was not possible, they formed diphthongs. Such is the development when undisturbed by consonantal influence.' He adds that 'the only consonants which exercise a general modifying power are *w*, *r*, *g* (*h*), but the mutes *c*, *d*, *t*, and the labials *f*, *m*, have a modifying influence on special vowels with which their articulation is related. A following syllable also tends to weaken the preceding vowel.' He proceeds to examine these disturbing causes in careful detail.

§ 41. It is found that vowel-sounds are often affected in their quality by the consonant that follows them[3]. So much is this the case when this consonant is *r*, that it alters the quality of nearly every vowel. The vowel-sounds in *bat*,

[1] Published for the Philological Society and for the English Dialect Society.

[2] As to the nature of this change, see Ellis, On Pronunciation, i. 233: 'In each case the change simply consists in commencing the vowel with a sound which is too open (i.e. with the tongue not sufficiently raised, and, as it were, correcting that error in the course of utterance.'

[3] Also by a *preceding* consonant, chiefly in the case of *w* or *qu*. Compare *wan*, *quantity*, with *can*, *ran*, *pan*.

bet, bit respectively, are not the same as in *bar, berth, bird.* This must be carefully borne in mind, and shews why Mr. Sweet arranges his examples according to the consonant which follows the vowel. Fortunately, *r* has comparatively little influence upon the *long* vowels, which we shall take first.

We now proceed to enquire into the fortunes of the A. S. *á*, or long *a*, pronounced as *aa* in *baa*, or the interjection *ah!*

§ 42. **The A. S. á (long a).** The rule is, that A. S. *á* came to be *written* as long *o* in M. E., and in mod. E. such words are pronounced with a sound which we should now also call long *o*. But this M. E. long *o* was probably an intermediate sound between *aa* and *oa*, and commonly pronounced nearly as *au* in *naught*, according to Mr. Sweet; or as *oa* in *broad.* Thus A. S. *bát* is M. E. *boot*, pronounced nearly as mod. E. *bought*, which gradually passed into E. *boat*; so that the order of sounds is given (nearly) by *baat, bought, boat.* The M. E. sound is given still more closely by the *or* in *border.*

Examples are as follows. *rá*, a roe; *lá*, lo! *slá*, sloe; *wá*, woe; *ná*, no; *gá*, I go; *dá*, a doe; *tá*, toe. In the word *swá*, the *w* was dropped, giving the M. E. *soo, so*, E. *so.* But there are two words in which a *w* preceded the vowel, and exercised a modifying influence upon it, causing it to pass through *two* stages. Thus it passed into the modern long *o* sound even in M. E., and instead of stopping there, it shifted again, because the M. E. *ō* often shifted into long *u*; compare M. E. *cool, col* (pronounced as *coal*) with mod. E. *cool* (§ 45). And further, the *w*, after producing this modification, dropped out; so that the A. S. *hwá* is now *who* (pron. as *hoo* in *hoot*), whilst the A. S. *twá* is now *two* (pron. as *too*)[1]. See Sweet, Hist. Eng. Sounds, p. 54.

The guttural sound denoted by *h*, and pronounced as the mod. G. *ch* in *Macht*, has modified A. S. *áhte* into E. *ought*; probably by *preserving* very nearly the sound which the diph-

[1] This influence of a preceding *w* will receive attention hereafter.

thong had in *Middle* English. Similarly, *náht* has become *naught* or *nought*, whence (with a suffix *-y*) the word *naught-y*. By constant use, *naught* was often 'widened' to *not*, which has now established itself as an independent word.

hál, whole; *mál*, mole (a blemish, spot); *dál*[1], dole. Also *hálig*, holy; a derivative of *hál*, whole.

ár, oar; *hár*, hoar; *rár-ian*, to roar; *lár*, lore; *sár*, sore; *már-e*, more; *gár-a*, gore (of a garment); *geára*[2], yore; *bár*, boar. (Note how the *r* modifies the preceding vowel, and tends to preserve the M. E. sound.)

áþ, oath; *wráþ*, adj., wroth, but also wrath; and similarly *cláþ*, cloth, in which the M. E. sound of *ō* has been preserved; *láð*, loath; *láð-ian*[3], to loathe; *cláð-ian*, to clothe.

árás, arose; *ðás*, those; *gást*, ghost (in which the introduction of the *h* is quite unmeaning). A very curious and difficult word is *hás*, M. E. *hoos*, also *hoors*, now written *hoarse*; as far as the modern Southern E. sound is concerned, the *r* is not trilled, and the vowel hardly differs, if at all, from that which we have already found in *cloth*, from A. S. *cláð*[4]. It probably retains very nearly the M. E. sound.

þráw-an, to throw; *sáw-an*, to sow; *máw-an*, to mow; *cráw-an*, to crow; *cnáw-an*, to know; *bláw-an*, to blow. In all these the A. S. *w* accounts for the modern *spelling*, but the *w* is nearly lost, being represented by a faint after-sound of *u*. So also in *snáw*, snow; *sáwel*, *sáwl*, soul. An exceptional word is *þáw-an*, to thaw (instead of *thow*[5]); here

[1] It appears as *ge-dál*. The A. S. prefix *ge-* is all-abundant, and makes no difference to the word.

[2] The A. S. *ge-*, as occurring here before *á*, represents the sound of mod. E. *y*; at any rate, it did so in *late* A. S.

[3] I keep ð to represent the mod. E. *th* in clothe, whilst þ represents the mod. E. *th* in cloth. A. S. uses both symbols confusedly.

[4] The sound varies. I here give my own pronunciation, which is like that of *horse*. Many people sound the *oa* in *hoarse* as a diphthong.

[5] *Thow*, says Dr. Peile, is the pronunciation in North Cumberland, where it rimes with *snow*.

the *ăw* has preserved the M.E. sound, like that of *au* in *naught*. Compare *năught*, *cloth*, *wrath*, above.

hlāf, loaf (*h* being dropped); *drāf*, drove (the final *f* in A. S. (and in Mercian ?) being probably pronounced as *v*).

A most important word is *ān*, M. E. *oon* (riming at first with *dawn*, later with *bone*), but now riming with *bun*. In the fifteenth century, a parasitic *w* sprang up before the initial vowel, which by that time may have become like *o* in *bone*; this would produce a form *woon*: then the *w* modified the long *o* into long *u*, after which the *u* was shortened and 'unrounded[1],' giving the curious E. *one*, in which the initial *w* is only written by comic writers, who (correctly enough) write *wun*. The spelling *won* is found as early as in Guy of Warwick, ed. Zupitza, note to l. 7927. The word is doubly interesting, because the compounds *on-ly*, *al-one*, *l-one* (short for *al-one*), *l-one-ly* (short for *al-one-ly*), *at-one*, all preserve the sound into which it would have passed according to the usual rule. Besides this, the A. S. *ān*, when used as the indefinite article, soon lost its length of vowel, and became *an* with short *a*. Hence our modern *an*, or (with loss of final *n*) *a*. *An-on* is short for *an-oon*. *N-one*, short for *ne one*, not one, has followed the fortunes of *one*, on account of its obvious connection with it. Other examples are *scān*, shone, past tense[2]; *stān*, stone; *grān-ian*, to groan; *bān*, bone.

hām, home; *lām*, loam; *fām*, foam; *clām*, prov. E. *cloam*, used in Devonshire to mean earthenware.

lāg, *lāh*, low (the final guttural being dropped); *fāg*, *fāh*, foe; *dāg*, *dāh*, dough: so *āg-an*, to own; *āg-en*, own (i. e. one's own).

[1] '*Rounding* is a contraction of the mouth-cavity by lateral compression of the cheek-passage and narrowing of the lip-aperture'; Sweet, Phonetics, § 36. *Unrounding* means the relaxation of the muscular effort required for *rounding*.

[2] Properly *shoan*; but often shortened to *shon*.

āc, oak; *strāc-ian*, to stroke; *spāc-a*, spoke of a wheel; *tāc-en*, token.

rād, road; *lād*, lode (a vein of ore, course); *wād*, woad; *gād*, goad; *tād*, toad; *ābād*, abode. But *brād*, M. E. *brood*, has absolutely retained its M.E. vowel-sound, and is spelt *broad*, because that sound was represented by *oa* in Elizabethan English[1]. The A. S. suffix *-hād* became M. E. *-hood*, *-hod*, which, owing to its non-accented position in compound words, has been shifted and shortened into E. *-hood*, as in *man-hood, child-hood, maiden-hood.* The O. Friesic form of this suffix was *-hēd*, and in the Laud MS. of the A. S. Chronicle, under the year 1070 (ed. Earle, p. 209, l. 6 from bottom) it appears as *-hed*; this accounts for the variant *-head*, as in *Godhead, maidenhead.*

āt-e, an oat, pl. *āt-an*, oats; *wrāt*, wrote; *gāt*, goat; *bāt*, boat. But *hāt*, M.E. *hoot* (pronounced as *haught-* in *haught-y*), has been 'widened' to *hot*; and *ic wāt*, M.E. *I woot* (pron. *waut*), has been similarly altered to *I wot.*

rāp, rope; *sāp-e*, soap; *grāp-ian*, to grope; *pāp-a*, the pope. In the last case, the A.S. word is merely borrowed from the Lat. *pāpa*, a word of Greek origin, signifying 'father.' Here the very vowel-sound and spelling of the mod. E. word are quite sufficient to prove, without recourse to history, that the word was borrowed from Latin before the Conquest. Otherwise, we should have borrowed it from the F. *pape*, and we should all be saying *pape*, as if it rimed with *ape.* Compare *pap-al, pap-ist, pap-acy*, all words of F. origin.

§ 43. **The A.S. ē (long e).** The A.S. *ē* had the sound of Ital. long *e*, or the French *é* in *bête*, or nearly that of *ai* in *bait*; the M.E. usually preserved this sound; it has since shifted into the sound of *ee* in *beet*[2].

[1] 'In one word, the M. E. *ôô* [=*aw* in *awe*] has been preserved up to the present day, viz. in the adj. *brôôd*;' Sweet, Eng. Sounds, p. 61.

[2] See Sweet's Hist. of Eng. Sounds, p. 61.

Examples. *hé*, he; *ðé*, thee; *wé*, we; *mé*, me; *gé*, ye.

The A.S. *héh* presents some difficulty; in M.E., the final guttural was sometimes kept, and sometimes lost; the vowel-sound was sometimes kept, and sometimes shifted; and hence such varying forms as *hegh*, *heigh*, *hey*, *hy*. The shifted form prevailed, becoming at last *hy* (pronounced as E. *he*), out of which was regularly developed a mod. E. *hy* (riming with *by*). But we still preserve in our spelling a reminiscence of the final guttural, and spell the word *high*. In just the same way the A.S. *néh* is our *nigh*.

hér, here; *ge-hér-an*, to hear; *wér-ig*, weary. The pt. t. *ge-hĕr-de*, lit. *heared*, is shortened to *heard*; such examples as this, in which the shortening is obvious, are of some value.

hél, heel; *stél*, steel; *fél-an*, to feel.

téþ, teeth.

ge-léf-an, to be-lieve[1]; *sléf-e*, sleeve; the A.S. (and Mercian ?) *f* between the two vowels being probably sounded as *v*.

scéne, adj., E. *sheen*, lit. showy, but now used as a sb.[2]; *wén-an*, to ween; *grén-e*, green; *cén-e*, keen; *cwén*, queen, quean. But *tén* has preserved its long vowel only in the compounds *thir-teen*, *four-teen*, &c.; when used alone it is shortened to *ten*.

sém-an, to seem; *dém-an*, to deem; *tém-an*, to teem.

ég-e (Mercian *ég-e*, § 33) is an occasional form of A.S. *éage*, eye. Strictly, the word belongs to the group containing the long diphthong *éa*. This *ége* became M.E. *ȝ-e*, *egh-e*, *ey-e*, the symbol ȝ (when not initial) being used to represent a *gh* or *y*. But the vowel-sound was frequently shifted; Chaucer constantly uses the dissyllabic form *y-ë*, pronounced

[1] The simple verb *lieve* was common in M. E. as *leuen*.

[2] Evidently from a popular delusion that it is etymologically derived from the verb to *shine*, with which it has no connection. Curiously enough, the adj. *sheer* really *is* connected with *shine*, but popular etymology does not suspect it.

as *ee* in *beet*, followed by a light vowel, with a light intervening *y*-sound, such as is heard between *ee* and *ing* in mod. E. *see-ing*. Then the final *-e* dropped, and the M.E. *y* or long *i* developed regularly into the mod. E. diphthongal sound which we write *i*. Yet we still keep, in our spelling, the form *eye*, representing a sound which has been obsolete for many centuries. It is this unlucky and unreasonable conservatism which has brought our modern spelling into such dire confusion. The history of *eye* is parallel to that of *high* and *nigh*, discussed above.

éc-an, to eke; *réc*, reek (smoke); *léc* (substituted for *léac*), a leek; *séc-an*, to seek; Mercian *céc-e* (see § 33), A.S. *céac-e*, cheek; *béc-e*, beech (tree); *bréc*, breek, an old plural form, afterwards made into the double plural *breeks* (hence also *breech*, *breeches*). The mention of this word *breeches* occurs opportunely; it reminds us that our *ee* really means the Italian long *i*, and consequently that, when shortened, the short form of it is short *i*; whence it is that *breeches* is pronounced *britches*. With this hint, we see that A.S. *hréc* (substituted for *hréac*), became M. E. *reek*, which, by shortening, gave us E. *rick*[1].

héd-an, to heed; *réd-an*, to read; *stéd-a*, steed; *spéd*, speed; *féd-an*, to feed; *néd*, need; *méd*, meed; *gléd*, gleed (a burning coal); *bréd-an*, to breed; *bléd-an*, to bleed; *créd-a*[2], creed.

swét-e, sweet; *scét* (for *scéat*), sheet; *fét*, feet; *mét-an*, to meet; *grét-an*, to greet; *bét-e*, beet.

wép-an, to weep; *crép-el*, lit. one who creeps, a creeper, M.E. *crēp-el*, later *creeple*[3], but now shortened to *cripple*. Cf. *rick* above.

[1] '*Reek*, a Mow or Heap of Corn, Hay, &c.'—Bailey's Dict., ed. 1745.

[2] Borrowed from the first word of the Latin creed, viz. *crēd-o*, I believe. Hence the A.S. *é* = Lat. *ē*, as above.

[3] 'In them that bee lame or *creepelles*'; (1577) J. Frampton, Joyfull

§ 44. **The A. S. í (long i).** The A. S. long *í* was sounded as *ee* in *beet*. In course of time, a sound resembling *aa* in *baa* was developed *before* it [see p. 53, note 2,] so that it is now pronounced as a diphthong, which would most correctly be represented by *ai*, viz. a sound composed of the Ital. *a* rapidly succeeded by Ital. *i*. The principal intermediate sound through which it passed is one which may be represented by Ital. *ei*, very nearly the sound of *a* in *name*.

Examples. *bí*, by[1]; *ír-en*, iron; *wír*, wire.

wíl-e, wile; *hwíl*, while; *míl*, mile. In the last case, the word is not English, but borrowed from the Lat. *milia passuum*, a thousand paces. Here is a clear case in which the A. S. $í = ī$[2].

líð-e, lithe; *wríð-an*, writhe; *blíð-e*, blithe.

ís, ice, where the spelling with *ce* is a mere orthographic device for shewing that the *s* is hard, or voiceless; *rís-an*, to rise; *wís*, wise; the *i* is shortened in the derivative *wís-dóm*, wisdom, by accentual stress.

stí-weard, M. E. *sti-ward* (Havelok, l. 666), should have become *sty-ward*, in accordance with its etymology, but the coalescence of *í* with *w* has resulted in a diphthong, whence E. *steward*. In precisely the same manner the A. S. *spiw-an* is now *spew* or *spue*; and the A. S. *híw* is now *hue*.

líf, life; *scríf-an*, to shrive, not a pure A. S. word, but borrowed from Lat. *scrībere*; *cníf*, knife; *wíf*, wife; *dríf-an*, to drive; *fíf-e*, five. But in the compound *fíf-tig* (lit. five-ty), the *i* is shortened by accentual stress, whence E. *fifty*. Similarly the A. S. *wíf-men*, later form *wimmen* (by assimilation of *fm* to *mm*), is still pronounced as if written *wimmen*. It is, however, always spelt *women*, in order to pair

Newes out of the Newe Founde Worlde, fol. 52, back. 'Croked *crepillis*'; York Plays, p. 255, l. 36.

[1] E. final *i* is written *y*; as in *by*, *my*, *thy*, *any*, *many*.

[2] Compare *line*; for, whether we derive *line* from the A. S. *lín-e*, a cord, or from F. *ligne*, either way we are led back to Lat. *līnea*, a derivative of *līnum*, flax.

off with the (more corrupt) singular *woman*; see *Woman* in my Etym. Dictionary.

ðín, thine; *swín*, swine; *scín-an*, to shine; *scrín*, shrine, not an English word, but borrowed from Lat. *scrīnium*; *wín* wine, borrowed from Lat. *uīnum*, and actually preserving the original sound of Lat *u* (=*w*); *mīn*, mine; *twīn*, twine; *pín*, pine-tree, borrowed from Lat. *pīnus*. The Lat. *poena* was transferred into A. S. in the form *pín*, whence the verb *pín-an*, to pine, to pine away. In French the same *poena* became *peine*, whence E. *pain*.

rím, rime; now almost invariably spelt *rhyme*, by a needless and ignorant confusion with the unrelated word *rhythm*, which is of Greek origin, whereas *rím* is pure English. Curiously enough, the word really entitled to an *h* is now spelt without it; I refer to the A. S. *hrím*, hoar-frost, now spelt *rime* by loss of initial *h*. A considerable number of A. S. words beginning with *hr*, *hl*, *hn*, all lost the initial *h* even in the M. E. period. The A. S. *lím*, lime, is pure English, but allied to the cognate Lat. *līm-us*, mud; *slím*, slime; *tím-a*, time.

stige, stye, sty; *stíg-el*, a stile, lit. a thing to climb over, from *stíg-an*, to climb; *stíg-ráp*, *stí-rap*, a 'sty-rope,' or rope to climb on a horse by, now shortened (from *sleerup*) to *stirrup*.

líc, like; as a suffix, *-ly* (by loss of the last letter); *stríc-an*, to strike; *sík-an*, M. E. *sik-en*, now *sigh*, by loss of the final letter as in the suffix *-ly* from *like*, though the spelling with *gh* preserves a trace of the lost guttural. The A. S. *snícan*, E. *to sneak*, presents an extraordinary example of the preservation of the original vowel-sound[1]. To these we must add *ríce*, rich, not borrowed from French, though existing as *riche* in that language, which borrowed it from a Frankish source; the M. E. *riche* was regularly developed from A. S.

[1] Compare the prov. E. (Cumberland) *stee*, a ladder; from A. S. *stí-gan*, to climb.

rîce by the usual change of A. S. *-ce* into M. E. *-che*, and the *i*, at first long, is now shortened. The A. S. *dîc*, a dike, was a masculine substantive, with a genitive *dîc-es*; but it was also used as a feminine, with a genitive and dative *dîc-e*. The latter case-forms regularly produced a M. E. *dich-e*, used in all cases of the singular; hence mod. E. *dich*[1], now always written *ditch*, with needless insertion of a *t*. Here again, the *i* has been shortened.

îd-el, idle; *rîd-an*, to ride; *sîd-e*, side; *slîd-an*, to slide; *wîd*, wide; *glîd-an*, to glide; *cîd-an*, to chide; *tîd*, tide; *bîd-an*, to bide; *brîd-el*, a bridle.

smît-an, to smite; *wrît-an*, to write, in which the initial *w* is no longer sounded; *hwît*, white; *bît-an*, to bite.

rîp-e, ripe; *grîp-an*, to gripe, the form *grip* being due to F. *gripper*, a word of Teutonic origin.

The words of Latin origin above mentioned, viz. *mile*, *shrive*, *shrine*, *wine*, *pine* (tree), are of importance, as proving that the A. S. *î* was really the Latin long *i*, and therefore pronounced as mod. E. *ee*.

§ 45. **The A. S. ó (long o).** The A. S. *ó* was sounded as *oa* in *boat*, and usually preserved the same sound in M. E. But in the modern period the sound was shifted, having been 'moved up to the high position[2]' of long *u*.

Examples. *scó*, shoe; *dó*, I do; *tó*, too, to.

tóh, tough. Here the final guttural has been changed to *f*; whilst the vowel-sound has been shortened and 'unrounded[3].' The spelling with *ou* indicates that the A. S. *ó* had been regularly reduced to the sound of *ou* in *you* before the shortening and 'unrounding' took place.

mór, moor. But in *swór*, swore; *flór*, floor, the long *o* has been preserved, though altered in quality by the following *r*.

[1] 'A *Dich*, or dike'; Minsheu's Dict., ed 1627.

[2] Sweet, Hist. of Eng. Sounds, p. 56. The date assigned for the change is A.D. 1550–1650.

[3] See note above, viz. p. 56, note 1.

stól, stool; *cól*, cool; *tól*, tool.

sóð, sooth; *tóð*, tooth; *óðer*, M.E. *oother*, *other*, first became what we should now write *oother*, after which the long *u* was shortened and 'unrounded,' giving E. *other*. So also *bróðor* is *brother*. The modern spelling is consistent, after a sort; for if it be once accepted as a rule that *oo* shall stand for the sound of long *u*, it ought to follow that *o* may reasonably represent short *u*. Cf. *doth*, *son*, *govern*, &c.

gós, goose; but *gósling* has been shortened to *gosling*. *bósm*, bosom, in which the former *o* has at present a variable pronunciation; in Ogilvie's Dictionary it is marked as having the sound of *oo* in *boot*, whilst in Webster, it is marked as having the sound of *oo* in *foot*. The longer sound is in accordance with the rule; the shorter is that which I am accustomed to hear. *hróst*, roost, sb., *h* being lost. In *blóstma*, *blósma*, blossom, the *o* has been shortened without shifting to *u*. In *móste*, I must, the *u*-sound has been modified precisely as in *other*, *brother*, above; the only difference is that it is now spelt phonetically.

rów-an, to row; *hlów-an*, to low, as a cow; *flów-an*, to flow; *grów-an*, to grow; *blów-an*, to blow, or flourish as a flower. In all these the *w* is preserved to the eye, and the attentive ear will detect a slight after-sound of *u*.

hóf, hoof; *be-hóf-ian*, to behove, which preserves its long *o*; *glóf*, glove, with the same changes as in *other*, *brother*.

són-a, soon; *nón*, noon (from Lat. *nōna*); *món-a*, moon; *món-að*, month, with the same changes as in *brother*; *Món-an-dæg*, Monday, like the preceding; *ge-dón*, *dón*, done, pp., like the same. To these add *spón*, a chip, E. *spoon*.

glóm, gloom; *dóm*, doom; *bróm*, broom; *blóm-a*, bloom. Also *góm-a*, pl. *góm-an*, the gums, parallel to *móste*, must.

slóh, slew (M.E. *slow*); *wóg-ian*, to woo; *dróg*, drew (M.E. *drow*). But *ge-nóg* is mod. E. *e-nough*, just as *tóh* (already explained) is now *tough*. The word *bóh* took the form *bough* even in M.E., and occurs, e.g. in Chaucer,

Cant. Tales, l. 1982. This M.E. *ou* had the French sound of *ou* in *soup*; and the result of this early shifting was that the sound shifted yet once more in the modern period, thus becoming E. *bough* (see § 46), in which the final guttural sound, though preserved to the eye, is entirely lost to the ear.

wóc, woke, has preserved the long *ó*; in every other instance, words in *-óc* now end in *-ook*; and curiously enough, all of them are now pronounced with the short *oo* of *foot*, not the long *oo* of *boot*. Hence *hróc*, a rook; *lóc-ian*, to look; *scóc*, shook; *cóc*, a cook; *bóc*, book; *bróc*, brook; *hóc*, a hook; *forsóc*, forsook. No such form as A.S. *cróc* for 'crook' has as yet been found, but it is highly probable that it existed; cf. Icel. *krókr*, Swed. *krok*. Similarly, the Icel. *tók* has given the M.E. *took*.

fód-a, food; *mód*, mood; *bród*, brood. But the old *u*-sound has been shortened in *stód*, stood; *gód*, good; and still further changed[1] in *flód*, flood; *módor*, mother; *blód*, blood. The history of the A.S. *ród* is curious; it not only produced, according to rule, the mod. E. *rood*[2], but also the mod. E. *rod*, in which the *o* is shortened from an older (M.E.) pronunciation such as *raud* (riming with *gaud*)[3].

fót, foot; *bót*, boot, i.e. advantage, profit[4].

§ 46. **The A.S. ú (long u).** The A.S. long *u* answers exactly to the Lat. *ū* in the words *múl*, a mule, borrowed from Lat. *mūlus*, and *múr*, a wall, borrowed from Lat. *mūrus*[5].

[1] 'In modern English, we have a very anomalous case of unrounding of the back-vowel *u*, *but* [riming with *foot*] becoming *bət* [riming with *cut*]'; Sweet, Hist. Eng. Sounds, p. 43. At the same time, the vowel has been 'lowered from high to mid.'

[2] *Rood* in *rood-loft* and *rood* (of land) are the same word.

[3] The lengthened sound of E. short *o* is heard in the not uncommon use of *dawg* for *dog*.

[4] Mr. Sweet adds *hwóp-an*, to whoop. But the A.S. *hwópan* means 'to threaten.' The *w* in *whoop* belongs to Tudor English. The M.E. form is *houpen*, from F. *houper*.

[5] Observe that A.S. *múl* (from *mūlus*) would have become *mowl* in mod. E. But *mule* was re-borrowed from French at a later period.

Examples of these words are given by Grein and Ettmüller.

The history of the A.S. *ú* (sounded as *oo* in *boot*) is parallel to that of the A.S. *í*. Just as the latter was developed into Ital. *ai*, mod. E. long *i*, so the former was developed into Ital. *au*, mod. E. *ou* in *bout*. Moreover, the change took place much about the same time, viz. in A.D. 1550–1650. To this may be added, that just as a final long *i* is ornamentally written as *y*, as in *by*, *my*, *thy*, &c., so likewise the final *ou* is often ornamentally written *ow*, as in *cow*, *how*, *now*, and in a few words the same spelling prevails even when the sound is not final, as in *owl*, *shower*, *town*.

Examples. *hú*, how; *ðú*, thou; *nú*, now; *cú*, cow; *brú*, brow.

úr-e, our; *súr*, sour; *scúr*, shower; *búr*, bower. In *néah-ge-búr*, neigh-bour, the *ú* has simply lost its accent and length, and the sound has become indefinite[1].

úl-e, owl; *fúl*, foul.

súð, south; *múð*, mouth; *uncúð*, uncouth, which has preserved its old sound. In *cúð-e*, the *u* has been preserved, but has been shortened; the mod. E. is *could* (riming with *good*), always carefully misspelt *could*, in order to satisfy the eye that is accustomed to *would* and *should*.

hús, house; *lús*, louse; *mús*, mouse; *þúsend*, thousand.

dún, down; *tún*, town; *brún*, brown.

rúm, room, has preserved its old sound, but is now a sb.; originally, it was an adj., meaning 'spacious' or 'roomy.'

búg-an, to bow; *rúh*, *rúg*, rough, has changed its final guttural to *f*, whilst the vowel was first shortened to the sound of *oo* in *foot*, and then altered by 'unrounding.'

brúc-an, to brook; this word, being mostly used in poetry, has kept its old sound, but in a shortened form.

[1] Mr. Sweet derives E. *boor* from A.S. *ge-búr*, with the same sense. But *boor* is a purely modern word, borrowed from Du. *boer*. The A.S. *búr* would have become *bower*, as in fact (in another sense) it did.

hlúd, loud; *scrúd*, shroud.

út, out; *clút*, clout; *á-búl-an*, about; *prút*, proud (with change of *t* to *d*).

§ 47. **The A. S. ý (long y).** Now that examples have been given of the A. S. long vowels *á*, *é*, *í*, *ó*, *ú*, it is worth while to explain the long vowel denoted in A. S. by *ý*. This is nothing but a lengthened form of the A. S. vowel denoted by *y*. The Romans adopted this letter from the Greek Υ, in order to represent the sound of the Greek *u* (*υ*) in words borrowed from that language. The Latin had originally neither the symbol nor the sound; hence the very spelling of such words as *abyss*, *anodyne*, *apocalypse*, *asylum*, &c., at once reveals their Greek origin. It is further believed that the sound of the Greek *υ* (and therefore of the Latin and A. S. *y*) was that of the German *ü* in *übel*. Hence also, the sound of A. S. *ý* was that of the long German *ü* in *Gemüth*, *grün*.

There can hardly be a doubt as to this fact, yet we are, practically, independent of it as far as modern English is concerned. For it is quite certain that this sound was lost at rather an early period, and that long *y* and long *i* were confused, and merged into the common sound correctly denoted by the latter symbol. That is, the sound of *ý* was identified with that of M. E. *í*, the sound now denoted by *ee* in *beet*. Hence the symbols *i* and *y* became convertible, and the M. E. *bi* was often written *by*, as at present; and conversely, the word *pryde* was often written *pride*. The history of *ý* since the Middle-English period is precisely the same as that of *í*, already explained in § 44[1].

Examples. *hwý*, why; *cý*, ky[2], the old plural of *cow*, whence the mod. E. *ki-ne*, by the addition of the same plural-suffix as that seen in *ey-ne*, the old form of *eyes*.

[1] We find confusion of *y* with *i* even in Icelandic. Thus Icel. *fyrir* was often written *firir*; see *fyrir* in the Icel. Dictionary.

[2] We find *Kie* for 'cows' in Golding's translation of Ovid, fol. 26, l. 23 (1603). Burns has *kye* in The Twa Dogs, l. 5 from end.

hýr, hire, sb.; *fýr*, fire.

ge-fýl-an, to file[1], an old word now only used with the unnecessary addition of the French prefix *de-*, and therefore spelt *defile*. In the A. S. *fýlð*, filth, the *ý* has been simply shortened from the old *ī*-sound, without diphthongisation.

hýð, a hithe, or haven.

lýs, lice, pl. of *lús*, louse; *mýs*, mice, pl. of *mús*, mouse. But the old *ī*-sound has been simply shortened in *fýst*, fist; *wýsc-an*, to wish.

hýd, hide, i. e. skin; *hýd-an*, to hide; *brýd*, bride; *prýt-e*, pride.

§ 48. **The A. S. ǽ, éa, éo.** Other long sounds are denoted in A. S. by *ǽ*, *éa*, *éo*. The examination of these may be deferred for the present, especially as they may be studied in Mr. Sweet's book. It is, however, worth observing that there are a large number of instances in which all three sounds answer to mod. E. *ee*. The A. S. *ǽ* was pronounced like the long or drawled sound of *a* in *man*; or, according to Sievers, like the G. long *ä*.

The following are regular examples:—

sǽ, sea; *fǽr*, fear; *rǽr-an*[2], to rear; *bǽr*, bier.

ǽl, eel; *mǽl*, meal; *hǽl-an*, to heal; *dǽl-an*, to deal.

hǽþ, heath; *hǽð-en*, heathen; *scǽþ*, sheath; *wrǽþ*, wreath.

tǽs-an, to tease; *tǽs-el*, *tǽs-l*, a teasle.

ǽf-en, even, evening; *lǽf-an*, to leave.

hlǽn-e, lean, adj.; *clǽn-e*, clean; *mǽn-an*, to mean; *ge-mǽn-e*, mean, adj., in the sense of 'common' or 'vile.'

[*hwǽg*, whey; *hnǽg-an*, to neigh; *grǽg*, gray, grey; *clǽg*,

[1] 'For *Banquo's* Issue haue I *fil'd* my Minde;' Macb. iii. 1. 65 (ed. 1623). 'Their mournefull charett, *filed* with rusty blood;' Spenser, F. Q. i. 5. 32.

[2] Mr. Sweet distinguishes between the close and open sounds of *ǽ*; and the distinction is real. In many cases, however, the mod. E. *ee* results from both alike. I therefore venture, for the present, to combine his two sets of examples.

clay. But here the *g* became a vocalic *y*, and a diphthong resulted.]

lǽc-e, leech, (1) a physician, (2) a worm; *sprǽc*, speech, (with a curious loss of medial *r*); *rǽc-an*, to reach; *tǽc-an*, to teach; *blǽc-an*, to bleach.

wǽd, weed, i. e. garment, chiefly in the phrase 'a widow's *weeds*'; *sǽd*, seed; *grǽd-ig*, greedy; *dǽd*, deed; *nǽd-l*, needle; *rǽd-an*, to read; *lǽd-an*, to lead.

strǽt, street, not an A. S. word, but borrowed from the Lat. *strāta*, in the phrase *strāta uia*, a laid or paved road. The representation of the Lat. *ā* by A. S. *ǽ* is unusual; there was probably an older form *strát*. See Prof. Cook's edition of Sievers' Old English Grammar, § 57. *blǽt-an*, to bleat; *hǽt-o*, heat; *hwǽt-e*, wheat. So also *slǽp*, sleep.

§ 49. **A. S. éa (long ea).** The A. S. *éa* was a 'broken' vowel, i. e. the two elements were separately pronounced in rapid succession, with a stress on the former element. It is nearly imitated by sounding *payer* or *gayer* without the initial *p* or *g*.

fléa, flea (see examples of this spelling in Bosworth and Toller's A. S. Dict.).

éar-e, ear; *séar-ian*, to sear; *néar*, near, originally an adverb in the comparative degree (from *néah*, *néh*, nigh); *géar*, year; *téar*, tear.

éast, east; *éast-or*, *éast-re*, Easter.

be-réaf-ian, to bereave; *léaf*, leaf; *scéaf*, sheaf.

béan, bean. *séam*, seam; *stéam*, steam; *stréam*, stream; *gléam*, gleam; *dréam*, dream; *téam*, team; *béam*, beam.

béac-en, beacon. *néat*, neat, sb.; *béat-an*, to beat.

héap, heap; *hléap-an*, to leap; *céap*, sb., whence E. *cheap*, adj.

§ 50. **A. S. éo (long eo).** The A. S. *éo* was a 'broken' vowel like the above, composed of the elements *é* and *o*; sounded nearly as *Mayo* without the initial *M* and no sound of *y*.

þréo, three; *ic séo*, I see; *séo*, she; *féoh* (Mercian *féh*, § 33), fee; *fréo*, free; *gléo*, glee; *ic béo*, I be; *béo*, a bee.

hléor, a cheek, whence was formed the E. verb to *leer*; *déor*, deer; *déor-e*, dear; *dréor-ig*, dreary; *béor*, beer.

hwéol, wheel; *céol*, keel of a ship.

séoð-an, to seethe. *fréos-an*, to freeze; *préost*, priest.

cnéow, *cnéo*, knee; *tréow*, *tréo*, tree.

léof, lief, i. e. dear; *þéof*, thief; *cléof-an*, to cleave, split.

be-twéon-an, between; *féond*, fiend.

hréod, a reed; *wéod*, a weed; *néod*, need.

fléot, a ship, hence a *fleet*; *créop-an*, to creep; *déop*, deep.

The number of words omitted, as not giving exactly the mod. E. *ee*, is not at all large.

§ **51. Summary.** Now that we have noted some of the principal results respecting the A. S. long vowels, a brief summary of the whole may prove useful.

The A. S. long vowels *á*, *é*, *í*, *ó*, *ú* were sounded nearly as the vowels in E. *baa*, *bait*, *beet*, *boat*, *boot*. They corresponded exactly to the Latin *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*; as may be seen from the following (amongst other) examples.

The A. S. *pápa*, a pope, was borrowed from Lat. *pāpa*; A. S. *bét-e*, beet, from Lat. *bēta*; A. S. *scrín*, a shrine, from Lat. *scrīnium*; A. S. *nón*, noon, from Lat. *nōna*; A. S. *múl*, a mule, from Lat. *mūlus*[1].

The mod. E. sounds to which they respectively correspond are those heard in *boat*, *beet*, *bite*, *boot*, (*a*)*bout*, as may be seen from the A. S. forms of those words, viz. *bát*, *béte*, *bítan*, *bót*, *ábútan*. See § 39.

The A. S. *ý* or long *y* was sounded like the Greek long *u* (*v*) or the mod. G. *ü* in *grün*. At a rather early period it was confused with long *ī*, and followed its fortunes; hence mod. E. *mice* from A. S. *mýs*, used as the plural of *mouse*, A S. *mús*. See § 47.

[1] A. S. *múl* (as already noted) would have become mod. E. *moul*; the later E. *mule* was borrowed from O. F. *mule* in the 13th century.

The sounds denoted by A. S. *æ, éa, éo,* have all been most frequently replaced by the mod. E. *ee.* See §§ 48–50.

In the course of many centuries, whilst these changes were taking place, it is hardly surprising that some words suffered changes not quite in accordance with the general rules. Some of the more important of these exceptions have been discussed, with the following results.

1. Under words containing the A. S. *á,* we must also include: so, *swá*; who, *hwá*; two, *twá*; ought, *áhte*; naught, not, *náht*; wrath, adj., *wráð*; cloth, *cláþ*; hoarse, *hás*; thaw, *þáwan*; one, an, a, *án*; none, *nán*; shone, *scán*; broad, *brád*; -hood, -head (suffixes), *-hád*; hot, *hát*; wot, *wát.* We find among these such *sounds* as *oo* in *boot,* due to a preceding *w*; also *au* in *gaudy,* which was probably the sound of the M. E. *oo*; *o* in *not*; &c. See § 42.

2. Under words containing the A. S. *é,* we must include: high, *héh* (*héah*); nigh, *néh* (*néah*); eye, *ége* (*éage*); rick, *hréc* (*hréac*); cripple, *crépel*; ten, *tén.* See § 43.

3. Under words containing the A. S. *í* we must include: wisdom, *wísdóm*; fifty, *fíftig*; women, *wífmen,* and even woman, *wífman*; stirrup, *stíráp*; rich, *ríce*; ditch, *díc*(*e*). Also: steward, *stíweard*; spue, *spíwan*; *híw,* hue; in which the vowel is affected by *w.* Also: sneak, *snícan*; with unaltered vowel. See § 44.

4. Under words containing the A. S. *ó* we must include: swore, *swór,* floor, *flór,* which remain little altered except by the loss of the trilling of the *r*; behove, *behófian,* woke, *wóc,* which keep the A. S. sound. Also: tough, *tóh*; other, *óðer*; brother, *bróðor*; mother, *módor*; flood, *flód*; blood, *blód*; glove, *glóf*; gums, *góman*; must, *móste*; month, *mónað*; Monday, *mónan dæg*; done, *dón*; enough, *genóh.* Also: bosom, *bósm*; stood, *stód*; good, *gód*; shook, *scóc* (with other words in *-ook*); foot, *fót.* Also: gosling, *gósling*; blossom, *blóstma*; rod, *ród.* Also: bough, *bóh.* See § 45.

5. Under words containing the A. S. *ú* we must include:

neighbour, *néah(ge)búr*; rough, *rúh*; could, *cúðe*; brook, v., *brúcan*. Also: uncouth, *uncúð*, room, *rúm*, which preserve the A. S. sound. See § 46.

6. Under A. S. *ý*-words: filth, *fýlþ*; fist, *fýst*; wish, *wýscan*; due to alteration from the sound of *ee* in *beet* to that of *i* in *bit*. See § 47.

Note on the Short Vowels.

For the history of the Short Vowels, I must refer the reader to Mr. Sweet's History of English Sounds; especially as even the above sketch of the history of the Long Vowels is very imperfect, and requires to be supplemented and modified by reference to that work. I may note, however, that the symbols *e*, *i*, and *o*, frequently remained unchanged, so that the words *net*, *in*, *oft*, *on*, for example, are spelt in A. S. precisely as they are spelt now.

The A. S. short *a* in *man*, a man, was pronounced as in the mod. G. *Mann*; but in mod. E. the pronunciation of *man* is peculiar, and may conveniently be denoted, phonetically, by the spelling *mæn*. The A. S. *æ* had this very sound, so that the A. S. *glæd* was pronounced exactly as its mod. E. equivalent *glad*. Curiously enough, this is not a case of survival, for the M. E. *glad* was pronounced with the sound of the G. *a* in *Mann* or *glatt*, which accounts for the modern *spelling*.

The A. S. short *u* had the sound of *oo* in *book*; so that *sun-ne*, the sun, was pronounced nearly as the mod. E. *sooner* would be, if the *oo* of *soon* were altered to the *oo* of *book*. The sound of *u* in the mod. E. *sun* differs considerably from this, having been both 'unrounded' and 'lowered.' In Middle-English, the A. S. *u* was, in some words, represented by *o* by French scribes; so that the A. S. *sunu* became M. E. *sone*, mod. E. *son*. Hence the modern *son* is pronounced precisely like the modern *sun*. Similarly, the A. S. *luf-u*, M. E. *lou-e* (with *u* for *v*), is the mod. E. *love*.

CHAPTER VI.

TEUTONIC LANGUAGES COGNATE WITH ENGLISH.

§ 52. Value of the Vowels. In the last Chapter, some account has been given of the sounds of the English long vowels, for the particular purposes of shewing that a scientific study of etymology must take phonology into account, and also of emphasising the fact that the study of vowel-sounds in particular is of great importance. It was rightly objected against the reckless 'etymologists' of a former age that they paid hardly any regard to the consonants, and to the vowels none at all. Scientific etymology requires that *great* attention shall be paid to the consonants, but *still greater* to the vowels. For after all, it is precisely the vowel-sound which gives life and soul to the word. The combination *rn* signifies nothing; but, if between these two letters, we insert vowels at pleasure, we obtain quite different results. By insertion of *a* or *u*, we obtain different parts of the same verb; *ran* being a past tense, and *run* a present tense or an infinitive mood. By other insertions, we obtain words denoting totally different and unconnected ideas, such as *rain*, *rein*, *roan*, or *rune*[1]; and it is somewhat extraordinary that the first and second of these words sound precisely alike, and can only be differentiated or distinguished to the ear by the context in which they are used. They are distinguished to the eye by a

[1] The guessing etymologists delight in ignoring the vowels. They would tell us that a *rein* guides a horse in *running*, or that *runes* are so called because the runic verses *run* or flow easily, &c., &c.. Such absurdities are still uttered, I fully believe, almost every day, at least in England.

casual and unmeaning difference in spelling, which has only been obtained by altering the spelling of M. E. *rein* to *rain*. The etymological distinction is obtained only by the discovery that *rain* is of English origin, whilst *rein* is French.

§ 53. English not derived from German. We have also seen in the last Chapter that the history of the vowel-sounds of many purely English words can be carried back, practically, to about the eighth century. We thus find, for example, that the sound of *o* in *stone* has descended from that of *á* in *stán*. The next question for consideration is plainly this: what do we know about this A. S. *á*? Can we by any means trace back its history still further? We have no *English* records that can help us here; it only remains to see if any help can be obtained from any external source. This leads us at once to a *previous* question—is English an isolated language, or are there other languages related to it? The usual answer that generally occurs to the popular mind is one that ignores about six-sevenths of the truth, and is, in the main, grossly misleading. All that many people can tell us is that, by some occult process, English is 'derived from German.'

§ 54. This mistake is due to a strange jumble of ideas, and has done immense harm to the study of English etymology. Yet it is so common that I have often heard something very like it, or statements practically based upon this assumption, even from the lips of men whose course of 'classical' studies should have taught them better. Ask what is the etymology of the English *bite*, and not unfrequently the reply will be, expressed with a contemptuous confidence, that 'it comes from the German *beissen*,' as if *there*, at any rate, is an end of the matter! It does not occur to some men to enquire by what process a *t* has been developed out of a double *s*[1], nor is any account made of a possible affinity

[1] As a fact, the development is the other way, the German *ss* being due to the original Teutonic *t*, which again answers to an Aryan *d*.

of the word with Latin and Sanskrit. It is easy to see how this singular idea arose, viz. from the persistent use by Germans of the word *Germanic* to express what is better called 'the Teutonic group of languages.' By a confusion natural to half-knowledge, the English popular mind has rushed to the conclusion that what has thus been called *Germanic* is all one thing with what we *now* call 'German,' whereas the two things implied are widely different. A little attention will preserve the reader from making this mistake himself.

§ 55. The Teutonic Group of Languages. A careful comparison of English with other languages shews that it does not stand alone, but is closely related to many others. Our modern *foot*, A. S. *fót*, is expressed in Gothic by *fotus*, in Old Friesic and Old Saxon by *fôt*, in Swedish by *fot*, in Danish by *fod*, in Icelandic by *fótr*, in Dutch by *voet*, in Low German (Bremen) by *foot*, and in German by *fuss*. Accordingly, all these languages and dialects are, in this case, obviously allied to each other, and we might hence infer (correctly, as it happens) that the fundamental base of the word is obtained by combining F, long O, and T; omitting for the present the question as to whether any older form of the word can in any way be traced. We might also infer that Danish has a habit of turning final *t* into *d*, that Dutch has a habit of turning initial *f* into *v*, and that German has a habit of turning final *t* into *ss*. But if the modern German has a habit which so obscures a word's true form, and so disguises its original type, surely it must be but a poor guide, and indeed, the most misleading of the whole set. A similar examination of a large number of words will deepen this impression; and it may, for the purposes of English philology, be fairly laid down that, amongst the whole series of Teutonic languages, German (in its modern form) is practically the *worst* guide of all *to the uninitiated*, though it can be put to excellent use by students who know how to interpret the modern

forms which its words assume[1]. According to the latest method of division, the Teutonic languages have been divided into two branches, viz. the East and West Teutonic[2]. The East Teutonic languages are Gothic (now extinct) and those of the Scandinavian group. This group contains two subdivisions, viz. the eastern, comprising Swedish and Danish, and the western, comprising Icelandic and Old Norwegian. The West Teutonic branch includes all the rest, viz. English with its older forms, such as Northumbrian, Mercian, and Anglo-Saxon; Frisian (which, together with English, seems to form a separate branch); Saxon or Low German; Frankish (including Dutch); and Upper German or High German. There were numerous other dialects which have died out without leaving sufficient materials for their linguistic classification. A few words concerning the principal languages of this group may be useful[3].

§ 56. EAST TEUTONIC. **Gothic.** Gothic, or, as it is also called, Mœso-Gothic, being the extinct dialect of the Western Goths of Dacia and Mœsia, provinces situated on the lower Danube, is the oldest of the group, and the most perfect in its inflexional forms. This must be only taken as a general statement, for it is not uncommon for other languages of the group to exhibit older forms in special instances. The literary documents of Gothic reach back to the fourth cencentury, and are of very great linguistic value. The chief work in Gothic is a translation of parts of the Bible, made about A.D. 350 by Wulfila, bishop of the Mœso-Goths, better

[1] I continue to receive letters asserting that our *Whitsunday* is derived from the modern German *Pfingsten*. I am told, practically, that the *history* of the word and *phonetic laws* ought certainly to be neglected, because it is an obvious fact which ought on no account to be contradicted. All proof is withheld.

[2] Called East and West Germanic by German writers, because German is, with them, coextensive with Teutonic.

[3] Compare Morris, Outlines of Eng. Accidence, § 9; and particularly The History of the German Language, by H. A. Strong and K. Meyer, 1886.

known as Ulphilas, though this form is merely a Greek corruption of his Gothic name. The most important of the MSS. dates from the sixth century. The great antiquity of Gothic gives it a peculiar value, and the student of English etymology can hardly do better than gain some acquaintance with it as soon as possible. It is by no means difficult to an Englishman, owing to the very close relationship in many fundamental particulars between the two languages[1].

Swedish and Danish. These are national and literary languages, best known in their modern form. Neither of them possess monuments of any remarkable antiquity.

Icelandic. The numerous remains of the early Icelandic literature are of the highest value and interest to Englishmen, and the language itself is still in full activity, having suffered but very slight change during many centuries, owing to its secure and isolated position. Its great interest lies in the fact that *it does not greatly differ from, and, for practical purposes, fairly represents the language of the old Danes* who so frequently invaded England during many centuries before the Conquest, and who thus contributed a considerable number of words to our literary language[2], and many others to our provincial dialects, especially Lowland Scotch, Yorkshire, and East Anglian. With a few important exceptions, the extant MSS. are hardly older than the fourteenth century, but the forms of the language are very archaic. One great value of Icelandic is that it comes in to supply, especially as regards the vocabulary, the loss of our old Northumbrian literature. The old Danish (as preserved in Iceland) and our own Anglian or Northumbrian must have had much in

[1] See my edition of the Gospel of Saint Mark in Gothic (Clarendon Press Series), intended as an elementary book for beginners. And see, on the whole subject, Lecture V in Max Müller's Lectures on the Science of Language.

[2] The people who derive all English from German shudder at the idea of deriving English words from Icelandic. Here they are wrong again.

common. The Icelandic has often been called Old Norse, but Norse is a name which strictly means Norwegian, and should be avoided as likely to lead to ambiguity.

§ 57. WEST TEUTONIC. **Anglo-Saxon.** This has been explained already, as exhibiting the oldest form of English in the Southern or Wessex dialect. The MSS. are numerous; many are of great importance, and the oldest go back to the eighth century at least. Old English comprises the scanty remains of Old Northumbrian and Old Mercian as well as the abundant remains of Anglo-Saxon.

Old Friesic. This language is closely allied to Anglo-Saxon; perhaps still more closely to the Old Mercian. 'The Frisians of the continent,' says Max Müller, 'had a literature of their own as early, at least, as the twelfth century, if not earlier. The oldest literary documents now extant date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.' Notwithstanding this comparative lateness of date, the forms of the language are often very archaic.

Old Saxon. This is the name usually given to the old dialect of Westphalia, in which the oldest literary document of continental Low-German is written. It is called the Heliand, i. e. the Healing one, the Saviour, and is a poem founded upon the Gospel history. It is 'preserved to us,' says Max Müller, 'in two MSS. of the ninth century, and was written at that time for the benefit of the newly converted Saxons.'

Dutch. This is still 'a national and literary language,' and 'can be traced back to literary documents of the thirteenth century.' Closely allied to Dutch is the Flemish of Flanders; and not very far removed from this is the dialect of Bremen, which is worthy of particular mention[1].

German. The particular language now usually called

[1] In my Dictionary, I have used the term 'Low-German' in a *special sense*, as has long been usual, with reference to the work known as the Bremen Wörterbuch, printed in 1767, in five volumes.

German is commonly called High German by philologists. It was formerly considered as standing apart from all other languages of the Teutonic group, because of its remarkable diversity from the rest as regards the consonants which it now employs. The remarkable formula of consonantal sound-shiftings usually called 'Grimm's Law' presupposes that the High German occupies a class by itself. But this apparent diversity is really delusive, because it is only the more modern form of the language which exhibits such characteristic variations. In the eighth century, or at any rate in the seventh century, the German consonantal system agreed sufficiently closely with that of the other Teutonic languages; but this is no longer the case in the modern stage of the language. 'If we compare English and modern German, we find them clearly distinguished from each other by regular phonetic changes[1].' One would think the difference is so marked that it cannot well be mistaken; yet it is a curious example of the force of popular error, that many students who are perfectly aware of this material difference between the two languages at once forget the fact as soon as ever English etymology is discussed, and go on deriving *bite* from the *modern* German *beissen* just the same as ever[2]. The High German is subdivided, *chronologically*, into three stages—Old High German, from the seventh to the eleventh century; Middle High German, from the twelfth to the fourteenth century; Modern High German (or German), from the end of the fourteenth century to the present time.

§ 58. **Teutonic types.** By comparing all the above varieties of Teutonic, we can practically construct, at least as far as relates to the forms of many words, an original

[1] Morris, Hist. Outlines of E. Accidence, § 10.

[2] In the *Christian World* of July 9, 1885, a correspondent complains that a reformed spelling would loosen 'the ties that bind our language to the German whence it comes.'

Teutonic vocabulary which shall represent and include the whole series. The forms thus obtained are called 'Teutonic types' or 'stems,' and are of high value for the purposes of etymology. In constructing them, we must take into account, not merely the monosyllabic base[1] of each substantive, such as FŌT for *foot*, but the vowel-suffix which determined the character and manner of its declension. The type of a substantive, thus obtained, may be called its *stem*. I define a *stem* of a substantive as the (usally monosyllabic) *base* with the addition of the suffix which determines the character of its declension[2]. The exact meaning of this is best seen from an inspection of the modes of substantival declension in Gothic, which, on account of its antiquity and general adherence (in many particulars) to the earliest Teutonic word-forms, may frequently be taken as the standard to which the others may be reduced. By way of further explanation, I quote the following (slightly amended) from my Introduction to St. Mark's Gospel in Gothic, p. xxxv:—

'The *stem*[3] or *crude form* of a substantive is the supposed original form of it, divested of the case-ending. To this stem the case-ending has been added, after which the case has frequently suffered degradation, and appears in a weakened form. Thus the stem FISKA signifies 'fish,' whence was formed the nominative *fiska-s*, afterwards contracted to *fisks*.' This word *fisks* belongs to what is called the A-form, or A-declension of substantives[4]. The word *foot*, Goth. nom. *fotu-s*, belongs to the U-form, so that the true stem of the

[1] I define the *base* of a word to be that part of it which is left when divested of suffixes. Thus the base of Lat. *pisc-is*, a fish, is *pisc-*.

[2] Thus, in the Lat. nom. *piscis*, a fish, *pisc-* is the base, *pisci-* is the stem, and *-s* is the case-ending denoting the nominative case. These may not be the best terms, but I find them useful.

[3] Called *base* in the passage here quoted. (I have since found it convenient to reverse the use of *stem* and *base* as formerly given by me.)

[4] Such is the account usually given in Gothic grammars. The declension might more exactly be called the O-declension, and the stem described as FISKO. Cf. the nom. pl. *fiskō-s* (=*fisko-es*).

word is FŌTU, which may be taken as the primitive Teutonic type of the word *foot*. A large collection of Teutonic types, both of substantives and verbs, is given in the very valuable work of Fick, entitled 'Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen.' This book is especially serviceable to the student of Teutonic philology. Generally speaking, the English forms are tolerably close to these archaic types, whilst the modern German frequently deviates from them in some remarkable way. It follows from this, as a matter of course, that whilst it is contrary to all true principles to *derive* one modern Teutonic language from another, it would practically cause less error to derive German from English than conversely. Those who think it praiseworthy to derive *bite* from the German *beissen*[1] would do much better if they were to say that the German *beissen* is from the E. *bite*; and if they were to take into account an older form of English, and so derive the G. *beissen* from the A. S. *bítan*, they would do better still. In fact, Fick actually gives BÎTAN[2] as the Teutonic type of the infinitive mood of this verb.

§ 59. **Teutonic dental sounds.** The phonetic changes by which German is distinguished from English were at the outset few, but afterwards became even more numerous than they are now. Modern German has given up a few of the old distinctions, thus practically returning, in such respects, to the ancient type. It will therefore be simpler to leave out of sight, for the present, such distinctions as no longer exist in spelling, and to give examples only of such as still remain.

The most important of these changes are exhibited in

[1] I feel obliged to continue to protest against this childish error because I find, by experience, that it is deeply rooted, widely spread, and extremely mischievous.

[2] The circumflex over the I denotes length, i. e. it has precisely the same value as the accent over *i* in *bítan*.

such words as begin[1], in English, with the dental sounds *d*, *t*, or *th*[2]. In such words, it is the English which preserves the original Teutonic dentals, and the German which has changed them into something else. Thus German has changed *d* into *t*; *t* into *z* (if *t* be initial; otherwise it generally employs *ss* medially, and *z*, *tz*, *ss* or *s* finally, making four varieties of the changed *t*); and *th* into *d*.

§ 60. **Teutonic d becomes German t.** Initially; as in E. *death*, G. *Tod*. Medially; as in E. *idle*, G. *eitel*. Finally; as E. *bed*, G. *Bett*; E. *red*, G. *roth*[3]. In further illustration of these changes, see the numerous examples collected in APPENDIX A.

§ 61. **Teutonic t becomes German z, initially; or ss, medially; or z, tz, ss, or s finally.** Initially; E. *tame*, G. *zahm* (pronounced *tsaam*). Medially; E. *water*, G. *Wasser*; E. *nettle*, G. *Nessel*. Finally (chiefly after *l*, *r*); E. *salt*, G. *Salz*; E. *heart*, G. *Herz*; or (chiefly after a short vowel), E. *net*, G. *Netz*; or (chiefly after a long vowel), E. *white*, G. *weiss*; or (rarely) E. *that*, G. *das*. But the final *t* is not changed when preceded by E. *gh*, *f*, or *s*; as in E. *fight*, G. *fecht-en*; E. *oft*, G. *oft*; E. *guest*, G. *Gast*. Initial *t* remains when followed by *r*; as in E. *tread*, G. *treten*. For further examples see APPENDIX A.

§ 62. **Teutonic th becomes German d.** Initially; E. *thank*, G. *dank-en*. Medially; E. *feather*, G. *Feder*. Finally; E. *path*, G. *Pfad*. But O. H. G. *dûsunt*, answering to E. *thousand*, is now *tausend*. It is amusing to find that beginners frequently found their ideas of the resemblance of English to German upon the word *butter*, G. *Butter*; but it happens that this is a non-Teutonic word, being of Greek origin.

[1] Similar changes often take place when the dental letter is *not* initial; see examples.

[2] This is a simple sound, awkwardly denoted by the use of *two* symbols.

[3] The G. *th* is (now, at any rate) nothing but a *t*, and is so pronounced. Modern German spelling-reformers write *rot* for *roth*, very sensibly.

Further illustrations will be found in APPENDIX A. The remarkable exceptions to the general law which are presented by the E. *father* and *mother* (G. *Vater*, *Mutter*) are discussed below in Chapter IX.

§ 63. **Teutonic labial sounds.** The changes in the dental letters *d*, *t*, *th*, which distinguish German from English spelling, are thus seen to be tolerably regular and complete. Less complete are the changes in the labial letters, viz. *b*, *p*, *f* (*v*). For a Teutonic *b*, the O. H. G. often has *p*, as in *pruodêr*, brother; but this distinction is not made in the modern language. German often turns *p* into *pf*, as in E. *path*, G. *Pfad*; E. *apple*, G. *Apfel*; but most English words beginning with *p*, and most German words beginning with *pf*, are non-Teutonic. The most regular change is in the substitution of German *f* for the Teutonic *p* final.

Examples: deep, *tief*; heap, *Hauf-e*; leap, *lauf-en*[1]; sharp, *scharf*; sheep, *Schaf*; sleep, v., *schlaf-en*; thorp, *Dorf*; up, *auf*. Occasionally the *f* is doubled; as in hope, *hoff-en*; ship, *Schiff*.

§ 64. The Teutonic *f*, when initial, usually remains as *f* in German. The Old High German frequently has *v* for initial *f*, and a few archaic forms still preserve this peculiarity of spelling, though the *v* is pronounced precisely as E. *f*.

Examples: father, *Vater*; fee, *Vieh*. The English *f*, when final, usually represents a Teutonic *v*, and appears as G. *b*; as in E. *deaf*, G. *taub*. See APPENDIX A.

§ 65. **Teutonic guttural sounds.** The Teut. guttural sounds *g*, *k*, *h* usually appear unchanged in modern German. The O. H. G. has *k* for *g*, as in *kans*, cognate with E. *goose*; but this distinction is no longer made. The M. E. (obsolete) guttural sound still represented by *gh* in our modern spelling answers to G. *ch*; as E. *light*, s., G. *Licht*. We may notice

[1] The M. E. *lepen*, A. S. *hlêapan*, often means 'to run,' like the G. *laufen*.

some instances in which Teut. final *k* becomes G. *ch*; as in E. *break*, G. *brech-en*; see APPENDIX A.

§ 66. English and German. It will probably have been observed that, in some words, *two* changes have taken place. Thus, in the word *thorp*, the initial *th* has become *d* in German, whilst the final *p* has become *f*; the German form being *Dorf*. But, as these changes are in accordance with rule, no difficulty arises. There is a matter of more importance, viz. the question of vowel-sounds, upon which I have already endeavoured to lay much stress. It is easy to see the relation between *thorp* and *Dorf*, because the identity of the vowel-sounds is obvious. But let it be noted that, in *every* pair of equivalent English and German words quoted above, it is absolutely essential that the original identity of the vowel-sounds must be capable of being established[1]. If, for example, the G. *Fuss* is really equivalent to the E. *foot*, it is not enough to say that the change from *t* to *ss* is regular; we must further investigate the meaning of the G. long *u*. By tracing the word backwards, the O. H. G. forms are found to be *fuóz*[2], *fuaz*, *foaz*, *fóz*, so that the vowel was once a long *o*; and as the A. S. for *foot* is *fót*, the vowel-sounds are equivalent. In precisely the same way it may be shewn that E. *do* = A. S. *dón*, whilst O. H. G. shews the changed or 'shifted' form *tón*, also written *toan*, *tuan*, *tuon*, mod. G. *thun*; and again, that an original Teutonic long *o* is the vowel-sound common to the following pairs of words, viz. E. *blood*, G. *Blut*; E. *brood*, G. *Brut*; E. *hood*, G. *Hut*; E. *rood*, G. *Ruth-e*; E. *fother*[3], G. *Fuder*; see § 74. In all

[1] There are some exceptions, due to what is called vowel-gradation. But there are rules in this case also. The subject will be resumed when vowel-gradation has been explained.

[2] Notice the final *z*, which is the *most regular* German substitution for E. *t*. The G. *z* is, in fact, sounded as *ts*, and is nothing but a kind of *t* to which a parasitic sibilant sound has been added.

[3] The mod. E. *fother* is almost obsolete; however the *o* may now be sounded, it was once *long*, the A. S. form being *fóðer*.

other similar cases, certain relations between E. and G. vowel-sounds can be established by investigating the sounds in A. S. and O. H. G. When this has been done, so that the ultimate and original identity of the E. *foot* with G. *Fuss* has been fully demonstrated, we can *then* say that either of these words is COGNATE[1] with the other, i. e. ultimately identical, or at least very closely related, at a remote (and indeed a pre-historic) period. This is a point which must be very clearly understood before any true ideas as to the relationship of words can be formed. If we say that the E. *foot* is *derived* from the G. *Fuss* (as is actually said by many), we are then talking nonsense, and contradicting all history; if we say that the G. *Fuss* is *derived* from the E. *foot* (as is never said by any, because Englishmen dare not say so, and Germans know better), we are talking a trifle more sensibly, and contradicting history a little less. We must, however, use neither phrase; we must drop the term 'derived' altogether, and employ the term 'cognate.' It follows that English and German are sister-languages, as they are rightly called. Though originally of twin birth, time has treated them differently; we might say that English has preserved the features of the mother more exactly than German has done. Similar remarks apply to all the other languages of the Teutonic group. They are *all* sisters; but the features of German are more altered than those of the rest. Such cognation or sisterly relationship is a totally different thing from derivation; for the latter term implies an actual borrowing.

§ 67. **English words borrowed from German.** It is true, however, that English has *actually borrowed* a few words from German in quite modern times. This is altogether a different matter, and in such cases the word 'derived' can be correctly employed. As this matter is one of considerable interest, and it will greatly clear up the whole

[1] A term of Lat. origin, meaning 'co-born,' or sprung from the same source; related as brothers or sisters are.

matter to shew the nature of these borrowed or derived words, I here subjoin the whole list of E. words directly derived from German, copied from my Etymological Dictionary. The list is as follows:—*Bismuth, camellia, Dutch, feldspar, fuchsia, fugleman, gneiss, hock* (wine), *huzzah, landau, maulstick, meerschaum*[1], *mesmerise* (with French suffix), *plunder, poodle, quartz, shale, swindler, trull, wacke, waltz, wheedle* (?), *zinc*. To these may be added *veneer*, a French word in a Germanised form; and a few Dutch words, viz. *dollar, rix-dollar, etch, wiseacre*, borrowed by Dutch from German.

This is a very remarkable list, as the words are all of modern date. No less than five of them, *feldspar, gneiss, quartz, shale, wacke*, are terms of modern geology; *bismuth, zinc*, are metals; *hock, landau*, are mere place-names; *camellia, fuchsia, mesmerise*, are from personal names. There is *not a single word* in the whole of the English language that can be shewn to have been borrowed *directly* from German before A.D. 1550. There are, however, some which have been borrowed *indirectly*, through French, from various German dialects; this is merely because several French words are of Frankish or old Danish origin, having been imported into France by Teutonic invaders and conquerors, as will be duly explained when we come to treat of French. The real use of the cognate German forms is that they help us in the construction or investigation of primitive Teutonic types and 'bases.'

§ 68. **Cognate words.** The occurrence of consonantal changes in German words, whereby they exhibit deviation from the Teutonic types, is called SHIFTING, or in German, *Lautverschiebung* (sound-shifting). Thus, in the Teut. type

[1] Pronounced *meershum*, with *ee* as in *beet* (Ogilvie); whereas the G. *ee* resembles *ai* in *bait*. The fact, that we can thus alter a German sound almost at once, helps us to understand that we have altered Middle English sounds in the course of centuries.

FÔTU, E. *foot*, the *t* has, in German, shifted to *z*, later *ss*; the German word being *Fuss*. As the English so frequently preserves the Teutonic consonant intact, it is in this respect more primitive than German. But we cannot say that German words are 'derived' from English, because it often happens, on the contrary, that modern German preserves the original vowel-sound intact, where the English has altered it. Thus the E. *heap* (A. S. *héap*) answers to a Teutonic type HAUPO (Fick, iii. 77), O. H. G. *hauf*, *houfe*, mod. G. *Häufe*; and in many other cases the German vowel-sound is more primitive than the English. By such considerations the true sisterly relationship of English to German is fully established; i. e. we can only, in general, consider pairs of related words as being *cognate*.

§ **69**. In precisely the same way, we can only say that the E. *foot* and Gothic *fotus* are cognate; we must not talk about English words as being 'derived' from Gothic. Yet Gothic is so archaic, that it often preserves the original Teutonic type correctly, as in this very word *fotu-s*, where *s* is merely the suffix peculiar to the nominative case. It must also be remembered that modern German is the only Teutonic language which shews a shifting of consonants (such as *d*, *t*, *th*, &c.) from the original Teutonic type. The other Teutonic languages commonly resemble both English and Gothic in their use of consonants; the chief exceptions being that, in Danish, a final *k*, *t*, *p*, *f*, are commonly 'voiced,'[1] and appear as *g*, *d*, *b*, and *v*[2]; whilst initial *th* commonly appears as *t* in Danish and Swedish, and as *d* in Dutch[2]. Hence most other Teutonic languages present, to the eye, a more familiar appearance than German does. Yet few notice this, because they seldom make the comparison till they have partially

[1] Consonants are either 'voiceless,' as *k*, *t*, *p*, *f*, &c.; or 'voiced.' The meaning of this distinction will be explained hereafter.

[2] As in E. *book*, *foot*, *deep*, *deaf*; Dan. *bog*, *fod*, *dyb*, *döv*. E. *thorn*; Swed. *törne*; Dan. *torn*; Du. *doorn*.

learnt German, and at the same time neglected the rest. If an Englishman were to learn Dutch or Danish *first*, he would find either of them easier than German, as he could more often guess at the meanings of the words. Surely the Dutch and Danish *daad* are more like our *deed* than is the G. *That*.

§ 70. If the reader will kindly refer to the beginning of this Chapter, he will see (§ 53) that the original question with which we started was this, viz. What can we find out about the A. S. *á*, or about any other of the A. S. long vowel-sounds? This problem has not been lost sight of for a moment, but it was absolutely necessary to consider other questions by the way. We have now considered these sufficiently to enable us to proceed with it. By way of digression, in sections 54–69, we have seen (1) that English is not derived from German except in a few modern instances of word-borrowing; (2) that German is neither the sole *other* Teutonic language, nor our easiest guide; (3) that we ought rather to consult, first of all, such languages as the extinct Gothic, the monuments of Old Friesic and Old Saxon, and the modern or old forms of Dutch, Icelandic, Swedish, Danish; (4) that German is distinguished from all the rest by certain curious consonantal shiftings, which have been sufficiently exemplified; (5) that, from a comparison of all the Teutonic languages, primitive Teutonic types of words can be, and have been, deduced; and (6) that the relation of English to all the other Teutonic languages is, speaking generally, that of a sister to sisters; English being a language which, so to speak, has fairly well preserved many of the more striking features of the primitive Teutonic mother-tongue. We now proceed to consider the value of the A. S. long *a*, or *á*.

§ 71. **A. S. á = Teut. ai (rarely ê).**

(*a*) To take a special instance, the E. *stone* answers to A.S *stán*; see § 42. Other forms are these: Goth. *stain-s*, nom.; Du. *steen*; Icel. *steinn*; Dan. *sten*; Swed. *sten*; G. *Stein*. From

a comparison of all these forms, and consideration of a large number of other A. S. words containing the same symbol *á*, and by calling in the aid of phonology[1], it has been concluded that the primitive Teut. sound was that of Ital. *a* followed by Ital. *i*, thus producing the diphthong *ai*, the sound of which is not very far removed from that of mod. E. long *i*, as heard in *line*, *mine*, *thine*; though perhaps the *ah*-sound should be heard a little more clearly. The primitive Teutonic type is STAINO, it being a masculine substantive of the *o*-declension; cf. Fick. iii. 347. Judging from this example, we should expect to find, at least in many cases, that the A. S. *á* corresponds to Goth. *ai*, Du. *ee*, Icel. *ei*, Dan. *e* (long), Swed. *e* (long), G. *ei*; and we shall find that these equivalent vowels occur, in the various languages, with surprising regularity. I give half-a-dozen examples:—

1. E. *whole*, A. S. *hál*, Goth. *hail-s*[2], Du. *heel*, Icel. *heill*, Swed. *hel*, Dan. *heel*, G. *heil*: Teut. type HAILO (Fick, iii. 57)[3].

2. E. *dole*, A. S. *dál*, Goth. *dail-s*[2], Du. *deel*, Icel. *deila*, Swed. *del*, Dan. *deel*, G. *Theil*: Teut. type DAILO (id. iii. 142).

3. E. *oath*, A. S. *áþ*, Goth. *aith-s*[2], Du. *eed*, Icel. *eiðr*, Swed. *ed*, Dan. *ed*, G. *Eid*: Teut. type AITHO (id. iii. 4).

4. E. *hot*, M. E. *hoot*, A. S. *hát*, Goth. (missing), Dü. *heet*, Icel. *heitr*, Swed. *het*, Dan. *hed*, G. *heiss*. Here, though the Gothic is missing, it would clearly have been **hait-s*: Teut. type HAITO (id. iii. 75).

5. E. *I wot*, M. E. *woot*, A. S. *wát*, Goth. *wait*, Du. *weet*,

[1] Phonology deals with the history of the *sounds* which, in each language, the written *symbols* denote. It is all-important, but it is easier to deal, in an elementary treatise, with the written symbols.

[2] The *-s* is merely the nom. case suffix.

[3] Fick gives the types in the forms HAILA, DAILA, &c.; but the final vowel of the Teut. type is now usually taken to be O; see Sievers. Hence the types should rather be written as HAILO, DAILO, AITHO, HAITO, WAIT, RAIPO,

Icel. *veit*, Swed. *vet*, Dan. *veed*, G. *weiss*: Teut type WAIT (id. iii. 304).

6. E. *rope*, A. S. *râp*, Goth. *raip* (in the comp. *skauda-raip*, a shoe-tie, latchet of a shoe), Du. *reep*, Icel. *reip*, Swed. *rep*, Dan. *reb*, G. *Reif* (a hoop, ring, sometimes a rope): Teut. type RAIPO (id. iii. 247).

It is easy to see from these examples that the Teutonic vowel-sounds can often be exactly analysed, and we are generally able to account for any slight deviation from regularity. Thus the E. *home*, A. S. *hâm*, Goth. *haims*, should answer to Dan. *hem* or *heem*; but the Dan. form is *hjem*, where the *j* is plainly an insertion, indicating a parasitic sound of short *i* introduced before the long *e*.

(*b*) **Teut. ê.** But there are other cases in which the sounds corresponding to A. S. *á* are so different that the original Teutonic sound cannot have been *ai*. Such a case is seen in E. *boat*, A. S. *bât* (no Gothic form), Du. *boot*, Icel. *bátr*, Swed. *båt*, Dan. *baad* (the G. *Boót* being borrowed from Dutch): Teut. type BÂTO (Fick, iii. 200), though it should rather be written as BÊTO; cf. Sievers, O. E. Grammar, § 57, where he instances A. S. *mágas*, pl. kinsmen, as compared with Icel. *mág-r*, Swed. *måg*, Dan. *maag*, Goth. *meg-s*. Here the A. S. *á* answers to Teut. *ē* (long *e*); but the history of this word is obscure, its origin being quite unknown. But certainly the *most usual* original value of A. S. *á* is Teut. AI.

§ 72. A. S. é commonly arises from Teut. ô (long o), unless it is due to contraction.

(*a*) Certain A. S. words containing long *e* require individual investigation; the long *e* seeming to arise from contraction. Thus E. *we*=A. S. *wé*, answers to Goth. *weis*, a fuller form.

(*b*) In other cases, *é* occurs as a variety of a more usual *éa*; as in *héh*, high, usually *héah*; *néh*, nigh, usually *néah*; such words are best considered together with those that contain *éa*.

(*c*) Putting such special instances aside, the A. S. *é* most

frequently arises from a changed form of original *ó*, as in *fét*, feet, pl. of *fót*, foot. This peculiar change is due to what is specifically called MUTATION (in German *umlaut*), a subject of such importance that it will be specially considered afterwards. By way of example, we may notice *fét* (as above), pl. of *fót*, foot; *téþ*, teeth, pl. of *tóð*, tooth; *gés*, geese, pl. of *gós*, goose; *dém-an*, to deem, derived from the sb. *dóm*, doom; *bléd-an*, to bleed, from the sb. *blód*, blood; *gléd*, gleed, a glowing coal, from the verb *glówan*, to glow. Similar examples are rather numerous. Comparing the E. *feet* with other languages, we find that Gothic and Dutch keep the *ó*-vowel unchanged, as in Goth. *fotjus*, pl. of *fotus*; Du. *voeten*, pl. of *voet*. But Icel. *fótr* has pl. *fœtr* (written for *fœtr*); Swed. *fot* has pl. *fötter*; Dan. *fod* has pl. *födder*; G. *Fuss* has pl. *Füsse*. Hence, in this instance, A. S. *é* is equivalent to Icel. *æ* (*æ*), Swed. and Dan. *ö*, G. *ü*, mutations respectively of Icel. *ó*, Swed. and Dan. *o*, G. *u*.

§ 73. A. S. í = Teut. î; unless it is due to contraction.

(*a*) The A. S. *í* is commonly an original sound, representing *ee* in *beet*. In Gothic, it is written *ei*, but the same sound is meant. Dutch denotes the long *i* by *ij*; mod. German denotes it by *ei*; but English, Dutch, and German have all altered the original sound, with the same final result. That is to say, the Du. *ij* and G. *ei* are now sounded like E. *i* in *mile*, but the original sound was like the A. S. *í* in *míl*, i. e. as in E. *meal*. This parallel development of sound in three separate languages is curious and interesting. Meanwhile, the Scandinavian languages have preserved the old sound; the Icel. *í*, Swed. and Dan. long *i* being still pronounced as *ee* in *beet*.

Three examples may suffice.

1. E. *while*, A. S. *hwíl*, Goth. *hweila*, Du. *wijl*, Icel. *hvíla* (only in the special sense of rest, or a bed), Swed. *hvila* (rest), Dan. *hvile* (rest), G. *weile* (O. H. G. *hwíla*); Teut. type HWÎLO (Fick, iii. 75).

2. E. *writhe*, A. S. *wrîðan*, (not in Gothic,) Icel. *rîða* (initial *w* being lost), Swed. *vrida*, Dan. *vride* (not in Dutch or German); Teut. type WRÎTHAN (Fick, iii. 309).

3. E. *rhyme*, which should be spelt *rime*, A. S. *rîm*, Du. *rijm*, Icel. *ríma*, Swed. *rim*, Dan. *riim*, G. *Reim*; Teut. type RÎMO.

(*b*) An interesting instance in which long *î* arises from contraction is seen in E. *five*, A. S. *fîfe*, *fîf*, Du. *vijf*. Comparing this with G. *fünf*, O. H. G. *finf*, Goth. *fimf*, we see that a liquid has been lost. In consequence of this loss, the short *i*, as seen in O. H. G. *finf*, Goth. *fimf*, has been lengthened by what has been called the principle of compensation; the length of the vowel-sound making up, as it were, for the loss of the consonant. It is a general rule that simple contraction commonly produces long vowels. Such contraction may arise either from the loss of a consonant, or by the contraction of a diphthong into a pure long vowel.

§ 74. A. S. ô = Teut. ô (long o) or ê (long e); or is due to loss of n in on (for an).

(*a*). The A. S. *ô* commonly represents an original Teutonic *ô*, which appears in Gothic as *o*[1], in Dutch as *oe*, in Icelandic as *ó*, in Swedish and Danish as *o*, and in German as long *u* (sometimes written *uh*). Three examples may suffice. Compare § 45.

1. E. *stool*, A. S. *stôl*, Goth. *stol-s*, Du. *stoel*, Icel. *stóll*, Swed. and Dan. *stol*, G. *Stuhl* (O. H. G. *stuol*, *stual*): Teut. type STÔLO (Fick, iii. 341).

2. E. *hoof*, A. S. *hôf* (not in Gothic), Du. *hoef*, Icel. *hófr*, Swed. *hof*, Dan. *hov*, G. *Huf*; Teut. type HÔFO (id. iii. 80).

3. E. *brother*, A. S. *brôðor*, Goth. *brothar*, Du. *broeder*, Icel. *bróðir*, Swed. and Dan. *broder*, G. *Bruder*: Teut. type BRÔTHAR (id. iii. 204).

(*b*) A. S. *ô*, before a following *n*, sometimes stands for

[1] The Gothic *o* needs no accent, as (like the Goth. *e*) it is *always long*.

West-Teut. *á*, or general Teut. ê; see Sievers, O. E. Gram. § 68. For the values of Teut. ê in different languages, see § 71 (*b*).

1. E. *spoon*, A. S. *spón* (properly a chip of wood), Du. *spaan*, Icel. *spánn*, *spónn*, Swed. *spån*, Dan. *spaan*, G. *Span* (with long *a*), *Spahn* (a chip, splinter): Teut. type SPÊNI (Fick, iii. 352).

2. In the pp. of the verb to *do*, the A. S. *dón*, done, answers to Du. *ge-daan*, G. *ge-than*, where the original West-Teut. vowel was plainly *á* (from common Teut. ê).

(*c*) A. S. *ó* also results from the lengthening of a short *o*, by compensation for the loss of *n* in the combination *on*, originally *an*. This happens when the *an* is followed by *s* or *þ* (*th*). Thus *gós*, a goose, is for **gons*, a changed form of *gans*[1], as shewn by Du. and G. *gans*, a goose; Teut. type GANSI (Fick, iii. 99). So also *tóþ*, a tooth, is for **tonþ*, changed form of *tanth*; cf. Du., Swed., Dan. *tand*; Teut. type TANTHU (id. iii. 113). And thirdly, E. *other*, A. S. *óðer*, is for **onðer*, changed form of *anðer*, as shewn by Goth. *anthar*, Du. and G. *ander*: Teut. type ANTHARO (id. i. 16).

§ 75. A. S. ú = Teut. û (long u); or is due to loss of n in un.

(*a*) The A. S. *ú* answers to Goth., Du., Swed., Dan., and G. *u*, Icel. *ú*; all long. See § 46.

Example: E. *now*, A. S. *nú*, Goth. *nu*, Du. *nu*, Icel. *nú*, Swed. and Dan. *nu*, G. *nun* (from O. H. G. *nu*): Teut. NÛ.

(*b*) We find also Du. *ui*, Dan. *uu*, G. *au*.

Example: E. *foul*, A. S. *fúl*, Goth. *fuls*, Du. *vuil*, Icel. *fúll*, Swed. *ful*, Dan. *fuul*, G. *faul*: Teut. FÛLO (Fick, iii. 186).

(*c*) The A. S. *ú* also arises from loss of *n* in *un* followed by *s* or *th*; compare the loss of *n* in *on* (=*an*) in § 74. Thus E. *us*, A.S. *ús*, is for **uns*, as shewn by Goth. and G. *uns*, Du. *ons*. Also E. *mouth*, A. S. *múð*, is for **munth*, as

[1] A. S. *an* is constantly replaced by *on*; we often find *lond* for *land*, &c.

shewn by Goth. *munths*, Dan. and G. *Mund*, Du. *mond*: Teut. type MONTHO (Fick, iii. 231). So also E. *could*, mis-written for *coud*, A. S. *cúðe*, is for **cunðe*; cf. Goth. *kuntha*, Du. *konde*, Swed. and Dan. *kunde*, G. *könnte*; and, in fact, the *n* is preserved in the present tense *can*. And E. *south*, A. S. *súð*, is for **sunth*; cf. O. H. G. *sund*, south, now *süd*; in fact, the word *south* means the sunny quarter, and is a derivative of *sun*.

§ 76. A. S. ŷ commonly arises from Teut. û (long u).

(*a*) The A. S. *ý*, like the A. S. *é* (see § 72), arises from mutation, but is modified from *ú* instead of from long *ó*. Thus the pl. of *mús*, mouse, is *mýs*, mice.

Similar modifications are seen in Icel. *mús*, pl. *mýss*, Swed. *mus*, pl. *möss*; G. *Maus*, pl. *Mäuse*; which shew that the A. S. *ý*, in this case, is equivalent to Icel. *ý*, Swed. *ö*, G. *äu*.

Another interesting example is A. S. *cý*, pl. of *cú*, a cow; Dan. *köer*, pl. of *ko*; G. *Kühe*, pl. of *Kuh*. Here A. S. *ý* answers to Dan. *ö*, G. *ü*. Cf. E. *ki-ne* (p. 66, note 2).

(*b*). It may also be observed here, that the A. S. *ý* also arises from a modification of *éa* or *éo*; but it will be found hereafter, that these represent Teut. AU and EU respectively; see §§ 77, 78. The net result is that *ý* always arises from an original long U or from a diphthong containing U.

§ 77. A. S. éa commonly represents Teut. au. This is an important and interesting fact, as it enables us to trace the derivation of many words which contain A. S. *éa*; see § 49. To take an example; E. *stream*, A. S. *stréam*, (no Gothic form,) Du. *stroom*, Icel. *straumr*, Swed. and Dan. *ström*, G. *Strom* (O. H. G. *straum*, *stroum*): Teut. type STRAUMO (Fick, iii. 349). We shall further find, hereafter, that -MO in STRAU-MO is a suffix, and that the Teut. AU arises from what is called a 'gradation[1]' or 'strengthening' of a primitive EU; this would shew that STRAU-MO is founded

[1] The term gradation will be fully explained hereafter. See Chap. X.

upon a Teut. root STREU, which certainly meant 'to flow'; so that *strea-m* merely means 'that which flows.' I subjoin three other examples.

E. *heap*, A. S. *héap*, (no Gothic,) Du. *hoop*, Icel. *hópr*, Swed. *hop*, Dan. *hob*, G. *Haufe*: Teut. type HAUPO (Fick, iii. 77).

E. *east*, A. S. *éast*, Du. *oost*, Icel. *austr*, Swed. *öst(an)*, Dan. *öst*, G. *Ost*, *Ost(en)*: Teut. stem AUS-TA- (Kluge[1], s. v. *Osten*): from the root US, to burn, shine brightly.

E. *cheap*, A. S. *céap*, s. barter, Du. *koop*, s. a bargain, Icel. *kaup*, s., Swed. *köp*, s. Dan. *kiöb*[2], s., G. *Kauf*, s.; Gothic has the verb *kaupon*, to traffic, bargain.

§ 78. A. S. éo commonly represents Teut. eu (Goth. iu)[3].

E. *lief* (dear), A. S. *léof*, Goth. *liub-s*, Du. *lief*, Icel. *ljúf-r*, Swed. *ljuf*, G. *lieb* (O. H. G. *liup*): Teut. type LEUBO (Fick, iii. 278).

E. *freeze*, A. S. *fréos-an*, Du. *vriez-en*, Icel. *frjós-a*, Swed. *frys-a*, Dan. *frys-e*, G. *frier-en*: Teut. type FREUS-AN (Fick, iii. 192).

§ 79. A. S. éé commonly arises from a mutation of A. S. á.

(*a*). This will be more fully treated of hereafter; it may suffice to say here that A. S. *hélan*, to heal, is a derivative of *hál*, whole; and that examples of this mutation, or modification of vowel, are numerous.

(*b*). In some cases, *é* appears instead of *á*, even though the ordinary rules for vowel-mutation do not apply. Thus E. *sea*, A. S. *sé*, answers to Goth. *saiws*, sea; though the Goth. *ai* commonly appears as A. S. *á*. Sievers (Gram. § 90) thinks that the mutation here points to the fact that *saiws* must, originally, have belonged to the *i*-declension.

[1] See Kluge, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, 1883.

[2] Dan *kiöb* is for *köb*; the prefixed *i* is due to a parasitic *i* slipped in before the *ö*. Cf. Dan. *hjem*, p. 89.

[3] There are various (somewhat troublesome) exceptions.

§ 80. Results. As the results above arrived at with regard to the long vowels in the Teutonic languages will often be found to be useful, I here subjoin a table exhibiting the various forms of some of the *most characteristic* words. It must not be considered as exhaustive, nor as exhibiting all the possible varieties; it merely exemplifies such varieties as are *most common*. Special words often present peculiarities which require special treatment. I quote Low-German forms first, then the High-German, next, the Scandinavian and Gothic, and lastly the Teutonic types in capital letters.

In giving these examples, I have re-arranged the order of the vowel-sounds. Hitherto, I have treated of *á, é, í, ó, ú, ý* in alphabetical order, adding *éa, éo, ǽ* at the end. A more scientific order is obtained by taking them in four groups: (1) *á* (= Teut. *é*), *ó* (= Teut. *é*); (2) *í* (= Teut. *ī*), *á* (= Teut. *ai*, strengthening of *í*), *ǽ* (modification of *á* = *ai*); (3) *ó* (= Teut. *ō*), *é* (modification of *ó*); (4) *ú* (= Teut. *ū*), *éo* (= Teut. *eu*), *éa* (= Teut. *au*), *ý* (modification of *ú, éo, éa*). I use < to denote 'derived from,' and .. to denote 'mutation'; so that < .. denotes 'derived by mutation from.' All the vowels cited are *long*.

	A.S. *á* = Ê.	*ó* = Ê.	*í* = Ī.	*á* = AI.	*ǽ* < .. AI.
English ...	*boat*	*moon*	*while*	*whole*	*heal*
Anglo-Saxon	*bát*	*móna*	*hwīl*	*hál*	*hælan*
Dutch... ...	*boot*	*maan*	*wijl*	*heel*	*heelen*
German ...	.....	*Mond*	*Weile*	*heil*	*heilen*
Danish ...	*baad*	*maane*	*hvile*	*heel*	*hele*
Swedish ...	*båt*	*måne*	*hvila*	*hel*	*hela*
Icelandic ...	*bátr*	*máni*	*hvíla*	*heill*	*heila*
Gothic ...	.....	*mena*	*hweila*	*hails*	*hailjan*
TEUTONIC ..	BÊTO	MÊNO	HWÎLO	HAILO	HAILIAN

	ó=Ô.	*é*<..Ô.	*ú*=Û.	*ý*<..*ú*.
English ...	*foot*	*feet*	*mouse*	*mice*
Anglo-Saxon	*fót*	*fét*	*mús*	*mýs*
Dutch... ...	*voet*	*voeten*	*muis*	*muizen*
German ...	*Fuss*	*Füsse*	*Maus*	*Mäuse*
Danish ...	*fod*	*födder*	*muus*	*muus*
Swedish ...	*fot*	*fötter*	*mus*	*möss*
Icelandic ...	*fótr*	*fœtr*	*mús*	*mýss*
Gothic ...	*fotus*	*fôtjus*	.....	.....
TEUTONIC ..	FÔTU	.....	MÛSI	.....

	éo=EU.	*éa*=AU.
English	*lief*	*stream*
Anglo-Saxon ...	*léof*	*stréam*
Dutch...	*lief*	*stroom*
German	*lieb*	*Strom*
Danish	.....	*ström*
Swedish	*ljuf*	*ström*
Icelandic	*ljúfr*	*straumr*
Gothic	*liubs*	.....
TEUTONIC	LEUBO	STRAUMO

GENERAL TABLE OF LONG VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS.

TEUTONIC ..	Ê		Î	AI		Ô		Û		EU	AU
English ...	*ō*	*oo*	*i*	*ō*	*ea*	*oo*	*ee*	*ou*	*i*	*ie*	*ea*
Anglo-Saxon	*á*	*ó*	*í*	*á*	*æ*	*ó*	*é*	*ú*	*ý*	*éo*	*éa*
Dutch...	*oo*	*aa*	*ij*	*ee*	*ee*	*oe*	*oe*	*ui*	*ui*	*ie*	*oo*
German ...	*a*	*o*	*ei*	*ei*	*ei*	*u*	*ü*	*au*	*äu*	*ie*	*o*
Danish ...	*aa*	*aa*	*i*	*ee*	*e*	*o*	*ö*	*uu*	*uu*	*y*	*ö*
Swedish ...	*å*	*å*	*i*	*e*	*e*	*o*	*ö*	*u*	*ö*	*ju*	*ö*
Icelandic ...	*á*	*á*	*í*	*ei*	*ei*	*ó*	*œ*	*ú*	*ý*	*jú*	*au*
Gothic ...	*e*	*e*	*ei*	*ai*	*ai*	*o*	*o*	*ú*	*ú*	*iu*	*au*

NOTE.—It must be remembered that the modern English spelling is very variable. Thus Teut. EU is also E. *ee* in *deep*, A.S. *déop*. The above table only tells us what correspondences we should, in general, expect.

CHAPTER VII.

Classical Languages cognate with English: Grimm's Law.

§ 81. Latin forms compared with English. If any Englishman were asked the question, whence are the words *paternal*, *maternal*, and *fraternal* derived, he would probably at once reply—from Latin. As a fact, it is more likely that they were derived from French, and that the spelling was modified (from *-el* to *-al*) to suit the Latin spelling of the originals, viz., *paternalis*, *maternalis*, *fraternalis*. Be this as it may, the answer is sufficiently correct; for the French words, in their turn, are of Latin origin, and the ultimate result is the same either way. We should further be told, that these adjectival formations are due to the Latin substantives *pater*, father, *mater*, mother, and *frater*, brother. On this result, however, we may found a new enquiry, viz. how comes it that *father*, *mother*, *brother* have so curious a resemblance (yet with a certain difference) to *pater*, *mater*, *frater*? Are we to say that *father* is derived from the Lat. *pater*? Such a belief was no doubt once common; indeed it was only a century ago, in 1783, that Mr. Lemon wrote a Dictionary to prove that all English is derived from Greek. But there is some hope that such a fancy as that of deriving *father* from *pater* is fast becoming obsolete. If we compare the words a little carefully, we can hardly help being struck with something strongly resembling the consonantal shifting which we observed above in considering the spelling of German. In § 63, we found that the E. *p* is sometimes shifted, in German, to *f*; so that E. *sharp* is cognate with

G. *scharf*: but here we have an apparent shifting from a Latin *p* to an E. *f*. In § 64, we find that an E. *f* may answer to G. *b*, so that E. *half* is cognate with G. *halb*; but, on comparing Lat. *frater* with E. *brother*, we have an apparent shifting from a Latin *f* to an E. *b*. In all three cases, viz. Lat. *pater*, *mater*, *frater*, as compared with E. *father*, *mother*, *brother*, there is the same apparent shifting from *t* to *th*[1]. In the case of English and German, we found that the languages are cognate; are we to conclude, as before, that, in the case of such words as are not absolutely *derived* from Latin, English and Latin are cognate languages, with certain fundamental differences of spelling due to sound-shifting? A comparison of a large number of native English words with their corresponding Latin equivalents proves, beyond all doubt, that such a statement of the case is the true one[2], and that English is allied to Latin, as it is to German, in a sisterly relation. This proposition only holds, of course, with respect to the true native part of the language, so that it is necessary, in instituting the comparison, to choose such English words as are of proved antiquity, and can be found in Anglo-Saxon forms.

§ 82. **Early borrowings from Latin.** We know, however, from history, that the introduction of Christianity into England brought with it a knowledge of Latin, so that even in the earliest historical times, words began to be *borrowed* from that language by the English. But pure English words frequently have equivalents in nearly all the Teutonic languages, and can usually be thus known; and a comparison of such words with their equivalents (if any) in Latin soon

[1] Curiously, it is only *apparent* in the case of *father*, *mother* (A. S. *fæder*, *móder*), where the shifting is *really* to *d*. The third case (A. S. *bróðor*) is right enough.

[2] There is, however, a fundamental difference in the *nature* of the shifting. The O. H. German usually exhibits sounds shifted from Low German; but the Low German sounds are shifted, not from Latin or Greek, but from the original Aryan speech.

shews us, clearly enough, that the consonantal shifting which marks off English from Latin is *much more regularly and fully carried out* than it is between English and German. There is found to be a fairly complete shifting, not only of the dental letters, as before, and (partially) of the labial letters, but of the guttural letters as well. This circumstance in itself provides us with a partial test for telling whether an English word is really of Latin origin or not. When such is the case, there is no sound-shifting; but when the words are only *cognate*, we can often at once observe it[1]. *Paternal* is (ultimately) derived from *pater*, but *father* is cognate with it. Or, to take a few examples of words found in Anglo-Saxon, our *candle* (A. S. *candel*) is from Lat. *candela*, a candle, because a Latin *c* would be shifted in cognate words; our *dish* (A. S. *disc*) is from Lat. *discus*, because *d* would else be shifted; and even in other cases, we can often tell these borrowed words by the *very close resemblance* they have to their Latin originals. In practice, there is seldom any difficulty in detecting these borrowings at once.

§ 83. Greek, Sanskrit, and other languages. If we next extend the area of our enquiries over a wider field, we shall find, in like manner, that E. *father* is cognate with Gk. πατήρ, and that the Greek language (as far as it is original) is cognate both with English and Latin. The same is true of Sanskrit, in which the vocative case of the word for *father* is *pitar*[2], the connection of which with Gk. πατήρ and Lat. *pater* cannot be doubted. It is certain that no event has given such an impetus and such certainty to the study

[1] Not always, because several Latin letters, viz. *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *s*, *v*, never shift at all. Again, a few borrowed words, such as *hemp*, were borrowed at so early a period that they actually exhibit sound-shifting.

[2] The nominative case drops *r*, and lengthens the vowel, thus producing *pitá*. Sanskrit substantives are quoted, in my Dictionary, in the forms called *bases*. These bases are theoretical forms, on which the mode of declension depends. The 'base' of *pitá* is *pitri*, or *pitr*, the final letter being a vocal *r*.

of philology as the discovery of the relation which exists between Sanskrit and such languages as Greek and Latin. This discovery is just a century old. See the account of Sanskrit philology given in Max Müller's fourth lecture on the Science of Language, where we find, at p. 181 of the eighth edition, the statement that 'the history of what may be called European Sanskrit philology dates from the foundation of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, in 1784.' When the true relation of Sanskrit to other languages was once understood, it was not long before it was perceived that the number of languages with which it is cognate is considerable. It so happens that Sanskrit often exhibits extremely archaic forms[1]; hence the mistake was at first made—(and it is often made still by those who have not studied the subject with sufficient care)—of supposing that Greek, Latin, and other languages are *derived* from it; which would deprive all such languages of much of their individual peculiarities of form and grammar. This is now understood not to be the case. Sanskrit is at most only an elder sister[2] among the sister languages; and we also know that the languages which obviously stand in a sisterly relation to it are those which have been called the Indian, Iranian, Lettic, Slavonic, Hellenic, Italic, and Keltic groups, or 'branches,' of languages[3], none of which exhibit any marked consonantal shifting; but it also stands in the same relation to the Teutonic group of languages (spoken of in the last chapter). The only difference between the Teutonic languages and the rest is that all of them (except modern German) exhibit a

[1] Sanskrit exhibits an extremely regular system of formation and inflection, of which other languages seem to leave only traces. But this regularity is sometimes late, and due to analogic influence.

[2] Greek really shews an older vowel-system, a fact which is now becoming better understood.

[3] Morris, Hist. Outlines of E. Accidence, § 12. Sievers calls them the Indian, Iranian, Baltic, Slavonic, Greek, Albanian (mentioned by Morris under Hellenic), Italic, and Celtic groups; and adds Armenian.

shifting of some of the original consonants, whilst the modern German partially exhibits a *double* or *repeated* shifting. We have already seen that the shifting seen in German consonants as compared with English is no bar to their being considered as sister languages; and just in the same way, the shifting seen in English as compared with Latin, Greek, &c., is no bar to their having a similar relation.

§ 84. Aryan family of languages. The whole set of languages which are thus found to have a sisterly relation to each other are usually called Aryan, or languages of the Aryan family. Another name is Indo-European, because they contain the most remarkable languages of India and Europe; but this is a clumsy name on account of its length. Aryan is much better, because there is no doubt as to its *conventional* meaning, and it is sufficiently brief. A third name is Indo-Germanic, but this has led to much misunderstanding, and indeed inadequately substitutes Germany for nearly all Europe. It is a name which does not mislead students who clearly understand it, but it feeds the English popular mind with false notions, and is probably in part responsible for the silly notion about the derivation of English from German. It originated, of course, in Germany. If the study of comparative philology had been pushed forward in England as it has been in Germany, some English teacher *might* have spoken of the Indo-English family of languages. Fortunately, no one has ventured on this, and the time for coining such a word has passed by; meanwhile, the term *Aryan* suffices for all needs. Among the Aryan languages, we may mention some of the best known.

The *Indian* group contains Sanskrit, now a dead language; modern dialects, sprung from dialectal forms of it, such as Hindi, Bengali, and even much of the true Gipsy speech; and others[1]. The *Iranian* group contains modern Persian (i.e. as

[1] See Morris's Accidence for the full list; also Peile's Primer of Philology, chap. iii.

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far as it is original, for nearly half the language is borrowed from Arabic, which is a Semitic or *non*-Aryan language); the so-called Zend, or language of the old Persian sacred writings; the language in which the very interesting cuneiform inscriptions are written; and others. Of the *Lettic* or *Baltic* group, the most interesting is the Lithuanian, spoken in parts of Eastern Prussia, and remarkable for extremely archaic forms. The *Slavonic* group contains Russian, Polish, Bohemian, Servian, &c.; the most important, from a purely philological point of view, being the Old Bulgarian, or as it is sometimes called, Church-Slavonic, being the language 'into which Cyrillus and Methodius translated the Bible, in the middle of the ninth century[1].' The *Hellenic* group contains various forms of Greek. In the *Italic* group, the most famous language is the widely known Latin, which is not even yet extinct it its fixed literary form; but beyond this, it is famous as being the main source of the so-called *Romance* languages, viz. Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Provençal, the Roumansch of the canton Grisons in Switzerland, and the Wallachian of Wallachia and Moldavia. These Romance languages are, in fact, totally different in character from English, in that they are really *derived* languages, borrowing ALL their words from something else, and chiefly, as has been said, from Latin. English, on the other hand, with all its borrowings, has a native *unborrowed* core, and has only borrowed words in order to amplify its vocabulary. Next, the *Keltic* group contains Welsh, Cornish (now extinct), Breton, Irish, Gaelic, and Manx; of these, the most important, philologically, is the Old Irish. Lastly, the *Teutonic* group contains English, Dutch, German, &c., in the *Western* division, and Danish, Swedish, Icelandic, and Gothic in the *Eastern*; as already explained.

§ 85. **The three sets.** Inasmuch as the Teutonic languages alone exhibit consonantal shifting, it will be found

[1] Max Müller, Lectures, 8th ed., i. 227.

extremely convenient to use some common name for all the languages of the Aryan family that lie outside the Teutonic group. A very convenient name is 'the classical languages,' because the term classical is naturally associated by us with Greek and Latin, and perhaps I may add with Sanskrit. I shall, accordingly, henceforth use the term 'classical' in this sense, to denote all the Aryan languages except those of the Teutonic group. I shall also *temporarily* divide all the Aryan languages into three new sets, for the sole and special purpose of examining the phenomena of consonantal shifting more exactly. These sets are: (1) the classical languages; (2) the Low German, Scandinavian, and Gothic languages, of which English may here be taken as the type, both from its intrinsic importance and because it is the one which we most wish to discuss; and (3) the High German language, *in a class by itself*, though it has no real claim to such a position. Before proceeding to discuss this shifting, it may be as well to point out three examples in which the 'classical' languages all keep, in reality, to the same unshifted sounds. Thus, for *father* we find the Sanskrit *pitar* (base *pitṛ*[1]), Old Persian *pitar*[2], Gk. πατήρ, Lat. *pater*, Old Irish *athir*, *athair*[3]; but the word is lost in Russian and Lithuanian. Again, for *brother* we find the Skt. *bhrátar*[4], O. Pers. *brátar*[4], mod Pers. *birádar*,

[1] Sanskrit not only possesses a symbol for the consonant *r*, but also a pair of symbols for the short and long vocalic *r*. These are denoted in Benfey's Dictionary by ṛi and ṛí. In my Dictionary, I have denoted them by *ri* and *rí*, putting the *r* in Roman type. But it is now usual to print ṛ (without *i*) for the short sound, and to put an accent above it to represent the long one.

[2] Mod. Pers. *pidar*, with *t* weakened to *d*. This is a case of weakening, not of shifting in the *particular sense* to which I now wish to confine it.

[3] The Old Irish drops the initial *p*; the *th* (= *t* + *h*) is very different from the English *th*, and is really a *t* that has been afterwards aspirated, so that there is no real shifting. In Irish characters, it is written as a dotted *t*; we might print it *atir*, *atair*.

[4] In these words the aspirated *bh* has been weakened to *b*, or, as some think, an original *b* has been aspirated so as to produce *bh*; it is not a 'shifting' in the narrow sense in which I am now using the word.

Gk. φράτηρ, Lat. *frater*, Old Slavonic *bratru*[1], Russian *brate*[1], Polish *brat*, Old Irish *bráthir* (*brâtir*), Lithuanian *brotélis*, contracted into *brolis*. So also *mother* corresponds to Skt. *mâtar*, Zend *mâtar* (mod. Pers. *mâdar*, with *d* weakened from *t*), Gk. μήτηρ, Lat. *mater*, Church Slavonic *mati*, Russ. *mate*, Lithuanian *mote* (rarely *motere*), Irish *mathair* (where the *th* is an aspirated or dotted *t*). Whilst we are discussing these three words, it may be interesting to shew the forms which they assumed in the unoriginal languages which we term Romance. The Latin accusatives[2] *patrem*, *matrem*, *fratrem*, became respectively Ital. *padre*, *madre*, *frate* (now only used in the sense of *friar*, the word for *brother* being the diminutive form *fratello*); Span. *padre*, *madre*, *fraile* (only in the sense of *friar*)[3]; Port. *pai*, *mai*, *frade* (only in the sense of *friar*); French *père*, *mère*, *frère*; O. Provençal *paire*, *maire*, *fratre* or *fraire* (friar); Roumansch *frer* (brother), Wallachian *frate* (brother)[4].

§ 86. **Grimm's Law: the dental series.** We are now in a position for clearly understanding what is meant by the famous scheme of consonantal shifting, or regular interchange of consonants, which goes by the name of 'Grimm's Law'; though I suppose that the first person to draw attention to it was Erasmus Rask, the celebrated Danish philologist. The English reader will find a full explanation of the law in Max Müller's Lectures on the Science of Language, Series II, Lect. V. I here give a similar explanation in slightly different words, as far as relates to the *dental* series of E. letters, viz. *d*, *t*, and *th*. First of all, let us divide the

[1] See note 4, p. 103.

[2] We must take the *accusative* as the Romance type, as will be seen hereafter.

[3] The Span. for 'brother' is *hermano*, from Lat. *germanus*. The word *fraile* stands for an older *fraire*, derived from the Lat. accusative *fratrem*, by loss of *t*.

[4] The Roumansch has *bap*, *mamma*, for *father* and *mother*; the Wallachian has *tate*, *mame*.

Aryan languages into three sets or groups: (1) the 'classical' languages, as defined above; (2) the Low German; (3) the Old High German, being the oldest form of the present German. Next, let us provisionally call the sounds denoted by *dh*[1] in Sanskrit, *θ* in Greek, and *th* in English by the name of Aspirates; the sound denoted by *d*, Soft[2]; and that denoted by *t*, Hard. Then it is found that where the first group of languages usually has Aspirates, the second has a Soft sound, and the third, a Hard sound. This fact is what is called Grimm's Law, and may be thus expressed in a tabular form.

(1) Classical Languages	DH
(2) Low German (English, &c.) . . .	D
(3) Old High German	T

This succession, of Aspirate, Soft, and Hard, may be expressed by the memorial word ASH[3].

Further, the same succession of shifted sounds occurs, if, instead of beginning with Aspirates, we begin with a Soft sound; only we should be careful to denote the Teutonic Aspirate by TH rather than DH[4]. We then get the succession Soft, Hard, Aspirate, which may be expressed by

[1] The Skt. has a *dh*, or aspirated *d*, a sound which also belongs to the original Aryan. 'By an aspirate is meant a momentary consonant followed by a slight *h*-sound, not so distinct as in *back-house*, *ant-hill* [*mad-house*], &c., but of the same nature. These sounds, however, are found only in Sanskrit and Greek; in the other languages they are represented by the corresponding continuous consonants—*h*, *ch* (German), *th*, *z*, *f*.'—Peile, Primer of Philology, p. 162.

[2] I prefer the term 'voiced' or 'sonant.' The meaning of 'voiced' will be explained hereafter. Hard sounds are 'voiceless.'

[3] Peile, Primer of Philology, Appendix, p. 162.

[4] It makes a great difference. If DH be loosely accepted as representing the Teut. aspirated dental sound, it would then appear as if the succession of sounds is DH, D, T; D, T, DH; and T, DH, D; or briefly DH, D, T, DH following each other as in a circular order. The more correct succession DH, D, T, TH does *not* bring us back to our starting-point, but leaves, as it were, a gap in the circle.

the memorial word SHA. This may be expressed, in a tabular form, as follows.

(1) Classical languages . . . . D
(2) Low German (English, &c.) . . . T
(3) Old High German . . . . TH

Lastly, if we begin with Hard sounds, we get the succession Hard, Aspirate, Soft, which may be expressed by the memorial word HAS; or, in a tabular form, as follows.

(1) Classical languages . . . . T
(2) Low German (English, &c.) . . . TH
(3) Old High German . . . . D

The single word ASH will enable us to remember the order of succession, as we can change this into SHA by shifting A to the end, and again change SHA into HAS by shifting S to the end of the latter form.

Expressed in a single table, the formulæ are as follows:—

(1) Sanskrit, &c. . . .	DH	D	T
(2) English, &c. . . .	D	T	TH
(3) Old High German . .	T	TH	D

§ 87. Meaning of the Symbols DH, D, T, TH. Before we can apply the above law usefully, we must first observe that the letters DH, D, T, TH, are here used as *mere symbols*, which require to be interpreted according to the peculiarities of the particular language which is being considered. All the languages use D and T; but the sounds and symbols answering to DH and TH vary. For DH, Sanskrit commonly has *dh*[1], Greek has *θ*; Latin has *f* initially, and *d* or *b* medially. For *th*, Anglo-Saxon scribes use the symbols þ and ð indiscriminately; but it is convenient to restrict the symbol þ to the sound of *th* in *thin*, and ð to the sound of *th* in *thine*. The original Teutonic *th* was probably þ only,

[1] There is also a (rarer) Skt. *th*, which need not be considered in the present connection.

which is still the only sound used in Icelandic when occurring at the beginning of a word. In English, the original þ has given way to ð initially in the case of a few words in very common use, viz. in all words etymologically connected with *the* (as *that*, *this*, *they*, *them*, *there*, *thence*, *thither*, &c.) or with *thou* (as *thee*, *thine*, *thy*). In the middle of a word, þ has been weakened to ð between two vowels; compare *breath* with *breathe* (M.E. *brethen*). *Smooth* is only an *apparent* exception, for the M.E. form was *smooth-e*, which was dissyllabic.

It is also important to observe that the Old High German sound of aspirated *t* was not *th* (or þ), but *ts*, which was denoted by the symbol *z*; the German *s* is pronounced as *ts* still[1]. Hence we may otherwise express the law as follows.

DH (Skt. *dh*, Gk. *θ*, Lat. *f* (*d*, *b*)).		D (Skt., Lat. *d*, Gk. *δ*).
D (A.S. *d*).		T (A.S. *t*).
T (G. *t*).		TH (O.H.G. *z*, G. *s*, *ss*).
	T (Skt., Lat. *t*, Gk. *τ*).	
	TH (A.S. þ (ð), E. *th*).	
	T (G. *t*).	

A few examples will be interesting, and are here given, beginning from DH.

Initial DH; Skt. *duhitar* (put for **dhughiter*)[2], daughter; Gk. *θυγάτηρ*; E. *daughter*; G. *Tochter*. Skt. *dhâ*, to put, place, Gk. *τί-θη-μι* (for * *θί-θη-μι*), I put; E. *do*; O.H.G. *tuon*, M.H.G. *tun*, mod. G. *thun* (with *th* sounded as *t*), or *tun* (in reformed spelling). Skt. *dih* (put for **dhigh*) to smear, Gk. *θιγγάνειν*, to touch, handle, Lat. *fingere*, to mould; Goth. *deigan*, to mould, knead, whence *daigs*, dough, E. *dough*; G. *Teig*, dough.

[1] So also in O. French, the word *avez* was once pronounced *avets*, which at once explains its derivation from the Lat. *habetis*, by loss of *h* and *i*. The O.F. *fiz*, son, is now written *fitz*, to preserve the old sound; and *assez* is, in English, *assets*.

[2] When an asterisk is *prefixed* to any word, it means that its form is *theoretical*.

Medial DH; Skt. *rudhira*, blood, Gk. *ἐ-ρυθρός*, red, Lat. *ruber* (= **rudher*), Irish *ruadh*; E. *red*, Du. *rood*, Dan. and Swed. *röd*, Goth. *rauds*; O. H. G. *rót*, mod. G. *roth* (with *th* sounded as *t*), or *rot* (in reformed spelling).

Initial T; Skt. *tvam* (thou), Gk. *τύ* (Attic *σύ*), Lat. *tu*, Irish *tu*, Welsh *ti*; A. S. *ðú*, E. *thou*, Icel. *þú*, Goth. *thu*; G. *du*. Skt. *tri*, three, Gk. *τρεῖς*, Lat. *treś*, Russian *tri*, O. Irish *tri*; A. S. *þréo*, E. *three*, Icel. *þrír*, Goth. *threis*; G. *drei*.

Medial T; Skt. *antara*, other; Lithuanian *antras*, Lat. *alter* (for **anter*); Goth. *anthar*, A.S. *óðer* (for **onðer* = **anðer*, by loss of *n*), E. *other*; G. *ander*.

D. Skt. *daçan* (ten), answers to Gk. *δέκα*, Lat. *decem*; E. *ten*, Goth. *taihun*; G. *zehn*. Skt. *dva* (two), Gk. *δύο*, Lat. *duo*, Russ. *dva*, Irish *da*; E. *two*, A. S. *twá*, Icel. *tweir*, Goth. *twai*; G. *zwei*. Skt. *danta*, Gk. acc. *ὀ-δόντ-α*, Lat. acc. *dent-em*, Welsh *dant*; E. *tooth*, A. S. *tóð*, Dan. *tand*; G. *zahn* (for **zand*). As an example of **medial D**, we may take Skt. *ad*, to eat, Gk. *ἔδ-ειν*, Lat. *ed-ere*; A. S. *et-an*, E. *eat*, Du. *et-en*, Icel. *et-a*, Goth. *it-an*; O. H. G. *ez-an*, *ezz-an*, mod. G. *ess-en* (used for *ets-en*, by assimilation of *ts* into the easier sound of *ss*).

§ 88. **Exceptions to Grimm's Law.** If we examine the E. words *brother*, *father*, *mother*, and compare them with the above law, we obtain some startling results. In the first place, the forms of *brother* are fairly regular, viz. Skt. *bhrâtar*, Lat. *frater*, A.S. *bróðor*, G. *Bruder*. Similarly beside the Lat. *pater*, *mater*, we should expect to find A. S. **fæðer*, *móðor*, and G. **Fader*, **Muder*; but, as a fact, we find A. S. *fæder*, *móder* (with *d*), and G. *Vater* (for **Fater*), *Mutter* (with *t*). We may be sure that there must be some *reason* for this apparent anomaly; and it was from this conviction that Verner discovered what is now known as Verner's Law, which explains the apparent anomalies in the operation of Grimm's Law; and actually extends it. This important

matter is treated of below, in a separate chapter; see Chapter IX.

§ 89. Grimm's Law; labial and guttural series. I have purposely confined the examples of Grimm's Law to the dental series of letters, DH, D, T, TH. Rask and Grimm made the Law more general by trying to include the labial series of letters BH, B, P, PH, and the guttural series GH, G, K, KH. But the law is imperfectly carried out in these cases, as will best appear from a consideration of a few of the usual examples which are adduced to illustrate it. I purposely keep some of the more difficult points in the background.

BH (Gk. φ, Lat. *f*). Gk. φηγ-ός, Lat. *fag-us*, beech-tree; E. *beech*, allied to A. S. *bóc*, a beech-tree, a *book*; Swed. *bok*, Du. *beuk*, beech. The O. H. G. is *puochá*, also *buochá*, mod. G. *Buche*. Here the change from Gk. BH[1] to Low German B is regular; and so is the change, from Low German B to German P in O. H. G. *puochá*. But we cannot ignore the fact that *puochá* is only an occasional form, which modern literary German does not recognise; and the same is true in other cases. Hence there is, practically, *no regular second shifting* from Low G. *b* to High G. *p*.

P. Skt. *pad*, foot; Gk. πούς (gen. ποδ-ός), Lat. *pes* (gen. *ped-is*); E. *foot*, Goth. *fotus*, Swed. *fot*; O. H. G. *fóz*, *fuoz*, mod. G. *Fuss* (with *ss* for *z*). Here there is a shifting from P to Low G. PH (= *f*); *but there is no second shifting* from Low German PH to High German B.

B. Gk. κάνναβις, Lat. *cannabis*, hemp; A. S. *hænep*, *henep*, E. *hemp*; O. H. G. *hanaf*, *henef*, G. *Hanf*. Here we have a shifting from *b* to *p*, and again from *p* to *f*, the aspirated form of *p*. But the example is somewhat unsatisfactory, because the Teutonic forms are merely *borrowed* from Latin, which again is borrowed from Greek. The chief point here gained is the observation that the law of sound-shifting may even

[1] The Gk. φ answers to Sk. *bh* in general.

apply to the case of a *borrowed* word, but only if that word was borrowed at an extremely early period. Such cases are very rare. The reason for choosing this example is that there does not appear to be *any other* satisfactory instance in which a 'classical' B is shifted to a Low German P.

GH[1]. Gk. *χήν*, a goose; Lat. *anser* (the initial guttural being wholly lost); E. *goose*, A. S. *gós* (for **gons*), Du. *gans*, Icel. *gás* (for **gans*); O. H. G. *gans*, occasionally *cans*; G. *Gans*. Here the shifting from GH to Low German G is regular; but the O. H. G. *cans* is an occasional form, and *there is no regular second shifting* to German K. The E. *g* is, in fact, also a German *g*; cf. E. *go*, *good*, *goat*, with G. *gehen*, *gut*, *Geiss*.

K. Gk. *καρδία*, heart; Lat. *cor* (stem *cordi-*), O. Irish *cride*; E. *heart*, A. S. *heorte*; O. H. G. *herzá*, G. *Herz*. Here the shifting from K to KH (weakened to *h*) is regular; but *there never was at any time a second shifting* to a German G.

G. Gk. *γέν-os*, race, Lat. *gen-us*; E. *kin*, A. S. *cynn*, race, tribe, Icel. *kyn*, Goth. *kuni*; O. H. G. *chunni*, *khunni*, *kunni*, race. Here the shifting from G to Low German K is regular; but the apparent shifting to O. H. German KH (*kh*, *ch*) is delusive. This, again, is a mere occasional form; and, as a fact, *there is in general no second shifting*. The E. *k* is also a German *k*; cf. E. *king*, *kiss*, *cow*, with G. *König*, *Kuss*, *Kuh*.

§ 90. **Needless complication of Grimm's Law.** The net result is, therefore, that the *second* shifting breaks down, for practical purposes, even in the specially selected instances, and in two cases (see under P and K above) there is absolutely no trace of it. If to these two cases we add those in which *occasional* O. High German forms have to be selected (see under BH, GH, G) in order to make the law operate, we may say that it practically breaks down, as far as High German is concerned, in *five* cases out of *nine*. If to

[1] Gk. χ answers to Skt. *gh* for the present purpose.

this we again add the case (noticed under B above) of which there is but one good example, these *five* cases are increased to *six*. In other words, Grimm's law is only useful, as far as the High German is concerned, in the case of the dental series of letters DH, D, T, and TH. It was quite a mistake to force it beyond its true value, merely in order to drag in the Old High German forms. Such an attempt greatly limits the choice of examples, which have to be selected *with a special view* to the Old High German, without any real gain[1]. It is not only simpler, but what is of more consequence, much more accurate, to leave the High German forms out of sight, and to confine our attention to the other Teutonic forms. This would enable the Law to be stated much more simply, for we have already seen that the shiftings from the 'classical' forms to Low-German are carried out with sufficient regularity. Even the case noticed above, under B, only breaks down for mere *lack* of examples; there is nothing to contradict it. There is no example, for instance, of a word containing a Latin or Greek *b* in which the corresponding letter of the cognate native English word is also *b*.

§ 91. **Simpler form of Grimm's Law.** It would seem to follow that, if we omit the High-German forms, we may state Grimm's Law by simply saying that in the series DH, D, T, TH, a classical DH corresponds to a Low German D, a classical D to a Low German T, and lastly a classical T to a Low German TH. This we can easily remember by writing down the symbols DH, D, T, TH, in succession, and saying that the sound denoted by each 'classical' symbol (whether DH, D, or T) is *shifted*, in 'Low German,' *to the sound denoted by the symbol which next follows it.*

[1] 'That the O. H. G. shifting is historical and recent was, it is true, admitted by Grimm, but he liked to lose sight of the fact whenever he wanted to magnify the law. His framework is much too big for the facts.'—H. C. G. Brandt, in Amer. Journal of Philology, i. 153.

This is true, and is well worth remembering; but when we come to apply similar methods to the labial and guttural series, certain difficulties occur, especially in the latter case. In other words, Grimm's Law requires to be simplified, and re-stated, with necessary corrections. The endeavour to do this will occupy the next chapter.

§ 92. **Old High German: value of Grimm's Law.** We may, however, with respect to the Old High German, say that the shifting which it exhibits took place, as far as it was carried out, *in the same direction* as the former shifting, but not to the same extent. It was obviously a much later development, due to similar causes, whatever they may have been. The old theory, that the imperfect Old High German shifting took place *simultaneously* with the more complete shifting seen in Low German, is no longer tenable, and it is not easy to see how it arose, except from an exaggerated idea of the value of the Old High German forms. It is not only inexplicable, but can be disproved. Yet even in its old and imperfect form, the statement known as Grimm's Law is of the highest value, and has been the real basis of all later improvements and discoveries. We must remember that the great object of applying it is to enable us to detect the cognation or sisterly relationship of words. We see, for example, that the Lat. *frater* can very well be the same word as the E. *brother*, because, although it looks unlike it at first sight, it really corresponds to it, letter for letter, all the way through. The Lat. *f* answers to the symbol BH, which shifts regularly into E. *b*. The Lat. *a* is long, answering to Teutonic long *o*, Goth. long *o*, i. e. the A. S. *ó* in *bróðor*. The symbol T (Lat. *t*) shifts regularly to A. S. þ, afterwards weakened to ð, E. *th*. Lastly, the suffix *-ter* is found in a varying form *-tor* at a very early period; and the common Aryan suffix -TER becomes *-ter* in Latin, and *-ðer*, *-ðor*, in A. S. There is not only an enormous gain in detecting these real equalities which are concealed under apparent dif-

ferences, but we also get rid of the absurdity of *deriving* native English words from Latin or Greek, and we at once put them on their true level as being equally from the same ultimate Aryan type.

§ 93. The Aryan type: simpler form of Grimm's Law, re-stated. We must pause for a moment, to consider what this Aryan type was like. In trying to gain an idea of the Aryan type or original form of each word, we need not consider the Old High German, which may well be, and in fact was, a mere development from an archaic Teutonic type which exhibited only Low German characteristics. We then have to consider whether the 'classical' or the Low German consonants approach more nearly to those of the parent speech. For it is obvious that a word like *brother* may have originated in two ways; either the original type was Teutonic, viz. BRÂTHER, and the classical type BHRÂTER was developed from it; or the case was reversed. In the former case, the Aryan type resembled BRÂTHER; in the latter case, it resembled BHRÂTER. The latter theory is the one universally adopted[1]. Perhaps the decision in this direction was at first due to an innate respect for such languages as Greek and Latin, and, in particular, to the notion that Sanskrit is the language which approaches most nearly to the Aryan type, though this position may be more fairly claimed, in many respects, for Greek. But the decision really rests upon other grounds, viz. that the 'classical' languages are far more numerous and more divergent than the Teutonic languages; and it is far easier to suppose that the shifting took place with respect to a single group which was spread over a small area, than with respect to *all* the other groups of the whole family. It is from such considerations that we may more safely accept the guidance of the 'classical' than of the

[1] There is yet a third theory, which may be the true one, viz. that the oldest form was BRÂTER; but I shall not here discuss it.

Low German types in estimating the forms of the original Aryan parent speech. It may therefore be safely assumed that the 'classical' type is also the Aryan type, or comes most near it, and that the Low German or Teutonic[1] types are formed, by a tolerably regular shifting, not really from the 'classical' type, but from the original Aryan which the latter exactly, or nearly, represents. All that is now needed, is to read 'Aryan' in place of 'Classical languages' in § 86; and we may also, if we please, substitute 'Teutonic' for 'Low German' without any fear of error, merely remembering that the High German forms can be obtained from the general Teutonic forms whenever they are wanted. We can then state the Law thus, nearly as in § 91, with respect to the dental letters, and it will be shewn hereafter to be equally true (with necessary modifications) for the labial and guttural series.

Write down the symbols DH, D, T, TH in succession. It is found that the Aryan sound corresponding to each of these symbols (except the last), is shifted, in cognate Teutonic words, to the sound corresponding to the symbol which next succeeds it. This is the law of consonantal shifting, as regards the letters in the dental series.

The extension of the Law to the labial and guttural series of consonants will be considered in the next Chapter.

[1] Henceforth, I assume the Low German type to be identical with the Teutonic; and regard the O. H. German as a development from it.

CHAPTER VIII.

Simplified Form of Grimm's Law.

§ 94. In order to treat the facts correctly, it will be necessary to consider the *dental*, the *labial*, and the *guttural* sets of letters separately; and to take them, for the present, in this order. At the end of the last Chapter we obtained the following statement, which may conveniently be here repeated. **Write down the symbols DH, D, T, TH, in succession. It is found that the Aryan sound corresponding to each of these symbols (except the last), is shifted, in cognate Teutonic words, to the sound corresponding to the symbol which next succeeds it.** Teutonic is here used in the sense of *original* Teutonic, to the exclusion of High German forms[1]. I now propose to look at this Law a little more closely, explaining the varying values (if any) of the symbols, giving numerous examples, and noting exceptions.

§ 95. Aryan: **Dentals.** The Aryan Dental Sounds are DH, D, T. It is here most convenient to consider them in the order D, T, DH; and I shall accordingly do so.

D. The Skt. *d* is a stable sound; so also is the Gk. δ. In Latin, *d* is common, but occasionally D appears as *l*. Thus *lacrima*, a tear, was once *dacrima*, according to Festus, and is cognate with Gk. δάκρυ, E. *tear*; *lingua*, a tongue, was

[1] As to the unoriginal character of the Old High German *second* consonantal shifting, see Chapter IX, § 123.

once *dingua*, and is cognate with E. *tongue*; *ol-ere*, to smell, is allied to *od-or*, smell[1].

T. The Skt. *t* is sometimes aspirated after *s*, and appears as *th*, as in *sthag*, to cover, Gk. στέγ-ειν; *sthá*, to stand, Lat. *stā-re*.

The Gk. τ is stable; so is Lat. *t* (usually).

DH. The Skt. has *dh*. If a verbal root begins with *dh* and ends with another aspirated letter, *both* of these letters appear in the simple, not in the aspirated form. Thus the Skt. *dih*, to smear, stands for **dhigh*. We find other occasional instances in which Skt. *dh* appears as *d*, as in *dvára*, a door, put for **dhvára*; cf. Gk. θύρα.

The Gk. *dh* is θ. But Gk. allows of only *one* aspirate in a syllable; hence we find τριχός for *θριχός.

The Latin *dh* appears *initially* as *f*, but *medially* as *d* or *b*. Thus Gk. θύρα, a door, is allied to Lat. pl. *for-es*, doors, the cognate E. word being *door*. Gk. ἐ-ρυθ-ρός, E. *red*, is in Lat. *ruber* (for **rudher*). Gk. οὖθαρ, E. *udder*, is in Lat. *uber* (for **udher*); whilst E. *widow*, L. *uidua*, answers to Skt. *vidhára*.

The Aryan DH regularly appears as *d* in Slavonic, Lithuanian, and O. Irish, as in Russ. *dvere*, O. Irish *dorus*, a door, Lith. *dùrys*, pl. doors[2]; cf. Gk. θύρα.

§ 96. TEUTONIC: **Dentals.** T (Aryan D); Gothic *t* (regularly); and so in A. S., Icel., Swed., Dutch; but in Danish it is weakened (when final) to *d*, as in *fod*, foot.

TH (Aryan T) appears as *th* in Gothic[3]; written *þ* or *ð* in

[1] I do not give *all* the values of these Aryan symbols, but only those necessary for the present purpose; thus a *d* may appear in Latin as *r*, but not in words cognate with English. For fuller particulars, see Iwan Müller, Handbuch der Klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft, Band II; Nördlingen, 1885.

[2] This change is practically a shifting, and gives the same result. But it differs in this respect, viz. that the Slavonic (and other) races were content to confuse Aryan DH with Aryan D. The Teutonic races were not contented to do so, but distinguished the real D from T.

[3] German editors often write þ for Goth. *th*.

A. S. The Icel. initial *þ* is sounded as *th* in *thin*, but the medial *ð* as *th* in *thine*. In Danish and Swedish the initial *th* (*þ*) is sounded as *t*, and the medial *th* (*ð*) as *d*, owing to a difficulty in pronouncing *th* at all; for a similar reason, Dutch invariably substitutes *d*; cf. E. *three* with Dan. and Swed. *tre*, Du. *drie*; and E. *brother* with Icel. *bróðir*, Swed. and Dan. *broder*, Du. *broeder*. When the Aryan T appears (contrary to the rule) as Goth. *d*, this phenomenon can be accounted for by Verner's Law; see Chap. IX. For example, Lat. *frater* = Goth. *brothar*, E. *brother*, regularly; but on the other hand, Lat. *pater* = Goth. *fadar* (not **father*), A. S. *fæder* (not **fæðer*), M. E. *fader*, the form *father* being modern. An Aryan ST remains *st* in Teutonic; unless the *s* is lost, when the T may shift to *th*.

D (Aryan DH) appears as Gothic, &c., *d*, regularly.

§ **97.** Numerous examples of English words which are cognate with words in other Aryan languages are given further on. In giving these it is convenient to *reverse* the order above, i. e. to give the English words *before* the others; so that instead of saying that the Aryan D becomes a Teutonic T, we say that the Teut. T answers to an Aryan D, which is of course the same thing. It is only a question of convenience. Similarly Teut. TH answers to Aryan T, and Teut. D to Aryan DH. Taking > as the symbol for 'becomes' or 'passes into,' and < as the symbol for 'results from,' we see that the series DH > D > T > TH is the same as D < DH; T < D; TH < T. And again, these three comparisons may be taken in the order T < D; TH < T; D < DH; without at all altering the Law.

§ **98. The Labial Series.** If Grimm's Law be equally true for the labial series, it will take the following form. **Write down the series of symbols BH, B, P, PH (F). Then the Aryan sound corresponding to each of these symbols (except the last), is shifted, in cognate Teutonic words, to the sound corresponding to the symbol**

which next succeeds it. This is true, with a certain restriction, viz. that there is no very clear example of the *second* of the three changes, viz. of Aryan B answering to Teut. P. The comparison of E. *hemp* with Gk. κάνναβις is not wholly to the point, as the E. word is only a very early *borrowed* word; neither is the Gk. κάνναβις an original Greek word, being itself borrowed from the East. The great difficulty, accordingly, is to know with what we are to compare the Teut. P, a problem of which I know no satisfactory solution. It is certain that a great number of words beginning with P in the Teutonic languages are merely borrowed from Latin or Greek; thus E. *pit*, M. E. *put*, A. S. *pyt* (for **puti*) is merely borrowed from the Lat. *puteus*; and the large number of words in modern English beginning with this letter is in a great measure due to the very free use of the Lat. prefixes, *per-*, *post-*, *pre-*, *preter-*, *pro-*, and the Greek prefixes, *pan-*, *para-*, *peri-*, *poly-*, *pros-*. Some have even denied that there *are* any Teut. words beginning with *p*; but a list of over 100 words has been given of words beginning with *p*, which cannot be proved to be non-Teutonic[1]. Besides, it is certain that final *p* is a sufficiently common letter in Teutonic, as in E. *heap*, *hip*, *hope*, *hop*, and the Icel. *happ*, chance, whence our *hap*. One view that might be held concerning the final Teut. *p* is that, in some cases, it remained *unshifted*; thus Curtius compares E. *leap*, Goth. *hlaupan*, with Gk. κραιπ-νός, swift; E. *lip*, *lap*, with Gk. λάπ-τειν, to lap; E. *shape* with Gk. σκάπ-τειν, to dig; and it is extremely difficult to see how E. *up* can be entirely severed from E. *over*, Skt. *upari*. As this is a difficult point, I leave the supposed shifting of Aryan B to Teut. P without further discussion, and pass on the shiftings that still remain, viz. of Aryan P to Teut. PH (F); and of Aryan BH to Teut. B. These are real and regular, as will appear.

[1] I have lost the reference to this article.

§ 99. ARYAN: **Labials.**

B (mentioned above) is the Skt. *b*, Gk. *β*, Lat. *b*.

P is the Skt. *p*, Gk. *π*, Lat., Slav., and Lithuan. *p* [1]. The Skt. *p* may become *ph* after *s*, and even in Gk. *σπ* may become *σφ*.

BH is the Skt. *bh*, Gk. *φ*. The Skt. *bh* may become *b*, when another aspirate follows, as in *bandh* (for **bhandh*,) E. *bind*. In Latin it occurs as *f* initially, as in *fer-re*, Gk. *φέρ-ειν*, Skt. *bhar*, to bear, E. *bear*; and as *b* medially, as in *am-bo*, both = Gk. *ἄμ-φω*. It is worth adding that the Latin initial *f* sometimes appears as *h*, so that the Old Lat. *fordeum*, barley, is usually *hordeum*, or even *ordeum*, the *h* being lost.

§ 100. TEUTONIC: **Labials.**

The Teut. B is always *b* in Gothic; but appears as (final) *f* in A. S. See below, § 122.

The Teut. P is always *p* in Gothic, &c. An Aryan SP remains as *sp*, the *p* being unshifted; unless *s* is lost, when the P may become *f*.

The Teut. PH is regularly represented by *f* in the Teutonic languages. But there are cases in which the *f* may pass into *b*; these exceptions can be explained by Verner's Law, for which see Chapter IX. Numerous examples are given further on, where, for convenience, I take the E. forms first. The series BH > B > P > PH(=F) is the same as B < BH; P < B; F < P; or, in another order, as P < B; F < P; B < BH.

§ 101. **The Guttural Series.** If Grimm's Law be equally true for this series also, it will take the following form. **Write down the series of symbols GH, G, K,**

[1] Latin has two remarkable exceptions, in which *p* has been turned into *c* or *qu*, viz. *coquere*, to cook, put for **poquere* (cf. Skt. *pach*, to cook), and *quinque*, five, put for **pinque* (cf. Skt. *pañchan*, five). Here the initial letters have been affected by the following *qu*. The O. Irish initial *p* disappears; as in O. Irish *orc*, a pig, Lat. *porcus*; O. Irish *iasc*, a fish, Lat. *piscis*.

KH(H). **Then the Aryan sound corresponding to each of these symbols (except the last), is shifted, in cognate Teutonic words, to the sound corresponding to the symbol which next follows it.** There are, undoubtedly, many cases in which this Law holds; but, unfortunately, there is an initial difficulty in determining the Aryan values of GH, G, and K, which greatly interferes with the simplicity of it. An English *k* or hard *c* ought to answer to Aryan G, as it clearly does when we compare E. *kin* with Gk. *γέν-os*; by the same rule, we might expect that the Gk. for *cow* is *γοῦs*, but the actual word found is *βοῦs*. This suggests that there is some initial difference between the values of the Aryan G (=Gk. *γ*) and G (=Gk. *β*). There are also reasons for supposing that the Aryan K and GH had each two values; and these facts are now generally admitted. As Mr. Wharton remarks, at p. ix of his Etyma Græca, 'the *Ursprache* [parent or Aryan speech] distinguished *kv*[1], *gv*, *ghv* (Lithuanian *k*, *g*, *g*, Skt. *k* or *ch*, *g* or *j*, *gh*) from *ḱ*, *ǵ*, *gh́* (Lithuanian *sz*, *ž*, *ž́*, Slavonic *s*, *z*, *z*, Zend. *ç*, *z*, *z*, Skt. *ç*, *j*, *h*); Greek properly represents the former by *π*, *β*, *φ*, but sometimes instead by *κ*, *γ*, *χ*, which in other cases stand for original *k*, *g*, *gh*.' This important distinction deserves to be considered somewhat more fully.

§ 102. **Palatal and Velar Sounds.** It appears that there were two varieties of the Aryan G, called the 'palatal' and 'velar' respectively. The former may be considered as resembling the English *g*, with a *tendency* to become palatal; the latter is a labialized *g*. 'The vocal organs may be shifted to form a vowel,' says Mr. Sayce[2], 'while they are still in the act of forming the consonant. Hence arise *mouillé* and labialized letters. If the front part of the tongue be raised and the lips opened while a consonant is being uttered, a

[1] By *kv*, *gv*, *ghv* are meant *kw*, *gw*, *ghw*. The frequent use of *v* for *w* is due to German writers, and is nothing less than a nuisance.

[2] Introduction to the Science of Language, i. 297.

palatalized or *mouillé* letter is the result, of which the Italian *gl* and *gn*, the Spanish *ll* and *ñ*, or the Portuguese *lh* and *nh* are examples[1]. . . . Certain consonants are incapable of being *mouillé*; gutturals, for instance, in whose formation the back part of the tongue plays so prominent a part, can only be so by becoming palatals. Labialized sounds are those in which the lips are rounded while the pronunciation of a consonant is in process. Labials and gutturals shew the same fondness for this labialization, or "rounding," that the palatals and dentals do for mouillation; and a comparison of the derived languages proves that the primitive Aryan speech must have possessed a row of labialized or "velar" gutturals—*kw*, *gw*, *ghw*—of which the Latin *qu* and our own *cw*, *qu* [and *wh*] are descendants. There is nothing to show that these velar gutturals were ever developed out of the simple gutturals; so far back as we can go in the history of Indo-European speech the two classes of gutturals exist side by side, and the groups of words containing them remain unallied and unmixed.' I shall denote the Aryan palatal K by K, and the velar K by Q; where Q denotes a *k*-sound that is prepared to receive a following *u*. Similarly I shall denote the palatal G by G, and the velar G by Gw, where the w is added in smaller type to shew that the G is prepared to be followed by it. We shall now see how remarkably these sounds are distinguished in *some* of the derived languages, including Sanskrit and Lithuanian, and occasionally, but not always, Greek.

§ 103. Aryan G (palatal). This corresponds to Skt. *j*, Lithuanian *ž*, Slavonic *z*; in Gk. it always remains γ, and in Latin *g*. It shifts to Teut. K, in accordance with Grimm's Law. Thus Skt. *jánu*, Gk. γόνυ, Lat. *genu*, is the Goth. *kniu*, E. *knee*. The Skt. *jñá*, to know, Gk. γι-γνώ-σκειν, Lat. (*g*)*no-scere*, Lithuan. *žinoti*, Russ. *zna-te*, is E. *know*.

[1] These sounds resemble the E. *lli* in *million* and *ni* in *minion*.

Aryan Gw (velar). This is more difficult, as it exhibits two varieties, which may be marked as (*a*) and (*b*). In the first, the Gk. *γ* remains unchanged; in the second, it appears as *β*.

(*a*) This corresponds to Skt. *j* or *g*, Lithuanian *g*, Gk. *γ*, Lat. *g*. It shifts to Teut. K, as before. Thus Skt. *janas*, Lith. *gamas*, Gk. *γένος*, Lat. *genus*, is E. *kin*. Skt. *yugam*, Gk. *ζυγόν*, Lith. *jungas*, Lat. *iugum*, is E. *yoke*. We may notice that it is chiefly distinguished from the palatal G by the Lithuanian use of *g* instead of *ž*.

(*b*) This corresponds to Skt. *j* or *g*, Lith. *g*, Gk. *β*, Lat. *b*, *v*. It shifts to Teut. K, followed by *u* or *w*; we often find *qu* in English. Thus Skt. *go*, Gk. *βοῦς*, Lat. *bos*, Lettish *gůwis*, is the A. S. *cú*, E. *cow*. The Skt. *jîv*, to live, is allied to Gk. *βίος*, life, and to Lat. *uiu-us* (=**guiu-us*), living, Lithuan. *gywas*, Old Slavonic *živŭ* (Russ. *jivoi*), living; also to Goth. *kwi-us* (=**kwiw-us*), stem KWIWO, living, and to A. S. *cwi-c*, E. *qui-ck*, living. The A. S. *cwic* also took the (later) form *cuc* (with *u* for *wi*); hence the prov. E. *couch-grass*, otherwise called *quitch-grass*, *quick-grass*, i. e. live grass, a term applied to a weed (*Triticum repens*) which it is very difficult to eradicate.

§ 104. Aryan K (palatal). This remains as *κ* in Greek, and *c* (sounded as *k*) in Latin; but in Skt. it usually appears as *ç* (i. e. a sound that has been changed from *k* to *s*), and in Lithuanian as *sz*. In Teutonic it shifts to GH, represented in Gothic, &c., by a strongly aspirated *h*, except in cases where the *h* is changed to *g* in consequence of Verner's Law; for which see Chap. IX. Thus E. *hund-red*, A. S. *hund*, is Aryan KENTO[1], Skt. *çata*, Gk. *ἑ-κατόν*, Lith. *szimtas*, Old Slav. *sŭto* (Russ. *sto*), O. Irish *cét* (Irish *cead*), Welsh *cant*.

Aryan Q (velar) had, from the beginning, a tendency to

[1] More strictly KMTO, where the M is vocal; the accent being on the latter syllable.

a parasitic *w* following it. There are two cases: (*a*) where the tendency is lost in some of the languages, so that the Q remains as *k* in Skt. and Lithuanian; and (*b*) where Skt. has *ch*, Lat. has *qu*, and Gk. either retains κ, or has π (before ο) or τ (before ι, ε). With the latter case we may rank the examples in which Skt. alone has *ch*, but all the other languages have *k*. The Aryan Q shifts regularly to Teut. KHw, i. e. *hw*, E. *wh* or *h* (or even *f*). Examples of (*a*) are: Aryan QO or QI, who; Skt. *kas*, Lith. *kas*, Gk. τίς, Lat. *qui* (for **quoi*), *quis*; Goth. *hwas*, A. S. *hwá*, E. *who*. Also Aryan WERQOS, a wolf, Skt. *vṛkas*, Gk. λύκος (for ϝλύκος), Lat. *lupus* (for **wluquus*), Lith. *wilkas*, Russ. *volk'*; in this case the Goth. *hw* is replaced by *f*, corresponding by Grimm's Law to the Lat. *p*, thus giving Goth. *wulfs* and E. *wolf*. Examples of (*b*) are: Aryan QETWAR, four; Skt. *chatvar*, Gk. τέτταρες, τέσσαρες, Lat. *quatuor*, O. Irish *cethir*, Lith. *kéturi*, Russ. *chetvero*, Welsh *pedwar*; Goth. *fidwor*, A. S. *féower*, E. *four*. The Skt. has the root *ruch*, to shine, corresponding to Aryan REUQ[1]; but other languages keep the *k*, as in Gk. λευκός, white, Lat. *luc-ere*, to shine; this *k* becomes Goth. *h* regularly; hence Goth. *liuh-ts*, A. S. *léoh-t*, E. *ligh-t* (where *-t* is suffixed). In this case the Skt. alone has preserved a trace of Q; in all the other languages it is K.

§ **105. Aryan GH (palatal).** This is represented in Skt. by *h*, in Gk. by χ; in Latin it is *h* or *f* initially, and *h* (which often drops out) medially, or *g* (after a consonant). The Lith. is *ž*. By regular shifting, it becomes G in Teutonic. Examples: Gk. χειμών, winter, answers to Lat. *hiems*; Skt. *hamsa*, swan, answers to Gk. χήν, goose, Lat. *anser* (for **hanser*), Lith. *žąsis*, Russ. *gus'*, A.S. *gós*, E. *goose*. Gk. χολή, gall, is Lat. *fel*, E. *gall*. Skt. *agha*, sin, is allied to Gk. ἄχ-ος, anguish, Lat. *ang-or*; and to Goth. *agis*, fear,

[1] See Root No. 311 in List of Aryan Roots, in my Etym. Dict. p. 741.

Icel. *agi*, whence the mod. E. *awe*, a word of Scandinavian origin.

Aryan GHw (velar). This is represented by Skt. *gh* or *h*, Gk. χ (occasionally θ, φ), and Lith. *g*. Latin is very variable, shewing *g*, *h*, *f* initially, and *gu*, *v* medially. Thus Lat. *gratus* is allied to Gk. χαίρω, I rejoice; Lat. *hostis*, a stranger, enemy, is allied to A. S. *gæst*, stranger, E. *guest*. Lat. *formus*, warm, to Skt. *gharma*, warmth. Lat. *anguis*, a snake, is allied to Lithuan. *angis*, Gk. ἔχις, Skt. *ahi*, a snake. Lat. *leu-is*, light, is for **lehuis*, Gk. ἐ-λαχύς; and *breu-is*, short, for **brehu-is*, Gk. βραχ-ύς. The Teutonic shifts, regularly, to G.

§ 106. Grimm's Law: Guttural Series. It follows from the above explanation that the guttural series G, K, GH, really splits into a *double* set, viz. G, K, GH (palatal), and Gw, Q, GHw (velar). Hence the Law in § 101 above, which is true if G, K, GH are palatal, requires to be supplemented by the following.

Write down the following series of velar letters, viz. GHw, Gw, Q, KHw(=Hw); then the Aryan sound corresponding to each of these symbols (except the last) is shifted, in cognate Teutonic words, to the sound corresponding to the symbol which next succeeds it. Numerous examples are given below, where the E. forms come *first*. These are given by the double set of formulæ K<G; H<K; G<GH; and Q<Gw; Hw<Q; Gw<GHw.

§ 107. In the above statements, only the *chief* peculiarities of particular languages have been noticed; the various consonants are often affected by their peculiar position in the word or by the neighbouring vowels; for such variations, books on classical philology must be consulted. I believe, however, that I have said enough to enable me to give a table of 'Regular Substitution of Sounds,' similar to that which Curtius gives in his Greek

Etymology, tr. by Wilkins and England, i. 158; see also Rhys, Lectures on Welsh Philology, 2nd ed., p. 14. Now that we have gone through the whole series, we need no longer consider the dental series first, but can take them in the usual philological order, viz. (1) gutturals, (2) dentals, (3) labials.

Table of Regular Substitution of Consonants.

In the following table, the Aryan symbols are on the *left*, and the Teutonic on the extreme right. By comparing these, the shifting of the consonantal sound is at once perceived. Only the *usual* corresponding values of the consonants are given; it is impossible to include every case.

Aryan.	Skt.	Gk.	Lat.	Lith.	Slav.	O. Irish.	Goth.	A.S.	Teut.
G	*j*	γ	*g*	*ž*	*z*	*g*	*k*	*c*	*K*
K	*ç*	κ	*c*	*sz*	*s*	*c, ch*	*h* [*g*]	*h*, [*g*]	*KH* (*H*)
GH	*h*	χ	*h*, *f* (*g*)	*š*	*z*	*g*	*g*	*g*	*G*
Gw	*g, j*	γ, β	*g, v, b*	*g*	*g*, *ž*	*b*	*kw, k*	*cw, c*	*Q* (*K*)
Q	*k, ch*	π, τ, κ	*qu, c, v*	*k*	*k*	*c, ch*	*hw, h*	*hw, h*	*KHw* (*Hw*)
GHw	*gh, h*	χ, φ, θ	{*g, h, f* (*gu, v*)}	*g*	*g*	*b*	*g*	*g*	*Gw* (*G*)
D	*d*	δ	*d, l*	*d*	*d*	*d*	*t*	*t*	*T*
T	*t*	τ	*t*	*t*	*t*	*t, th*	*th* [*d*]	þ, ð [*d*]	*TH*
DH	*dh*	θ	*f*, (*d*, *b*)	*d*	*d*	*d*	*d*	*d*	*D*
B	*b*	β	*b*	*b*	*b*	*b*	...	...	...
P	*p*	π	*p*	*p*	*p*	...	*f* [*b*]	*f* [*b*]	*PH* (*F*, *P*?)
BH	*bh*	φ	*f*, *h* (*b*)	*b*	*b*	*b* (*m*)	*b*	*b*	*B*

In this table, the Latin sounds within a parenthesis only occur medially. The Goth. and A.S. sounds within square brackets are variations due to Verner's Law.

It remains to give examples of the above-named correspondences of consonantal sounds. These I shall take in the order of the table, but beginning with English, i.e. with the right-hand column.

§ 108. TEUT. K (Goth. *k*, A.S. hard *c*) < ARYAN G (Skt. *j*, Gk. γ, Lat. *g*, Lith. *ž*, O. Slav. *z*, O. Ir. *g*). See § 103.

The symbol *k* is not much used in A.S., which commonly uses *c*; nevertheless, it appears occasionally even in MSS. written before the Conquest. In the latter part of the A.S. Chronicle it appears frequently, and from about 1150 to the present day is used before *e* and *i*, because *c* might otherwise be supposed to have the sound of *s*; also before *n*, where it is *now* silent, though originally sounded. The order of words follows that in Fick's Wörterbuch, iii. 38.

INITIALLY. E. *kin*, A.S. *cynn*, Goth. *kuni* (stem *kun-ja*)[1], Teut. KUN-YO[2], a tribe (formed by 'gradation' from the Teut. root KEN); cf. Lat. *gen-ius*, *in-gen-ium* (whence E. *genius*, *ingenious*), Lat. *gen-us*, race, Gk. γέν-os, Skt. *jan*, to beget, generate. Root GEN, to beget.

E. *king*, A.S. *cyn-ing*, lit. belonging to the kin, or one of (royal) race; a derivative of *kin* (above)

E. *can*, now a present tense, but really an old past tense of A.S. *cunnan*, to know; from the Aryan root GEN, to know, which is usually altered to GNO, as in Gk. γνῶ-ναι, Skt. *jná*, to know; see account of E. *know* below.

E. *ken*, to know, formerly 'to make to know,' causal derivative of *can*.

E. *know*, A.S. *cnáwan*, Russ. *zna-ie*, to know, Lat. *no-scere*, old form *gno-scere*, Gk. γι-γνώ-σκειν, Skt. *jñá*, to know; Aryan root GNO, from an older GEN (cf. E. *can*).

[1] The Goth. *j* is sounded as E. *y*.

[2] Teut. types, printed in capitals, are all *theoretical*, but are useful for shewing the right form. So also the Aryan types, also printed in capitals, are likewise theoretical. They are given in Fick's Wörterbuch; but the vocalism, as there given, needs reform, and I do not know that I have always set it right.

E. *comb*, A. S. *camb*, a toothed instrument; allied to Skt. *jambha*, teeth, jaw, Gk. γαμφή, jaw, γόμφος, a peg.

E. and A. S. *corn*; Russ. *zern-o*, corn; Lat. *gran-um*.

E. *crane*, A. S. *cran*, Welsh *garan*, Gk. γέρανος, a crane, Lithuan. *garn-ys*[1], a stork, *gérwe*, a crane, Lat. *gru-s*; named from the cry. Cf. Gk. γηρ-ύειν, to cry out. And see below.

E. *crow*, A. S. *cráw-an*, to crow as a cock. Cf. Lat. *grus* (above).

E. *carve*, A. S. *ceorf-an*; Gk. γράφ-ειν, to scratch, write.

E. *cold*, adj., A. S. *ceald*, Goth. *kalds*, allied to *cool*, A. S. *cól*; Lat. *gel-id-us*, cold, *gel-u*, frost.

E. *knead*, A. S. *cned-an*, G. *knet-en*, Russ. *gnet-ate*, *gne-sti*, to press, squeeze.

E. *knife*, A. S. *cníf*; from the verb to *nip* (for *knip*[2]), to pinch, bite (hence, cut), Du. *knijp-en*, to pinch; Lithuan. *znyp-ti*, to bite (as *a* goose), to pinch, as a crab; also Lithuan. *gnyb-ti*, to nip.

E. *knot*, A. S. *cnotta*; Swed. *knut* (whence the Russ. *knute*, a whip, written *knout* in E., was borrowed); Lat. *nōd-us* (for **gnōdus*, like *noscere* for *gnoscere*).

E. *knee*, A. S. *cnéow*, Goth. *kniu*; Lat. *genu*, Gk. γόνυ, Skt. *jánu*, knee.

E. *cleave*, to split, A. S. *cléof-an*, G. *klieb-en*, Teut. base KLUB (Kluge); Gk. γλύφ-ειν, to hollow out, engrave, Lat. *glub-ere*, to peel.

§ **109.** As the Scandinavian languages are closely allied to English, we naturally find that words of Scandinavian origin can be classed with English as regards their initial letters. Thus E. *cast*, Icel. and Swed. *kast-a*, Dan. *kast-e*, orig. to throw up into a heap (cf. E. *cast* up a mound), from Icel. *kös*, a pile, heap, is allied to Lat. *ger-ere*, to carry, bring,

[1] I suppose that *g* appears instead of *ž* in Lithuanian because the word is imitative. Imitative words frequently shew exceptional forms.

[2] 'Als far as catal, the lang symmyris day, Had in thar pastur eyt and *knyp* away.' (1513). G. DOUGLAS; Prol. to xii bk. of Virgil, l. 94.

whence Lat. *ag-ger*, a mound, a heap brought together. *Ger-ere* = **ges-ere*, as shewn by the pt. t. *ges-si*, supine *ges-tum*.

§ 110. **K > CH.** Examples in which the A. S. *c* (before *e* or *i*) becomes E. *ch*.

E. *chew*, A. S. *céow-an*, G. *kau-en*; Russ. *jev-ate*, O. Slav. *živ-ati*, to chew.

E. *chin*, A. S. *cin*, Icel. *kinn*, G. *Kinn*; Lat. *gen-a*, cheek, Gk. γέν-υς, chin, jaw.

E. *choose*, A. S. *céos-an*, Goth. *kius-an*; Gk. γεύ-ομαι, I taste; Lat. *gus-tus*, taste; Skt. *jush* (for **jus*), to enjoy, relish.

§ 111. **Final K.** In all the above examples the Teut. K occurs at the *beginning* of the words. It will be useful to add examples in which it occurs at, or near, the *end* of words. As before, I give only *selected* examples, and I find myself compelled to give them as briefly as possible. Fuller particulars can frequently be obtained by looking out the words in my Etymological Dictionary; on which account, it is not necessary to give all the cognate words, nor full details. The *order* of the examples is the same as that in Fick's Wörterbuch.

MEDIALLY AND FINALLY. E. *eke*, to augment, A. S. *éac-an*, Goth. *auk-an*; Lithuan. *aug-ti*, to grow; Lat. *aug-ere*, to increase.

The mod. E. *I* is A. S. *ic*, Goth. *ik*; Lat. *eg-o*, Gk. ἐγ-ώ, ἐγ-ών; but the Skt. is *aham* (as if for **agham*).

E. *rook* (bird), A. S. *hróc*, i. e. 'croaker'; Goth. *hruk-jan*, to crow as a cock; Gk. κραυγ-ή, a screaming[1], cf. Skt. *kruç*, to cry out.

E. *thatch*, s., A. S. *þæc*; Lat. *teg-ere*, to cover, Gk. στέγ-ειν, Skt. *sthag*. The Aryan roots TEG and STEG, to cover, are merely variant forms.

[1] Here sound-shifting occurs *twice*, both at the *beginning* and the *end* of the word; so also in *thatch*, *think*, &c.

E. *think*, A. S. *penc-an*, from *panc*, a thought; O. Lat. *tong-ēre*, to think.

E. *thick*; O. Irish *tig-e*, Irish *tigh-e*, thickness, fatness.

E. *bake*, A. S. *bac-an*, pt. t. *bóc*; cf. Gk. *φώγ-ειν*, to roast.

E. *beech*, derived from A. S. *bóc*, beech; Lat. *fāg-us*, Gk. *φηγ-ός*.

E. *break*, A. S. *brec-an*, pt. t. *bræc*; Lat. *fra(n)g-ere*, pt. t. *frēg-i*.

E. *black*, A. S. *blæc*, orig. blackened by fire; Lat. *flag-rāre*, to burn; Gk. *φλέγ-ειν*, to scorch.

E. *bleak*, pale, A. S. *blác*, from *blíc-an*, to shine; prob. allied to Gk. *φλέγ-ειν*; cf. Lith. *blĩzg-ėti*, to shine.

E. *much*, M. E. *muche*, allied to M. E. *muchel*, *michel*, A. S. *mic-el*; Gk. *μέγ-as*, great, *μεγ-άλ-η*, fem., great.

E. *milk*, s., G. *melk-en*, to milk, v.; O. Irish *melg*, milk; Gk. *ἀ-μέλγ-ειν*, Lat. *mulg-ere*, to milk.

E. *rich*, A. S. *ríc-e*, powerful; Lat. *reg-ere*, to rule; Skt. *rāj-á*, a king. We use *rajah* in E. Here also belongs E. *right*, A. S. *riht* (for **rict*); cf. Lat. *rec-tus* (for **reg-tus*).

E. *wake*, A. S. *wac-an*; Lat. *ueg-ere*, to arouse; *uig-il*, wakeful.

E. *wink-le*, a shell-fish, *winch*, a crank; Lithuan. *wing-e*, a bend.

E. *work*, A. S. *weorc*, s.; Gk. *ἔργ-ον* (for * *ϝέργ-ον*)[1].

E. *wreak*, A. S. *wrec-an*, orig. to drive, urge, impel; Lat. *urg-ere* (= **uerg-ere*, to urge, Gk. *εἴργ-ειν*, Ionic *ἔργ-ειν* = (*ϝέργ-ειν*), to impel; Skt. *vrj* (= * *verj*), to exclude, orig. to bend; Aryan WERG. Cf. E. *urge*, from the Latin.

E. *stick*, to pierce; O. Fries. *steka*, to pierce; cf. O. Sax. *stak*, pt. t. he pierced; G. *stech-en*, to pierce, stab; Lat. *in-stig-are*, to prick forward, Gk. *στίζειν* (= * *στίγ-γειν*), to prick, *στίγ-μα*, a mark made by pricking, E. *stigma*.

[1] This is one of the numerous instances in which English throws light upon Greek. Eng. *still* preserves the initial *w*, which Greek lost at least *two thousand* years ago. The symbol *ϝ* (di-gamma) means *w*.

E. *strike.* The A. S. *stríc-an* is sometimes used in just the same sense as Lat. *strī(n)g-ere*, to pass lightly over the surface; cf. Lat. *strig-ilis*, a scraper for the skin.

E. *speak*, for * *spreak*, A. S. *sprec-an* (later *spec-an*); Icel. *sprak-a*, to crackle; Lithuan. *sprag-ëti*, to crackle, rattle; Gk. σφάραγ-ος, a crackling.

E. *slack*, lax; cf. Skt. *sṛj*, to let flow, let loose.

§ 112. I have given rather a full list of the changes from Aryan G to Teut. K in order to shew the principle clearly. The following lists are less exhaustive.

TEUT. KH (Goth. *h*, *g*) < ARYAN K (Skt. *ç*, Gk. κ, Lat. *c*, Lith. *sz*). See § 104.

INITIALLY. E. *heath*[1]; Lat. (*bu*)-*cēl-um*, a pasture for cattle, W. *coed* (= * *coet*), a wood.

E. *hen* (sing-er); cf. A. S. *han-a*, a cock; Lat. *can-ere*, to sing.

[E. *head*, A. S. *héaf-od* is often compared with Lat. *cap-ut*, but the Goth. form is *haubith*, and the G. is *Haupt*, which would require (says Kluge) a Lat. * *cauput*. Fick is wrong in supposing that the A.S. *éa* was short, and mistakes the Icel. form, which was originally *haufuð*.]

E. *heave*; Lat. *cap-ere*, to hold. (See Kluge, s. v. *heben*.)

E. *horn*; Lat. *corn-u*, Irish *corn*, horn. From the same ultimate root is E. *har-t*, allied to Lat. *cer-uus*, a hart.

E. *hard*; Gk. κραν-ύς, strong.

E. *harvest*, A. S. *hærf-est*; Lat. *carp-ere*, to pluck, Gk. καρπ-ός, fruit.

E. *haulm*, *halm*, stalk; Lat. *culm-us*, Gk. καλάμ-η.

E. *hazel*, A. S. *hæsel*; Lat. *corul-us* (for * *cosul-us*), Welsh *coll*.

E. *home*, A. S. *hám*; Lithuan. *kĕm-as*, a village, and perhaps Gk. κώμ-η; see Kluge, s. v. *Heim*.

E. *hide* (skin), A. S. *hýd*; Lat. *cut-is*, Gk. σκῦτ-ος.

[1] See Etym. Dict. for fuller particulars, both as regards this and many other words.

E. *hund-red*, A. S. *hund*; Lat. *cent-um*, W. *cant*; Gk. *ἑ-κατ-όν*, Skt. and Zend *çata*, Lith. *szimtas*, Russ. *sto*, Pers. *sad*.

E. *heart*, A. S. *heort-e*; Lat. *cor* (stem *cordi-*); Gk. *καρδ-ία*, Russ. *serdtse*, O. Ir. *cride*.

E. *ring*, A. S. *hring*; Lat. *circus*, Gk. *κρίκ-ος*, *κίρκ-ος*.

E. *lean*, v. (for * *hlean*), A. S. *hlinian*; Lat. *clinare*, Gk. *κλίν-ειν*.

E. *loud* (for * *hloud*), A. S. *hlúd*; Lat. *in-clut-us*, famous, Gk. *κλυτ-ός*, famous.

Finally or Medially. E. *eight*, A. S. *eah-ta*, Goth. *ah-tau*; Lat. *oc-to*, Gk. *ὀκ-τώ*.

E. *ten*, Goth. *taih-un*; Lat. *dec-em*, Gk. *δέκ-α*, Skt. *daçan*, W. *deg* (=* *dec*).

E. *wax*, to grow, Goth. *wahs-jan*; Skt. *vaksh* (for * *waks*), to grow, Gk. *αὐξ-άνειν*, to increase. (Here Gk. *ξ*=Skt. *ks*=Goth. *hs*.)

§ 113. Teut. G (Goth. *g*)<Aryan GH (Skt. *h*, Gk. *χ*, Lat. *h*, *f*, or, after a consonant, *g*). See § 105.

Initially. E. *goose*, A. S. *gós*, G. *Gans*; Lat. *ans-er* (for * *hans-er*), Gk. *χήν*, Lith. *žasis*, *žañsis*; Skt. *hams-a*, a swan.

E. *gall*; Lat. *fel*, Gk. *χολ-ή*, gall.

E. *guest*, Goth. *gast-s*; Lat. *host-is*, stranger, guest, enemy.

Eng. y. The initial E. *g* also appears as *y* (for A. S. *g* when followed by *e*).

E. *yearn*, A. S. *gyrn-an*, v., from *georn*, adj. desirous; G. *be-gehr-en*, to long for; Gk. *χαρ-ά*, joy, Skt. *har-y*, to desire.

E. *yard*, A. S. *geard*, a court; Lat. *hort-us*, Gk. *χόρτ-ος*; O. Irish *gort*, a garden.

E. *yellow*, A. S. *geolu* (acc. *geolwe*); Lat. *helu-us*, light yellow; Gk. *χλό-η*, young verdure of trees; cf. Russ. *zelenuii*, green.

E. *yawn*, A. S. *gán-ian*, afterwards weakened to M. E. *ȝánien*, as if for A. S. * *geán-ian*; Gk. *χαίν-ειν*, to gape. Cf. Gk. *χά-ος*, yawning gulf, E. *chaos*; Lat. *hi-āre*, to gape.

E. *yester-day*, A. S. *geostra* (yester-); Lat. *hester-nus*, belonging to yesterday; cf. Skt. *hyas*, yesterday.

FINALLY AND MEDIALLY: lost in Mod. E., or represented by *w*.

E. *awe*, a word of Scand. origin, Icel. *ag-i*, fear; Gk. *ἄχ-os*, pain, anxiety; Skt. *agh-a*, sin.

E. *main*, strength, A. S. *mæg-en*; Gk. *μηχ-ανή*, means; Skt. *maḥ* (for * *magh*), to honour (magnify).

E. *lie*, A. S. *licg-an*, pt. t. *læg*; Gk. *λέχ-os*, a bed; Russ. *lej-ate*, O. Slav. *lež-ati*, to lie.

E. *wain*, A. S. *wæg-en*; cf. Lat. *veh-ere*, Skt. *vah*, to carry.

§ 114. TEUT. Q (Goth. *kw*, *k*; A. S. *cw*, *c*) < ARYAN GW (Skt. *g*, *j*, Gk. *γ*, *β*, Lat. *g*, *v*, *b*, Lith. *g*, Slav. *g*, *ž*, O. Ir. *b*). See § 103.

INITIALLY. E. *cow*, A. S. *cú* (for **cwu*?); O. Irish *bó*, Lat. *bos*, Gk. *βοῦs*, Skt. *go*; Pers. *gáw*, bullock. Hence Pers. *nílgáw*, lit. blue cow, written *nylghau* in English, and used as the name of a kind of antelope.

E. *cack-le*, v., allied to *quack*; cf. Lith. *gég-ėle*, a cuckoo (dimin. form); Russ. *gog-otate*, to cackle. An imitative word, and such imitative words often remain unaltered. Cf. Lat. *cachinnus*, laughter, whence E. *cachinnation*. The E. *gaggle* is a mere variation. Very similar is E. *tattle*, and even *babble*. All result from such repetitions as *ka*, *ka*, *ga*, *ga*, *ta*, *ta*, *ba*, *ba*, *qua*, *qua*. Cf. *ha! ha!* to express laughter.

E. *calf*, A. S. *cealf*, Goth. *kalb-o*; Gk. *βρέφ-os*, embryo, young, Skt. *garbha*, embryo.

E. *coal*, A. S. *col*, G. *Kohle*, Teut. base KOLO (=KWALO?). Cf. Skt. *jval-a*, flaming, *jvál-a*, flame, *jval*, to blaze, *jvar*, to burn.

E. *come*, A. S. *cum-an*, Goth *kwim-an*, Lat. *uen-ire*, Gk. *βαίν-ειν* (for **βαν-γειν*), to go; Skt. *gam*, to go.

E. *queen*, *quean*, A. S. *cwén*[1], Icel. *kván*, a woman; Gk. *γυν-ή*,

[1] In this case, the *é* in A. S. *cwén* is a mutated form of *ó* = Teut. long *a*; Sievers, O. E. Gram. § 68. Hence *queen* answers to a Teut. type KWÁNI (Fick, iii. 39).

woman, wife; Skt. *jan-i*, a wife; Pers. *zan*, a woman; O. Irish *ben*, Gaelic *bean*. From Pers. *zan* comes the Hindustani *zanána*, women's apartments, imported into English as *zanana*, or (less correctly) *zenana*. From Gael. *beanshith*, lit. fairy woman, we have E. *banshee* or *benshee*.

E. *quern*, a hand-mill, for grinding corn, A. S. *cweorn*, Icel. *kvern*, Goth. *kwairn-us*; Lith. *girn-a*, the mill-stone in a quern, *girn-os*, pl., a hand-mill; Skt. *jár-aya*, to grind, from *jṛ́*, to grow old, to be digested.

E. *quell* is a causal form, from A. S. *cwel-an* (pt. t. *cwœl*), to die, whence also the sb. *qual-m*, A. S. *cwealm*, a pestilence, and the A. S. *cwal-u*, destruction. Cf. G. *Qual*, torment; Lithuan. *gél-a*, torment.

E. *quick*, living, A. S. *cwic*, Icel. *kvik-r*; a shorter form appears in Goth. *kwiu-s*, quick, living (stem *kwiw-a*), answering to Lat. *uiu-us* (for **guiu-us*), Lithuan. *gyw-as*, Russ. *jiv-oi*, alive. Cf. Gk. *βίος*, life, Skt. *jiv*, to live.

MEDIALLY. E. *nak-ed*, A. S. *nac-od*, Goth. *nakw-aths*, a past participial form. Allied to Russ. *nag-oi*, Skt. *nag-na*, naked, O. Irish *noch-t*, naked.

E. *yoke*, A. S. *geoc*; Lat. *jug-um*, Gk. *ζυγ-όν*; Skt. *yug-a*.

§ 115. TEUT. Hw (Goth. *hw*, *h*, A. S. *hw*, *h*, E. *wh*, *h*) < ARYAN Q (Skt. *k*, *ch*, Gk. *κ*, *π*, *τ*, Lat. *qu*, *c*, *v*, Lith. and Slav. *k*). See § 104.

INITIALLY. E. *hew*; Lith. *kow-a*, battle, *kau-ti*, to fight, Russ. *kov-ate*, to hammer; cf. Lat. *cu-d-ere*, to beat.

E. *heap*, A. S. *héap*, heap, crowd; Russ. *kup-a*, heap, crowd; Lith. *kup-a*, heap, crowd; Lith. *kaup-as*, heap.

E. *who*, A. S. *hwá*; Lat. *qui*, Lith. and Skt. *ka-s*, who.

E. *wheeze*, A. S. *hwés-an*; Lat. *quer-i* (pp. *ques-tus*), to complain; Skt. *çvas*, to breathe hard.

E. *while*, A. S. *hwíl*; allied to Lat. *qui-es*, rest; cf. Gk. *κεῖ-μαι*, I lie still, Skt. *çi*, to lie still.

MEDIALLY. E. *light*, s., A. S. *léoht*, Goth. *liuh-ath*, brightness; Lat. *luc-ere*, to shine, Gk. *λευκ-ός*, white; Skt. *ruch*, to shine.

§ 116. TEUT. Gw, G (Goth. *g*) < ARYAN GHw (Skt. *gh, h*, Gk. *χ, φ, θ*, Lat. *g, h, f* (*gu, v*), Lith. and Slav. *g*). See § 105.

MEDIALLY. E. *nail*, A. S. *nægel*; Russ. *nog-ote*, Lith. *nag-as*; Skt. *nakh-a* (for * *nagh-a*).

E. *stile*, A. S. *stig-el*, from *stíg-an*, to climb; cf. Gk. *στείχ-ειν*, to go, Skt. *stigh*, to ascend.

§ 117. TEUT. T (*t*) < ARYAN D (Skt. *d*, Gk. *δ*, Lat. *d, l*).

INITIALLY. E. *tooth*, A. S. *tóð* (for * *tonð*), Goth. *tunthus*; Lat. acc. *dent-em*.

E. *tame*; Lat. *dom-are*, Gk. *δαμ-ᾶν*, Skt. *dam*, to tame.

E. *timber*, Goth. *tim-r-jan*, to build; cf. Gk. *δέμ-ειν*, to build.

E. *tear*, s., Goth. *tagr*; Lat. *lacrima*, O. Lat. *dacrima*, Gk. *δάκρυ*.

E. *tear*, v., Goth. *ga-tair-an*; Russ. *dir-a*, a rent; Lithuan. *dir-ti*, Gk. *δέρ-ειν*, to flay; Pers. *dar-idan*, to tear.

E. *tree*, Goth. *triu*; Gk. *δρῦ-s*, O. Irish *dair*, Welsh *derw*, oak; Russ. *drev-o*, tree.

E. *town*, A. S. *tún*, an enclosure; O. Irish *dún*, a walled town, Welsh *din* (whence *din-as*, a town).

E. *tie*, *tow*, v., *tug*; cf. Lat. *duc-ere*, to draw.

E. *tongue*; Lat. *ling-ua*, O. Lat. *ding-ua*.

E. *ten*, Goth. *taihun*; Lat. *decem*, Gk. *δέκα*, Skt. *daçan*.

E. *to*, prep.; Russ. *do*, O. Irish *do*, to.

E. *trea-d*, *tra-mp*; cf. Gk. *δρᾶ-ναι*, Skt. *drá*, to run.

E. *two*, A. S. *twá*; Lat. *duo*, Gk. *δύο*, Russ. and Skt. *dva*, Irish *da*.

FINALLY AND MEDIALLY. E. *at*, Goth. *at*; Lat. *ad*.

E. *out*, A. S. *út*; Skt. *ud*, up, out.

E. *eat*, Goth. *it-an*; Lat. *ed-ere*, Gk. *ἔδ-ειν*, Skt. *ad*, to eat.

E. *what*; Lat. *quod*, *quid*; Skt. *kad*, what.

E. *foot*; Lat. acc. *ped-em*, Gk. acc. *πόδ-α*, Skt. *pad*.

E. *fleet*, *float*; Lithuan. *plud-au*, I float.

E. *bett-er*, Goth. *bat-s*, good; Skt. *bhad-ra*, excellent.

E. *bite*; Lat. *fi(n)d-ere*, to cleave, pt.t. *fid-i*, Skt. *bhid*, to cleave.

E. *wat-er*; Russ. *vod-a*, Gk. ὕδ-ωρ, Skt. *ud-an*, water.

E. *ott-er*; Russ. *vuid-ra*, Lithuan. *ud-ra*, otter; Gk. ὕδ-ρα, water-snake, whence E. *hydra*.

E. *wit*, *weet*, to know; Russ. *vid-iete*, to see, Lat. *uid-ere*, Gk. ἰδ-εῖν (for *ϝιδ-ειν), to see; Skt. *vid*, to know, orig. to see. E. *wot*=Gk. οἶδ-α.

E. *sit*; Russ. *sid-iete*, Lat. *sed-ere*, Skt. *sad*, to sit; Gk. ἕζομαι (=*σεδ-yo-μαι), I sit.

E. *swart*, dark, black, Goth. *swart-s*; allied to Lat. *sord-es* (for **sward-es*), dirt, whence *sord-id-us*, dirty; *surd-us*, dim-coloured. Cf. E. *sordid*, *surd*.

E. *sweet*; Lat. *suā-uis* (=**suad-uis*), pleasant; Gk. ἡδ-ύς (=*σϝαδ-ύς), sweet; Skt. *svād-u*, sweet. Cf. E. *suave*.

E. *sweat*; Lat. *sūd-or* (=**swid-or*), Gk. ἱδ-ρώς (=*σϝιδ-ρώς), sweat; Skt. *svid*, to sweat, *sved-a*, sweat.

§ 118. TEUT. TH (Goth. *th*, *d*)=ARYAN T (Skt. *t*, Gk. τ, Lat. *t*). See § 96.

INITIAL. E. *that*; Lat. (*is*)-*tud*, Skt. *tad*.

E. *thatch*, A.S. þæc, s.; Lat. *teg-ere*, to cover; Gk. τέγ-ος, roof, στέγ-ειν, to cover. Cf. E. *tegument*.

E. *think*; cf. O. Lat. *tong-ēre*, to think.

E. *thin*; Lat. *ten-uis*, Russ. *tonkii*, Skt. *tan-u*, thin.

E. *thun-der*; Lat. *ton-are*, to thunder.

E. *thorn*; Russ. *tërne*, black-thorn; Polish *tarn*, thorn.

E. *thirst*; Irish *tart*, Skt. *tarsha*, thirst; Gk. τέρσ-ομαι, I am dry.

E. *thole*, v. to endure (still in use provincially); Lat. *tol-erare*, Gk. τλῆ-ναι. Cf. E. *tolerate*.

E. *thick*; O. Irish *tig-e*, thickness, *tiug*, thick.

E. *thou*; Russ. *tui*, Irish *tu*, Lat. *tu*; Pers. *tú*.

E. *thorp*; Lithuan. *trob-a*, a dwelling; O. Irish *treb*, a settlement, tribe; G. *Dorf*.

E. *threat-en*; Lat. *trud-ere*, to push, urge; Russ. *trud-ite*, to urge to work, vex.

E. *three*; Irish, Russ., Skt., *tri*; Lat. *tres*, Gk. τρεῖς.

FINAL AND MEDIAL. E. *heath*; Lat. *bu-cĕl-um*, cow-pasture.

E. *tooth*; Lat. acc. *dent-em*, Welsh *dant*.

E. *feath-er*; Gk. πέτ-ομαι, I fly, Skt. *pat-ra*, feather; Lat. *pen-na* (for **pet-na*), a feather, whence E. *pen*.

E. *murth-er* (*mur-der*), A. S. *morð-or*, Goth. *maurth-r*; Lat. acc. *mŏrt-em*, death. Cf. E. *mortal*.

E. *scathe*; cf. Skt. *kshat-a*, wounded.

§ 119. TEUT. D (*d*) < ARYAN DH (Skt. *dh*, *d*, Gk. *θ*, Lat. init. *f*, med. *d*, *b*, Lith., Slav., Irish *d*).

INITIAL. E. *dare*, Goth. *dars*, I dare; Gk. θαρσ-εῖν, to be bold, Russ. *derz-ate*, Skt. *dhṛsh*, to dare.

E. *dough*, Goth. *dig-an*, to knead; Lat. *fing-ere*, to mould; Skt. *dih* (for **dhigh*), to smear. Cf. E. *feign*, from the French.

E. *daughter*; Gk. θυγάτηρ; Skt. *duhitar* (for **dhughitar*).

E. *door*; Gk. θύρ-α, Skt. *dvár-a* (for **dhvár-a*), Russ. *dvere*; O. Irish *dor-us*; Lat. *fŏr-es*, pl., doors.

E. *do*; Gk. τί-θη-μι, I set, put, place; Skt. *dhá*, to put. Hence E. *doo-m*, Gk. θέ-μις.

E. *drone*, to hum; Gk. θρῆν-os, a dirge; Skt. *dhran*, to sound.

FINAL AND MEDIAL. E. *udd-er*; Lat. *ŭb-er* (for **udh-er*), Gk. οὖθ-αρ, Skt. *údh-an*, *údh-ar*.

E. *hard*; Gk. κρατ-ύς, strong; Ionic κάρτ-os, strength.

E. *hide*, A. S. *hýd*; Lat. *cŭt-is*, Gk. σκῦτ-os.

E. *bind*; Skt. *bandh* (for **bhandh*), to bind; Pers. *bandan*, to bind; Aryan BHENDH.

E. *red*; Gk. ἐ-ρυθ-ρός, Lat. *rub-er* (for **rudh-er*); Skt. *rudh-ira*, blood; O. Irish *rúad*, red.

E. *wid-ow*; Lat. *uid-ua*, Skt. *vidh-ává*.

E. *word*; Lat. *uerb-um* (for **uerdh-um*). Cf. Eng. *verbal*.

E. *slide*, A. S. *slíd-an*, to slide, *slíd-or*, slippery; Lith. *slĩd-us*, *slidd-us*, shining, slippery.

But E. *stead* has *d* for *th*; cf. Goth. *stath-s*. It is allied to Lat.

stat-io, a station; Skt. *sthit-i* (for **stit-i*), an abode; § 118. For similar examples, see §§ 129, 130.

§ 120. TEUT. P (*p*)<ARYAN B (Skt. *b*, Gk. *β*, Lat. *b*)[1]. See §§ 98, 100.

INITIAL. There is no example in which this change occurs initially.

FINAL AND MEDIAL. E. *app-le*, A. S. *æpp-el*; O. Irish *ab-all*, *ub-all*, Lithuan. *ob-olys*, Russ. *iab-loko*.

E. *clip*, A. S. *clypp-an*, to embrace; Lithuan. *ab-gleb-ti*, to embrace.

E. *thorp*; Lith. *trob-a*, a dwelling, O. Irish *treb*, a settlement, tribe.

E. *deep*, Goth. *diups*; Lith. *dùb-us*, hollow, deep.

There seem, however, to be some clear cases in which the Aryan P has practically remained unshifted in English. This fact has been denied; but I think it should be admitted, though there may be some special cause, such as accent, to account for such exceptions to the general rule. I subjoin examples[2].

INITIAL. E. *path*, A. S. *pæð*, *pað*; Lat. *pons*, acc. *pont-em*, a bridge, orig. a path, way; Gk. *πάτ-ος*, a trodden way, path; Skt. *path-a* (for **pat-a*), a path. (See however Kluge, s. v. *Pfad*.)

FINAL AND MEDIAL. E. *up*, Goth. *iup*; Skt. *up-a*, near, under, *up-ari*, over[3]. It can hardly be denied that the Skt. *upari*, over, is allied to E. *upper*; and it is equally certain that Skt. *upari* corresponds to Goth. *ufar*, E. *over*. In fact, *upper* and *over* are mere variants, and an *upper-coat* is an *over-coat*. In the former case, the Aryan P remains

[1] There seem to be also some cases in which Teut. P = Aryan P; see further.

[2] Some have even asserted that an initial *p* is impossible in English, and that *every* E. word beginning with *p* must be borrowed! Yet none will deny that *p* occurs finally in native words, as e.g. in *up*, *sharp*, *warp*, *shape*; and if finally, why not initially?

[3] The ideas of 'under' and 'over' are mixed; cf. Lat. *sub*, under, *sup-er*, over. Motion from *beneath* is an *upward* motion.

unshifted; in the latter case, it is shifted regularly. The only reason for assuming that the Aryan P *must* be shifted lies in the notion that all the nine Aryan sounds—G, K, GH, D, T, TH, B, P, BH—must *always* be shifted in Teutonic. I look on the occasional apparent unshifting of P as a fact, which has only been denied lest Grimm's Law should seem imperfect. Yet we have already seen how very imperfectly the *second* shifting, from Low to High German, was carried out. See the examples below.

E. *heap*, A. S. *héap* (G. *Hauf-e*); Lithuan. *kaup-as*, Russ. *kup-a*, a heap. (Kluge admits this relationship, but notes the irregularity.)

E. *sharp*; allied to Lat. *scalp-ere*, to cut, Gk. σκορπ-ίος, a stinging insect, scorpion. (In this case the shifting is prevented by the preceding *r* or *l*). See Fick, i. 811.

E. *step*; Russ. *stop-a*, a foot-step. (Here Kluge assumes double forms for the root, viz. STAB and STAP.)

I believe that further instances might be given. I suppose, for example, that our word to *shape* comes, *without* shifting, from an Aryan root SKAP, to cut; and that our word *shave* is merely the same word in a *shifted* form. But here again, double root-forms, SKAB and SKAP, are assigned.

§ 121. TEUT. PH (Goth. *f*, *b*) < ARYAN P (Skt. *p*, Gk. π, Lat. *p*). Examples are numerous.

INITIAL. E. *father*; Lat. *pater*, Gk. πατήρ, Skt. *pitar*, Pers. *pidar*.

E. *foot*; Lat. acc. *ped-em*, Gk. acc. πόδ-α, Skt. *pád*, *pad*, Pers. *pá*, *pái*.

E. *feather*; Gk. πτερόν (for * πετ-ερόν), wing, Skt. *patra*, wing, feather.

E. *fath-om*; cf. Lat. *pat-ere*, to spread, open; Gk. πετ-άννυμι.

E. *fare*: Gk. πορ-εύομαι, I travel, πόρ-ος, a way; Lat. *ex-per-ior*, I pass through, whence E. *experience*.

E. *for*, prep.; Lat. *pro*, Gk. πρό; Skt. *pra*, before, away.

E. *farrow*, from A.S. *fearh*, a pig; Lat. *porc-us* (E. *pork*).

E. *full*; Russ. *pol-nuii*, Skt. *púr-na*, full. Cf. Gk. πολ-ύς, πλή-ρης.

E. *fell*, s., skin; Lat. *pell-is*, Gk. πέλλ-α.

E. *foal*, A.S. *fola*; Lat. *pull-us*, young of an animal, Gk. πῶλ-ος.

E. *-fold*, as in *two-fold*; cf. Gk. δι-πλάσιος (for * δι-πλάτ-yος), double, two-fold.

E. *fall*; cf. Lat. *fall-i* (for * *sfall-i*), to err; Gk. σφάλλ-ειν, to cause to fall, Skt. *sphal* (for * *spal*), to tremble. (Initial *s* lost.)

E. *few*; Lat. *pau-cus*, few, *pau-lus*, little.

E. *fish*; Lat. *pisc-is*, O. Irish *íasc* (for * *piasc*).

E. *fou-l*; Lat. *pu-tid-us*, stinking; Skt. *púy*, to stink.

E. *fire*; Gk. πῦρ.

E. *fee*, Goth. *faihu*, cattle; Lat. *pecus*, Skt. *paçu*, cattle.

E. *friend*, Goth. *frí-jonds*, lit. 'loving;' Skt. *prí*, to love.

E. *freeze*, Goth. *frius-an*; Skt. *prush*, *plush*, to burn. Cf. Lat. *pru-ina*, hoar-frost, *pru-na*, a burning coal.

E. *flow*; allied to Lat. *pluu-ia*, rain, Russ. *plu-ite*, to sail, float; Gk. πλέ-ειν, Skt. *plu*, to swim. Cf. E. *plover*.

Final and Medial. Note that, in mod. E., the A.S. *f* usually appears as *v*. Even *of* is pronounced *ov*.

E. *of*, *off*, A.S. *of*, Goth. *af*; Lat. *ab* (for * *ap*), Gk. ἀπ-ό, Skt. *ap-a*, from.

E. *over*, A.S. *ofer*, Goth. *ufar*; Skt. *upari*, above.

E. *reave*, *be-reave*, A.S. *réaf-ian*, to strip, plunder; allied to Lat. *ru(m)p-ere*, pt. t. *rup-i*, to break; Skt. *lup* (for * *rup*), to break, spoil. Our E. *loot*, plunder, is a Hindi word of Skt. origin, from Skt. *lotra*, *loptra*, plunder, a derivative of *lup*, to break, also to spoil.

E. *shave*, A.S. *sceaf-an*, Goth. *skab-an*; Lith. *skap-óti*, to shave, cut; Gk. σκάπ-τειν, to cut a trench, dig. See remarks at the end of § 120.

§ 122. Teut. B (*b*) < Aryan BH (Skt. *bh*, Gk. φ, Lat. *f*, *h*, *b*; Pers., Slav., Irish *b*).

INITIAL. E. *bane*, A.S. *ban-a*, a murderer; cf. Gk. φόν-ος, death, murder; O. Irish *ben-aim*, I strike.

E. *beech*, *book*, A.S. *bóc*, beech; Lat. *fag-us*, Gk. φηγ-ός.

E. *bett-er* (comparative); Goth. *bat-s*, good; Skt. *bhad-ra*, excellent.

E. *bind*; Skt. *bandh* (for **bhandh*), to bind, Pers. *band-an*, to bind.

E. *bear*, v.; Lat. *fer-re*, Gk. φέρ-ειν, Skt. *bhar*, to bear; Pers. *bur-dan*, to carry; O. Irish *ber-im*, I bear.

E. *brother*; Lat. *frater*, Gk. φράτηρ, Skt. *bhrátar*, Russ. *brat'*, O. Irish *bráthir*, Pers. *birádar*.

E. *bore*, v.; Lat. *for-are*, to bore, Pers. *bur-ídan*, to cut.

E. *bite*; Lat. *fi(n)d-ere*, pt. t. *fid-i*, Skt. *bhid*, to cleave.

E. *beaver*; Lithuan. *bebrus*, Russ. *bobr'*, Lat. *fiber*.

E. *birch* (tree), Mercian *birce*, A. S. *beorc*; Russ. *bereza*; Skt. *bhúrja*, a kind of birch-tree.

E. *be*, A. S. *béo-n*; Russ. *bu-ite*, to be, *bu-du*, I shall be; Lat. *fo-re*, to be, *fu-i*, I was; Gk. φύ-ειν, Pers. *bú-dan*, Skt. *bhú*, to be.

E. *break*, Goth. *brik-an*; Lat. *fra(n)g-ere*, pt. t. *freg-i*, to break. Cf. E. *fragment*, from the same root.

E. *brow*; Russ. *brove*, Gk. ὀ-φρύς; Pers. *a-brú*, Skt. *bhrú*.

E. *brook*, v., A. S. *brúc-an*, to enjoy; Lat. *frui*, pp. *fructus*, (= **frug-tus*), to enjoy, *frug-es*, fruit, Skt. *bhuj* (= **bhug*, for **bhrug*), to enjoy. Cf. E. *fruit*, from the French.

E. *blow*, (as wind); Lat. *fla-re*.

E. *black*, A. S. *blæc*, orig. sense 'burnt' or 'scorched by fire'; Lat. *flag-rare*, to burn; Gk. φλέγ-ειν, to burn; Skt. *bharg-as*, light, brightness. Cf. E. *flagrant*.

E. *blow* (as a flower); Lat. *flo-s*, a flower, *flo-r-ere*, to flourish; O. Irish *blá-the*, bloom, *bláth*, a flower.

FINAL AND MEDIAL. The Teut. final *b*, preserved in Gothic, is weakened to *v* (written *f*) in Anglo-Saxon. In a few words, such as *turf*, the *v* is strengthened to *f* by its position. This A.S. *f* usually becomes *ve* in modern English.

E. *carve*, A.S. *ceorf-an*, G. *kerb-en*; Gk. γράφ-ειν, to scratch, grave, inscribe, write[1]. Cf. O. Irish *cerb-aim*, I cut.

E. *calf*; Gk. βρέφ-ος (for *γρέφ-ος), fœtus, foal, whelp, cub, calf: Skt. *garbh-a*, fœtus.

E. *cleave*, to split, A. S. *cléof-an*, Icel. *kljúf-a*; Gk. γλύφ-ειν, to hollow out, engrave, Lat. *glub-ere* (for **glubh-ere*), to peel. (We speak of *cleavage* with relation to splitting in layers, like peel.)

E. and A. S. *turf*; prob. related to Skt. *darbh-a*, a kind of matted grass.

E. *nave* (of a wheel), A. S. *naf-a*, *naf-u*; Skt. *nábh-i*, navel, nave of a wheel.

E. *beaver*, A. S. *befer*; Russ. *bobr'*, Lat. *fiber*; Skt. *babhru*, a large ichneumon.

E. *lief*, dear, A. S. *léof*, Goth. *liub-s*; Russ. *liob-oi*, agreeable, *liob-o*, it pleases; Lat. *lub-et*, it pleases; Skt. *lubh*, to covet, desire.

E. *weave*, A. S. *wef-an*; Gk. ὑφ-ή (for *ϝεφ-ή), a web; Skt. *vábh-is*, a weaver, in the comp. *úrna-vábhis*, a spider, lit. 'wool-weaver,' cited by Curtius.

E. *shove*, A. S. *scof-ian*, weak verb, allied to *scúf-an*, to shove, strong verb; Skt. *kshobh-a* (for **skobha*), agitation, *kshubh* (= **skubh*), to become agitated.

[1] *Grave* and *carve* seem to be variants from the same root, viz. Aryan SKARBH; *carve* keeps the K (S being lost); whilst A. S. *graf-an* and Gk. γράφ-ειν shew a weakening from κ to γ.

CHAPTER IX.

Consonantal Shifting: Verner's Law.

§ 123. In Chapter VII I have given Grimm's Law in the usual form. The original notion, as started by Rask and Grimm, seems to have been that, at some extremely early period, the Parent (or Aryan) Speech split up into three systems, well distinguished by three different habits of using the chief consonants. And, in some mysterious way, this happened, perhaps, contemporaneously. It is obvious that nothing of the kind could ever have taken place. All experience shews that sound-changes take place but slowly, and new habits take long to form. Indeed, the assumption that the three systems took their rise contemporaneously is as needless as it is unlikely. Further, it is not a good plan to talk about the shifting of Sanskrit forms into Teutonic; for it is quite certain that the Sanskrit forms are often themselves of a degraded type. The shifting took place, not from Sanskrit or Greek, nor even from the 'classical' languages considered collectively, but from the Aryan or Parent Speech. At what time the Low German languages shifted the Aryan sounds, we cannot say; but we at least know that it must have been in a very early prehistoric period, since the Gothic of the fourth century shews the shifting almost wholly carried out. It is perfectly safe to say that it took place soon after the Christian era at the latest. On the other hand, the shifting from the Low German sounds to the High German ones was not only much later, but can be historically traced. Many of the oldest High German poems abound with Low German forms. The celebrated 'Strasburgh Oath,' dated

842, has *dag* (not *tag*) for 'day'; *godes* (not *gottes*) as the genitive of 'god,' though the nominative is *got*; *thing* (not *ding*) for 'thing.' Otfrid's metrical version of the Gospel history has *dohter*, daughter, *duan*, to do, *thanken*, to thank, *thurst*, thirst, &c.; yet Otfrid was only born a few years before A.D. 800. As an exact date is hardly possible, it is enough to say that this shifting, begun about A.D. 600, was still going on in the ninth century. I cannot do better than quote the words of Strong and Meyer, in their History of the German Language, 1886, p. 70.

'The High German language, though belonging to the West Teutonic group, is yet divided from the other members of this group, as well as from those of the East Teutonic, by a process of consonantal sound-shifting which in many respects bears great similarity to that which separates all the Teutonic languages from the other Indo-European languages. It is therefore sometimes called the second sound-shifting process. This process set in about 600 A.D., originating in the mountains of South Germany, and began thence to spread southwards and northwards, affecting the languages of the Langobards, Alemans, Swabians, Bavarians, and Franks, until it gradually came to a standstill in the regions of the lower Rhine. Taking these sound-changes as a test, we call all Teutonic languages and dialects that were affected by them High German, and all those left unaffected by them we call Low German.

'This whole sound-shifting process was, however, nowhere consistently carried out. While the dentals are consistently shifted on the entire High German territory, excepting alone in the Middle-Franconian dialect, the shifting of gutturals in *anlaut* and in *auslaut* [i.e. initially and finally] after consonants is confined to the so-called Upper German dialects, and that of initial labials ceases to operate in the Rheno-Franconian dialect.'

It follows that High German was originally, as regards the use of its consonants, in complete accordance with Low German[1], so that its later characteristics are, comparatively,

[1] 'The dialectal separation between South and North German ... must have begun about the year 600 ... Dutch, English, Danish,

of no particular importance to the student of early English. It was natural that Grimm should include it in his scheme, but it would have been better to treat it separately, because the facts had to be forced to try to make the scheme look complete. It is not only more convenient, but absolutely more scientific, to leave it out of consideration in taking a survey of the consonantal system of the Aryan languages. We then have only to deal with *one* fact, viz. that the Low German languages, or (to speak with perfect exactness) the Teutonic languages generally, shifted the Aryan (not merely the 'classical') sounds according to a formula which may roughly be denoted by the following symbols, viz. GHw > Gw > Q > KHw(Hw); GH > G > K > KH(H); DH > D > T > TH; and BH > B > P > PH(F). Let it be noted that the symbol > means 'older than' or 'passes into,' in accordance with its algebraical value of 'greater than.'

§ 124. The real discovery made by Rask and Grimm was, briefly, this. They practically said—'It is not enough to observe that the Latin *tres* corresponds to E. *three*, or the Latin *tu* to the English *thou*; these are only special instances of a great general law, that a Latin initial *t* corresponds to an English initial *th*, whatever the word may be; and, similarly, for other letters.' This grand generalisation was an enormous advance, because it sowed the notion that languages have laws, and that there is regular correspondence between such of them as are related. Possibly they may have regarded rather the letters or symbols than the sounds for which they stood; and, in fact, this is the easiest way of beginning, and the only way that can be perfectly explained *to the eye*. At the same time, the true philologist must really deal *with the sounds themselves*, and it only is by a recognition of this all-important truth that most modern advances in the science of

Swedish, and Norwegian . . . have really kept to the original form of Germanic speech, whilst High German has separated itself from this common foundation.'—Scherer, Hist. Germ. Lit., i. 35.

languages have been made. The symbol is a mere make-shift; the sound is subject to real physiological laws which are of primary importance, and frequently, or as some would say, *invariably*, act with surprising regularity[1]. The best plan is to regard the formulæ of sound-shifting, in § 107, as furnishing a convenient empirical rule, which should, in every case of word-comparison, be carefully considered. The facts themselves are nearly two thousand years old, and Grimm's Law only formulates them conveniently. I have already observed that 'the popular notions about Grimm's Law are extremely vague. Many imagine that Grimm *made* the law not many years ago, since which time Latin and Anglo-Saxon have been bound to obey it. But the word *law* is then strangely misapprehended; it is only a law in the sense of *an observed fact*. Latin and Anglo-Saxon were thus differentiated in times preceding the earliest record of the latter, and the difference might have been observed in the eighth century[2] if any one had had the wits to observe it. When the difference has been once perceived, and all other A. S. and Latin equivalent words are seen to follow it, we cannot consent to establish an exception to the rule in order to compare a single (supposed) pair of words [such as E. *care*, A. S. *cearu*, and Lat. *cūra*, O. Latin *coira*] which did not agree in the vowel-sound, and did not originally mean the same thing[3].'

§ **125.** It is extremely important to observe here that, after all, several of the above supposed shiftings are not really confined to the Teutonic branch of languages. Take, for example, the word *brother*, Skt. *bhrátar*. Here the Aryan BH is only kept in the Skt. *bhrátar*, Gk. φράτηρ, and the Lat.

[1] Exceptions are regarded as due to the external influence of forms which seem to be in the same category. Thus A. S. *wǽre* is now *wert*, because we already had *art*, *shalt*, *wilt*.

[2] Some of the spellings in Ælfred's translation of Orosius are not a little remarkable. He writes *Gaðes* for Lat. *Gades*, *Meðia* for *Media*, *Athlans* for *Atlas*; *Pulgoras* are 'Bulgarians,' *Crecas* are 'Greeks,' &c.

[3] Pref. to Etym. Dict., p. xxiv.

frater; it is B that appears in Russ. *brat'* (spelt *bratru* in the Old Church-Slavonic), O. Irish *bráthair*, Lith. *brolis*, Pers. *birádar* (Zend and O. Pers. *brátar*) as well as in the Gothic *brothar*. In this respect the table given in § 107 is very significant; and, in fact, the weakening of *bh* to *b* occurs in Sanskrit itself, as in *bandh*, for *bhandh*, to bind. Latin often has *d* for Aryan DH, and *g* for GH; and, in the same way, the E. *door* goes with Russ. *dvere*, and O. Irish *dorus*, as distinct from the Gk. *θύρ-α*; whilst the A. S. *nægel*, a nail, goes with Russ. *nog-ote*, Lithuan. *nag-as*, a nail, as distinct from Skt. *nakh-a*, itself a variant for **nagh-a*. Certainly, the three shiftings expressed by GH>G, DH>D, and BH>B are natural simplifications which can surprise nobody. For whatever sounds were denoted by GH, DH, BH, it is fair to suppose that they were more difficult of utterance than the sounds denoted by G, D, and B only. Further, the Teutonic symbol KH merely meant *h*, so that the formula K>KH really represents a change from *k* to *h*, and of these two sounds *k* requires the greater effort. There is, no doubt, some difficulty about such changes as G>K, D>T[1]; but they were probably due to a striving after distinctness, in order to separate the original G and D from the degraded instances of GH and DH. They are not more wonderful than the Highlander's pronunciation of *very good* as *fery coot*. Without pursuing this subject further, I will merely observe that, in Anglo-Saxon, the Greeks are called *Crécas* quite as often as they are called *Grécas*. The Gothic bishop Wulfila called them *Krēkōs*.

§ 126. Verner's Law. Notwithstanding all exceptions, some of which are real and some apparent, the Teutonic-sound-shiftings exhibit, upon the whole, a surprising regularity; and every anomaly deserves careful consideration, because we may possibly learn from it some useful lesson.

[1] I do not here include the change denoted by B > P, which is, in any case, very rare.

It was just by taking this scientific view that the remarkable law called 'Verner's Law' was discovered, which I now proceed to explain and illustrate. The particular anomaly which it explains is well exemplified by comparing the Lat. *pater*, *mater*, *frater*, Skt. *patar*, *mâtar*, *bhrâtar*, with their Teutonic equivalents. In modern English we have *father*, *mother*, *brother*, because constant association has given the words the same ending *-ther*, but this is not the case in Anglo-Saxon, nor even in Middle English[1]. The Chaucer MSS. have *fader*, *moder*, *brother*, in agreement with A. S. *fæder*, *módor*, *bróðor*, O. Friesic *feder*, *moder*, *brother*, O. Saxon *fadar*, *módar*, *bróthar*, Gothic *fadar*, *brothar* (the Gothic word for 'mother' being *aithei*). I may add, on the authority of Dr. Peile, whose assistance in describing Verner's Law I thankfully acknowledge, that the dialect of S.W. Cumberland still employs the words *fader*, *mudder*, *brother*, in accordance with Anglo-Saxon. It is quite certain that the true Teutonic types of these three words are FADER, MÔDER, BRÔTHER, whilst the true Aryan types are PATER, MÂTER, BHRÂTER. The last of these shews the shifting T > TH, whilst the two former shew T > D. Here is something worth investigation. There should be some *reason* for this; and the problem is, to discover it.

§ 127. Various answers might be suggested, but the true reason was given by Karl Verner, of Copenhagen, in July, 1875, and was published in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. xxiii. p. 97 (1877). Perhaps the first thought that might occur to any one who takes up the problem would be this, viz. that the Lat. *păter* differs from *frāter* in having a short vowel in the former syllable, whilst the *a* in *frater* is long. Unluckily, this breaks down at once, because the *a* in *mater* is long, which links it with the wrong word. Verner shews that no cause which commonly operates in language is capable of causing these variations except one—and that is ACCENT. If

[1] It is not easy to find examples of *father*, *mother* before 1500. *Let the reader try.*

we turn to Gk., we find the words to be πατήρ, μήτηρ, φράτηρ (with long *a*), which still links μήτηρ with φράτηρ, not with πατήρ; but the fact is, that the Greek does not in this instance represent the original Aryan accent, though it is often a good guide. Sanskrit, on the contrary, gives the facts rightly, and solves the difficulty. In Sanskrit, the true old nominatives were *pitá'r*, *mátá'r*, *bhrá'tar* (first *a* long), where the dot after a vowel denotes that it was accented. That is to say, *pítar* and *mátar* were accented on the *latter* syllable, but *bhrátar* upon the *former*. Hence we deduce this tentative or provisional rule:—

If the Aryan K, T, or P immediately follows the position of the accent, it shifts regularly to the Low German h, th, or f; but if it precedes the position of the accent, it becomes (as it were by a double shifting) g, d, or b.

To this it must be added, by way of necessary explanation, that the Aryan and Sanskrit (and indeed the Greek) accent was at first, at least predominantly, an accent of *pitch*, and concerned the tone of the voice, having nothing to do with the *length* or 'quantity' of a syllable, nor yet with *stress*, as in modern English. Verner thinks that the Teutonic accent was one of stress also, not of pitch only; so that the stress falling upon the vowel of an accented syllable preserved the consonant which followed it from further change beyond its first shifting. Otherwise, the consonant following an unaccented syllable suffered further change. Thus the Teutonic BRÔ'-THER, accented on the *former* syllable, kept its TH unchanged; but the Teutonic FATHE'R, accented (in the earliest period) on the latter syllable, suffered a further change of TH to D, thus becoming FADER.

§ 128. **Verner's Law (in the original German).** I ought to say that I have only stated Verner's Law, as given above, in a popular way. His own words shall now be given. 'Indogerm. *k*, *t*, *p*, gingen erst überall in *h*, *th*, *f* über; die so

enstandenen fricativæ[4] nebst der vom Indogermanischen ererbten tonlosen fricativa *s* wurden weiter inlautend bei tönenden nachbarschaft selbst tönend, erhielten sich aber als tonlose im nachlaute betonter Silben.' I. e. 'The Aryan *k*, *t*, *p*, first of all shifted into *h*, *th*, and *f*; the fricatives thus produced (together with the voiceless fricative *s* when inherited from the Aryan) afterwards became, when medial and in voiced company, themselves voiced [i. e. changed to *g*, *d*, *b*, *z*]; but remained unchanged when following an accented syllable.' It may be added that the *z*, thus produced from *s*, further changed into *r* in Anglo-Saxon. It is also worth observing in this place, that it is precisely because Verner's Law explains the change of *s* to *z* as well as the change of *k*, *t*, and *p* to *g*, *d*, and *b*, that his explanation has been accepted without question.

§ **129. Examples.** The use of the Law consists in its wide application, and the proof of it lies in the fact that it explains a large number of anomalies that had frequently been noticed, and had never before received any satisfactory explanation. It has already been shewn to explain the difference in form between the A. S. *bróðor*, brother, and the A. S. *fæder*, *módor*, in which the *ð* has been further weakened to *d*, owing to the fact that the original Teutonic accent fell upon the *latter* syllable of those words, whereas in the case of *bróðor*, it fell upon the former syllable. But it explains a great deal more than this. For example, the Skt. *a'ntara*, other, was accented on the *first* syllable; hence the Teutonic form was A'NTHERO, with the same accent, whence A. S. *óðer*[1], E. *other*, with *th* for *t*, and no further change. On the other hand, the Skt. *anta'r*, within, was accented on the *latter* syllable; hence the Teut. form was first ANTHE'R and

[1] The A. S. form was, originally, **anther*; but, as A. S. changes *an* into *on*, it became **onther*; and again, because A. S. drops *n* before *th*, it became *óðer*, the vowel being lengthened to compensate for the loss of *n*. Cf. *tóð*, tooth, for **tanð*, Lat. *dent-em*.

secondly ANDE'R, whence the A. S. *ondêr*, E. *under*, with a slight change of sense. (The G. *unter* is still often used precisely like the Lat. *inter*.) Grimm's Law would have made the Teut. form ANTHER. Once more, the Skt. *çruta·* (Gk. κλυτός), heard, from *çru*, to hear, was accented on the *latter* syllable; the corresponding Teut. form was first HLUTHA·, and secondly HLUDA·, whence A. S. *hlúd*, E. *loud*. Grimm's Law would have made it *louth*. Yet again; the Skt. *sphâti·* (=*sphâṭi*, for **spâti*), signifying 'increase,' was accented on the *latter* syllable; the corresponding Teutonic word was first SPÔTHI·, and secondly SPÔDI·, which (by a rule of vowel-change to be explained hereafter) became the A. S. *spéd*, E. *speed*. Grimm's Law would have made it *speeth*. On the other hand, the Skt. *árya*, venerable, honourable, gives a sb. *árya·-tá*, honourableness, accented on the *second* syllable, i. e. the accent just precedes the suffix *-ta*. Hence the corresponding suffix in Teutonic was -THA, which usually suffered no further change. This is the suffix so common in English, as in *weal-th*, *heal-th*, *streng-th*, &c. To take another instance, we may exemplify the curious change of *s* to *z* and *r*, as to which Grimm's Law says nothing; in fact, it only occurs where *s* has been voiced to *z* in consequence of a following accent.

Sanskrit causal verbs are formed by adding the suffix *-a·ya*, as in *bhar-a·ya*, to cause to bear, from *bhr*, to bear. This suffix is an *accented* one, having an accent on the former *a*. The corresponding suffix in Teutonic is *-jan* or *-ian*, which also originally took the accent, so that causal verbs in Teutonic were at first accented on the suffix, not on the root. Hence, from the verb *rise*, A. S. *rís-an*[1], was formed a causal verb **rás-idn*, in which, by Verner's Law, the *s* became first *z* and afterwards *r*; in fact, we meet with it only in the contracted form *rêr-an*, mod. E. *rear*. Here Verner's Law at

[1] The mark over the *i* denotes *length* only. It has nothing to do with the peculiar Teutonic accent here discussed. So also in the case of *rás-ian*, &c., the mark still denotes vowel-length only.

once explains how the E. verb to *rear* is the correct causal form of the verb to *rise*; i.e. the original sense of *rear* was simply 'to make to rise,' and the form is quite correct. But there is a still more striking fact yet to come. This is, that the Icelandic often preserves *s* unchanged, and does not always shift it to *r*[1]. Hence, the Icelandic causal verb of *rís-a*, to rise, happens to be *reis-a*[2], a form which has actually been borrowed by English, and is still in common use as *raise* (pronounced *raiz*). In other words, Verner's Law not only accounts for the variation in form between *rear* and *raise*, but enables us to trace them to the same Teutonic form RAISJAN; in fact, it tells us all we want to know. Instances might be multiplied almost indefinitely; it is sufficient to say that Verner's Law is most admirable and satisfactory, because it fully explains so many cases in which Grimm's Law seems to fail.

§ 130. Points in A. S. Grammar. There are some points in A. S. grammar which Verner's Law explains, and which are too important to be passed over. Thus, among the verbs of the '*drive*-conjugation' (see Sweet's A. S. Grammar) is the verb *snīð-an*, to cut (G. *schneiden*). The past tense singular is *ic snáð*, I cut, but the past tense plural is *wé snid-on*, we cut, and the pp. is *snid-en*; where *snid-on*, *snid-en*, shew a weakening of *ð* to *d*. The explanation is the same as before, viz. that the original accent fell on the *former* syllable of *snīð-an* and on the only remaining syllable of *snáð*, but on the *latter* syllable of *snidon* and *sniden*. Turning to Sanskrit, this is at once verified. The Skt. *bhid*, to break or cleave, has the pt. t. *bi-bhé·d-a* with accent on the root; whilst the first person *plural* of the same tense is *bi-bhid-imá·*, with the accent on the *last* syllable. The pp. is *bhin-ná·*, also accented on the final vowel. Precisely in the same way, the

[1] Thus Icel. *kjósa*, to choose, has both *kosinn* and *kjörinn* in the pp.

[2] The Icel. *s*, both in *rísa* and *reisa*, is pronounced as *s*, not *z*; so that it could not pass into *r*.

verb *céosan*, to choose, has for the first person singular of the past tense the form *céas*; but the *plural* suffered change, first into **cuzon*, and secondly into *curon*, which is the only form found. We can now easily foretell that the pp. was not *cosen*, but *coren*, as was in fact the case; the modern E. has *restored* the *s* (by 'form-association' with the infinitive *choose*), so that we now have *chosen*. This remarkable *r* is still preserved in the word *forlorn*, which has been isolated from the verb to which it belongs. It was once a pp., answering to A. S. *for-loren*, pp. of *for-léosan*, where *for-* is an intensive prefix, and *léosan* is closely connected with (but not quite the same word as) our verb *to lose*. Hence *for-lorn* meant, originally, utterly lost, left quite destitute. Some other facts which Verner's Law explains, may be also mentioned here. The Gothic infinitive of the verb 'to slay' is *slahan*, contracted in A. S. to *sleán*; the A. S. pt. t. (1 p. s.) is *slóh* (with *h*[1]), but the plural is *slógon*, and the pp. *slagen* (with *g*), E. *slain*. Lastly, the Greek accents suffice to help us to the form of the A. S. comparative. Gk. has ἡδύς, sweet, but in the comparative the accent is thrown back (where it can be) upon the root, as seen in the neuter ἥδιον (cf. the superlative ἥδιστος); and, in correspondence with this, we find the Gothic comparative from the base BAT- (good) is not *bat-i'sa* (with *s*), but *ba'i-iza* (with *z*). Consequently, the A. S. turns the Teutonic suffix -IZO into *-ira*, *-era*, *-ra*, as in *bet-ra*, E. *bett-er*; and generally, all our mod. E. comparatives end in *-er*, whilst the superlatives end in *-est*, because the *s* is protected from change by the following *t*. Cf. Goth. *bat-ist-s*, best, Gk. ἥδ-ιστ-ος, sweetest.

§ 131. Vedic Accentuation. It is a singular result of Verner's Law, that a knowledge of the A. S. conjugational forms will sometimes enable us to give a good guess as to the accentuation of a Sanskrit word in the Rig-Veda! Let us try an example. We find, in A. S., that the verb *líð-an*, to

[1] Misprinted *slóg* in the Grammar in Sweet's A. S. Reader; but the Glossary to the same gives references to *slóh*.

travel, makes the past tense *lâð*, pl. *lid-on*, pp. *lid-en*; and we further find that the past tense of the subjunctive mood takes the form *lid-e*, pl. *lid-on*. We should therefore expect that, in the corresponding Sanskrit tenses, the accent falls on the suffix rather than on the root-syllable; accordingly, we find that, in the first person plural of the second preterite, the accent falls on the last syllable, as in *bibhidima*, we clove (§ 130); and in the perfect potential tense, the accent falls upon the suffix *-yám*, as in *bibhidyá·m*, pf. potent. of *bhid*, to cleave.

§ 132. **General Results.** The following are the general results given by Verner, with reference to the above Law. They merely state it in a different form.

1. Even after the occurrence of the first consonantal shifting, the Teutonic languages preserved the original Aryan accentuation.

2. But in these languages, accent was no longer a mere pitch or tone of the voice, but actual stress, perhaps accompanied by pitch.

3. Whenever *k*, *t*, *p* appear in Teutonic sometimes as *h*, *th*, *f*, and sometimes as *g*, *d*, *b*, such variation is due to the old Aryan accentuation.

4. Whenever *s* appears in Teutonic sometimes as *s* and sometimes as *z* (or *r*), such variation is due to the same cause.

We thus see that Verner's Law goes farther than Grimm's, and explains cases in which the latter seems to fail. We may also notice that Sanskrit preserves the original Aryan accentuation, which Greek frequently fails to do. It is also noteworthy that Gothic has frequently *levelled*, or rendered uniform, its shifted forms, being in this respect a less faithful representative of the original Teutonic than either Anglo-Saxon or Icelandic.

§ 133. **Examples.** A few examples are added, by way of illustration.

Gutturals. We find *g* for *h* in the A. S. pt. t. pl. *slóg-on*, from *sléan* (Goth. *slah-an*), to slay; whilst the pt. t. sing. is *slóh*, regularly. So also in the pt. t. pl. *þwóg-on* of *þwéan* (Goth. *thwah-an*), to wash; whilst the pt. t. sing. is *þwóh* (Matt. xxvii. 24). So, too, in the pp. of these verbs, we find *slag-en*, *þwag-en*, not **slah-en*, **þwah-en*.

Dentals. Examples of *d* for *th* (*þ*) are more numerous and important. Thus, the Skt. *tṛtí·ya*, third, is accented on the second, not the first syllable; hence the Goth. form is not **þriþja*, but *þridja*, with which cf. A. S. *þridd-a*, M. E. *thrid*, mod. E. *third*. This change does not apply to the other ordinal numbers on account of their peculiar forms; thus we find A. S. *fift-a*, fifth, *sixt-a*, sixth, *endlyft-a*, eleventh, *twelft-a*, twelfth, all with voiceless *t* on account of the preceding voiceless *f* or *s*. Such pronunciations as *fift* and *sixt* may still be heard in provincial English. *Seventh*, *eighth*, *ninth*, are in A. S. *seofoþa*, *eahtoþa*, *nigoþa*, where the original accent just *preceded* the *þ*; whilst *fourth*, A. S. *féorþa*, was conformed to the analogy of the prevalent form in *-þa*.

The *d* for *th* in *hard* is explained by the accent of the Gk. κρατ-ύς. E. *-hood*, common as a suffix, is the A. S. *hád*, Goth. *haid-us*, cognate with Skt. *ketu·*, 'a distinguishing mark,' with the accent on the *u*. E. and A. S. *under*, Goth. *undar*, is cognate with Skt. *anta·r*, within; whilst E. *other*, Goth. *anthar*, on the contrary, is cognate with Skt. *a·ntara*, other, with the accent on the first syllable. The Skt. pp. suffix *-ta* was accented, and for the same reason E. past participial forms end in *d*, not *th*; examples are E. *lou-d*, A. S. *hlú-d*, cognate with Gk. κλυ-τός, renowned, Skt. *çru-ta·*, heard; E. *ol-d*, A. S. *eal-d*, cognate with Lat. *al-tus*, pp. of *al-ere*, to nourish; E. *dea-d*, A. S. *déa-d*, Goth. *dau-th-s*, whilst the allied sb. is *dea-th*, A. S. *déa-ð*, Goth. *dauth-us*; E. *nak-ed*, A. S. *nac-od*, Goth. *nakw-aths*; and generally, the E. pp. ends in *-d* or *-ed*, whilst the Goth. pp. invariably ends in *-th-s*. So, too, in the case of causal verbs, the primitive accent on the causal suffix

(A. S. *-ian*, in contracted form *-an*) leads us to expect *d* in place of *th*. Hence we have E. *lead*, vb., A. S. *lǽd-an* (=**lád-ian*), causal of *líð-an*, to travel; E. *send*, A. S. *send-an*, Goth. *sand-jan*, a causal verb allied to Goth. *sinth-s*, a journey. Note also the A. S. pt. s. *cwæþ*, quoth, pl. *cwǽd-on*; and the A. S. pp. *sod-en*, E. *sodd-en*, from the infin. *séoð-an*, E. *seethe*.

Labials. A good example occurs in E. *seven*, of which the Goth. form is *sibun*, not **sifun*; cognate with Vedic Skt. *sapta·n*, Gk. ἑπτά. It is remarkable, however, that the Teut. *b* always appears as *f* in A. S. at the end of a syllable (where it was not sounded as *f*, but as *v*). See § 122.

The letter r for s. E. *hare*, A. S. *har-a* (for **haz-a*), G. *Has-e*; cognate with Skt. *çaç-a·* (for *ças-a·*), a hare. E. *lore*, A. S. *lár*, together with the causal verb *lǽr-an*, to teach, shew *r* for *s*; cf. the Goth. *lais-jan*, to teach, connected with the pt. s. *lais*, I have learnt, of which the infin. **lis-an* does not appear. So also in the case of all comparatives of adjectives, already mentioned; as in E. *bett-er*, A. S. *bet-ra*, cognate with Goth. *þat-iza*, better. The A. S. pp. *coren*, chosen, from *céos-an*, to choose, is mentioned above; as also the old pp. *for-lorn*. Another interesting example occurs in the A. S. pp. *froren*, for which mod. E. has substituted *frozen*, as being more easily associated with the infin. *freeze*. But country people still complain of 'being *frorn*,' and we have the authority of Milton for the form *frore*, which is merely the A. S. *froren* with the loss of final *n*.

'The parching air
Burns *frore*, and cold performs th' effect of fire.'
Par. Lost, ii. 594–5.

CHAPTER X.

Vowel-Gradation.

§ 134. One of the most important matters in etymology is the consideration of the relationship of some of the older vowel-sounds, which are to a certain extent connected by what is known as 'gradation,' or in German, *ablaut*. Such a connection is especially noticeable in the case of the strong verbs, which form the past tense and past participle by means of such gradation or vowel-change. Thus the past tense of *drink* is *drank*, and the past participle is *drunken*; we have here an alteration from *i* to *a*, and again to *u*. It is obviously highly important that we should investigate to what extent such alterations are regular, and are capable of being tabulated. It may be noted, by the way, that similar alterations in the vowel-sounds are found in other Aryan languages, and are not confined to Teutonic only. Thus, in Greek, we find that the verb λείπ-ειν, to leave, makes the perfect tense λέ-λοιπ-α, and the second aorist ἔ-λιπ-ον; that is, there is a gradation from ει to οι, and again to ι. Neither is this gradation confined to the verb; it appears also in various derivatives; thus we have the sb. λεῖψις (= *λειπ-τις), a leaving; the adj. λοιπ-ός, remaining; and numerous compounds beginning with λιπο-, as in λιπο-γράμματος, wanting a letter, whence E. *lipogram*. In Latin we have *fid-ere* (=**feid-ere*), to trust; in connection with which are the adj. *fid-us*, trusty, the sb. *fid-es*, faith, and the sb. *foed-us* (=**foid-us*), a compact, treaty. These shew a gradation

from *ī* (*ei*) to *oe* (*oi*), and again to *ĭ*. These are merely given as further illustrations; in the present chapter I shall only discuss gradation as it affects the Teutonic languages, especially Anglo-Saxon and Gothic.

§ 135. Modern English is but an unsafe guide to gradation. A considerable number of the strong verbs, which were once perfectly regular, may now fitly be named 'irregular,' although that name is chiefly used to conceal the ignorance of grammarians who are unable to understand the laws of gradation. These 'irregularities' have mostly been introduced by confusing the form of the past participle with that of the past tense, and so making one form do duty for both. To make the confusion worse, we find instances in which the form of the past tense has been altered to agree with that of the past participle, besides the instances in which the process has been reversed; and a third set of instances in which a verb has been associated with another which originally belonged to a different conjugation, or with an allied weak verb, or has been altered from a strong verb to a weak one. Thus the verb *to bear* has the pt. t. *bare*, and the pp. *born*, *borne*. But the pt. t. *bare* is obsolescent, and is commonly replaced by *bore*, in which the *o* is borrowed from the pp. The A. S. *stand-an*, to stand, had the pt. t. *stōd*, and the pp. *standen*; but the form *standen* has disappeared, and the pt. t. *stood* is also used in the pp. Such a form as *spoken* shews great confusion; the A. S. verb was *sprec-an*, pt. t. *spræc*, pp. *sprecen*, which should have given in modern English, with the loss of *r*, an infin. *speak*, with the pt. t. *spake*, and a pp. **speken*; but it was naturally associated with the verb *to break*, of which the true pt. t. was *brake*, and the pp. *broken*. The result was the use of *spoken*, as associated with *broken*; moreover, the past tenses *spake* and *brake* have become archaic, and are usually supplanted by *spoke* and *broke*; where the *o* of *broke* is borrowed from the *true* form of its pp.; but that of *spoke* from a *false* form. The verb *to*

hold made the pt. t. *held*, and the pp. *hold-en*, but the latter has been supplanted by the pt. t. 'He was *held* down' is, historically, a shamefully incorrect form; but it is now considered good grammar, and we must not now say anything else[1]. Again, the old strong *intransitive* verb *to wake* made the pt. t. *woke*, so that it was correct to say *I woke*; but it was confused with the derived weak *transitive* verb *to wake*, so that we may now hear 'I *woke* him up' instead of 'I *waked* him up,' which was the original phrase. Conversely, we find 'I *waked*' used intransitively. Many verbs, such as *creep*, *weep*, *sleep*, which were once strong, are now weak. There is even one remarkable instance in which a weak verb has become strong, viz. the verb *to wear*, pt. t. *wore*, pp. *worn*; simply by association with *bear*, *bore*, *born*. The M. E. *weren*, to wear, is invariably *weak*, with a pt. t. *werede* or *wered*, and a pp. *wered*.

'Of fustian he *wered* a gipoun.'
CHAUCER, *Prolog. to C. T.*, 75.

§ 136. It follows from this that the modern English strong verbs cannot be properly understood without comparing them with the Middle English and A. S. forms; and it is absolutely necessary to the understanding of gradation that we should further consult the Gothic and other Teutonic forms, as well as the Anglo-Saxon. The Middle English and A. S. forms will be found in Morris, Hist. Outlines of E. Gramm., pp. 285–307, and need not be further discussed here. Our present object is to discover the original Teutonic vowel-gradation, and for this purpose we must compare with one another the oldest known forms of the verbs in the various Teutonic languages. The result is that we can clearly distinguish *seven* forms of conjugation; and, as the *order* of them is indifferent, I shall here keep to that which I

[1] *Held* occurs in our Bibles as a pp. only thrice (Ps. xxxii. 9, Sol. Song vii. 5, Rom. vii. 6); but *holden* occurs eleven times.

have already given in the Introduction to Morris's Specimens of English from 1150 to 1300, p. lxvii (2nd ed.). The seven conjugations are exemplified in modern English by the verbs *fall*, *shake*, *bear*, *give*, *drink*, *drive*, and *choose*; which may be remembered by aid of the following doggerel couplet—

'If e'er thou *fall*, the *shake* with patience *bear*;
Give; seldom *drink*; *drive* slowly; *choose* with care.'

The investigation of the modes of conjugation of these seven verbs will now occupy our attention.

§ 137. Reduplicating Verbs: the Verb 'to fall.' Verbs of the '*fall*' conjugation differ from all the rest in their mode of conjugation. They do not really exhibit gradation at all, but the past tense was originally formed by *reduplication*, and the vowel of the pp. was never altered. We still have the pp. *fall-en* from *fall*, *blow-n* from *blow*, *grow-n* from *grow*, *hew-n* from *hew*, and the obsolescent *hold-en* from *hold*. The word *fall* can be traced back to an Aryan root SPAL, as seen in the Skt. *sphal* (for **spal*), to tremble; Gk. σφάλλ-ειν (for *σπάλλ-ειν), to trip up, cause to fall; whence, by loss of initial *s*, we have the Lat. *fall-ere*, to deceive, orig. to trip up, and the E. *fall*. Both English and Latin words begin with the same letter *f*, because of the lost *s* of the root; the Lat. *fallere* (for **sfallere*) being due to a change of *sp* to *sf* (as in Gk. σπ to σφ); whilst *f* is the regular Teutonic substitution for Aryan *p* by Grimm's Law. Now the Lat. *fall-ere* makes the pt. t. *fe-fell-i* by reduplication; and, in precisely the same way, the Gothic verb *hald-an*, to hold, makes the pt. t. in the form *hai-hald*[1]; i.e. the initial letter of the verb is repeated, followed by the diphthong *ai*. So also we have Goth. *falth-an*, to fold, pt. t. *fai-falth*; *hait-an*, to call, pt. t. *hai-hait*; *laik-an*, to skip, pt. t. *lai-laik*. In a

[1] The Goth. *fall-an*, to fall, does not happen to occur; if it did, its past tense would be *fai-fall*.

few cases, the Gothic exhibits a vowel-change from *e* to *o* as well as reduplication, as in *let-an*, to let, pt. t. *lai-lot*; *red-an*, to provide for, pt. t. *rai-roth*. Anglo-Saxon exhibits but very few examples of reduplication; the principal being *heht*, Goth. *hai-hait*, pt. t. of *hát-an*, to call; *reord*, Goth. *rai-roth*, pt. t. of *rǽd-an*, to advise; *leolc*, Goth. *lai-laik*, pt. t. of *lác-an*, to skip; and the disfigured forms *leort*, Goth. *lai-lot*, pt. t. of *lǽt-an*, to let; and *on-dreord*, pt. t. of *on-drǽd-an*, to dread. More commonly, the contraction leads to a complete confusion of the reduplicating with the radical syllable, and the product retains a long vowel or diphthong, which is most commonly *éo*; thus, corresponding to the Goth. *hai-hald*, we have A. S. *héold*, whence E. *held*. Similarly, corresponding to the theoretical Goth. **fai-fall*, we have A. S. *féoll*, E. *fell*. For further particulars, see Sievers, O. E. Gram. § 395, &c.

§ 138. It is found that the A. S. strong verbs have *four principal stems*, to which all other forms may be referred[1].

These are:

(1) the *present-stem*, to which belong all the forms of the present tense. [It agrees with that of the INFINITIVE MOOD, which I give instead, as it makes no difference for our purpose.]

(2) the *first preterit-stem*, to which belong only the 1st and 3rd persons of the singular of the preterit indicative. [The 1ST PERS. SING. OF THE PAST TENSE is the form which I here select.]

(3) the *second preterit-stem*, comprising the 2nd person indicative and the pl. indicative of the same tense, and the whole preterit optative or subjunctive. [I here select the 1ST PERS. PL. OF THE PAST TENSE as the representative form.]

(4) *the stem of the past participle.*

In the verb *fall* these four stems are, in their A. S. forms,

[1] I copy this account from Sievers, O. E. Gr. § 379.

as follows: infin. *feall-an* (O. Mercian *fall-an*); 1st pt. s. *féoll*; 1st pt. pl. *féoll-on*; pp. *feall-en*. It will be observed that the first and fourth of these stems are identical, if we neglect the suffixes; and that the same is true of the second and third. The mode of formation of these stems needs no further explanation in this case. Full lists of the Principal Stems (or Parts) of the strong verbs will be found further on (§ 153); p. 167.

§ 139. The following are the principal mod. E. verbs which once belonged to the *fall*-conjugation; together with some weak verbs derived from obsolete strong verbs of that conjugation.

Here belong: (*a*) verbs still strong, as *behold, fall, hang* (intransitive), *hold, let*; *beat*; *blow* (as wind), *blow* (as a flower), *crow*[1], *grow, know, throw*: (*b*) *go*, pp. *gone*, the old pt. t. being lost; (*c*) verbs now weak (though *hewn, mown* and *sown* appear as past participles): *dread, fold, well, wield*; *walk*; *leap, sleep, weep*; *flow, glow, low* (as a cow), *mow, row, sow*; *thaw, hew, swoop, wheeze*: (*d*) weak verbs formed from old strong verbs: *blend, dye, read, shed, sweep, span*. Explanation of the anomalies found in modern English must be sought elsewhere; thus the verb *to hang* now makes the pt. t. *hung*, instead of M. E. *heng*. The forms *mew, sew* (for *mowed, sowed*) are still in use in the East Anglian dialect, and probably in other forms of provincial speech. Finally, the *fall*-conjugation does not at all help us in the matter of vowel-gradation, but is described here for the sake of completeness.

§ 140. **The verb 'to shake.'** The second, or *shake*-conjugation, is the simplest of all. There are but two forms of the stem, as the pp. resembles the infinitive mood (as in the case above), whilst the vowel of the past tense remains unchanged throughout. The vowel of the first stem is *a*,

[1] The pp. *crawin* occurs in G. Douglas, tr. of Virgil, prol. to Book vii. l. 114.

whilst that of the second is *ó*. This *ó* is merely due to the lengthening of *a*; cf. E. *módor* with Lat. *māter*. In Gothic, the vowel is the same. Hence the stem-vowels are: *a, ó, ó, a*; and such verbs are still sometimes found in mod. E., with *oo* (=*ó*) in the pt. t., and keeping the vowel of the infinitive in the pp. Such a verb is *shake*, pt. t. *shook*, pp. *shak-en*; A.-S. *scac-an*, later *sceac-an*, pt. t. *scóc*, pp. *scac-en*.

§ 141. Examples in modern English include: (*a*) verbs still strong—*draw, forsake, shake, slay, swear*; (*b*) verbs with strong past tenses or past participles—*stand, wake, awake* (pt. t. *stood, woke, awoke*), *grave, lade, shape, shave, wash, wax* (pp. *graven, laden, shapen, shaven, washen, waxen*); (*c*) verbs now wholly weak—*ache, bake, fare, flay, gnaw, heave, laugh, scathe, step, wade* (and frequently *shape, shave, wash, wax*); also *take*, a word of Scand. origin, but conformed to the conjugation of *shake*, and therefore wholly strong.

§ 142. The next three conjugations are extremely alike, and may have been formed by differentiation from a common type. In Gothic they usually exhibit, respectively, the stem-vowels *i, a, ē, u*, or else *i, a, ē, i*, or thirdly *i, a, u, u*; corresponding to primitive Teutonic *e(i), a, ē, o(u)*, or else *e(i), a, ē, e(i)*, or thirdly *e(i), a, u, o(u)*[1]. The general idea of these changes is not difficult to perceive; they start from a stem containing *e* or *i*, which is modified or 'graded' in the second stem to *a*, and in the fourth to *o* or *u*; unless, as in the second formula, the fourth vowel returns to that of the first stem. The form of the third stem is of comparatively small importance; in the third formula, it resembles the fourth stem, whilst in the first and second we see an evident attempt to lengthen the vowel (*a*) of the singular number. Omitting the third stem, we find the order to be *e* (*i*), *a*, *o* (*u*), which may be usefully compared

[1] The vowels between parentheses are alternative; i.e. '*e(i)*' is to be read as '*e*, or sometimes *i*.'

with the gradation observed in some Greek verbs. Thus the Gk. *τρέφ-ειν*, to nourish, has the 2nd aorist *ἔ-τραφ-ον*, and the perfect *τέ-τροφ-α*. Even in Latin we find *teg-ere*, to cover, with a derivative *tog-a*, a garment; *prec-ari*, to pray, whence *proc-us*, a wooer; *sequ-i*, to follow, whence *soc-ius*, a companion. Thus the conjugational scheme is evidently founded upon the gradation of E to A, and subsequently to O. We can now examine these conjugations more in detail.

§ 143. **The verb 'to bear.'** The Gothic stems exhibit *i* (*ai*), *a*, *ē*, *u* (*au*); the A. S. stems exhibit *e* (*i*), *æ*, *é* (*á*), *o* (*u*), corresponding to Teutonic E, A, Ê (=Â), O. The Teut. E is uniformly weakened to *i* in Gothic, except when the vowel is followed by *r*, *h*, or *hw*, when it becomes (short) *ai*. In the fourth stem, the Teut. O is *u* in Gothic, except under the same circumstances, when it becomes (short) *au*. These changes are due to the effect upon the vowel of a succeeding *r* or *h*. Examples are: Goth. *brik-an*, to break; pt. t. *brak*, pl. *brek-um*, pp. *bruk-ans*: and Goth. *bair-an*, to bear (with *ai* for *e* before *r*, as explained above); pt. t. *bar*, pl. *ber-um*, pp. *baur-ans*. Anglo-Saxon preserves the *e* and *o*, except when a nasal sound follows, when they become *i* and *u* respectively. Examples are: *ber-an*, to bear, pt. t. *bær*, pl. *bǽr-on*, pp. *bor-en*; and *nim-an*, to take, pt. t. *nam*, pl. *nám-on*, pp. *num-en*.

§ 144. Examples in modern English include (*a*) *bear*, *break*, *shear*, *steal*, *tear*; (*b*) *quail*, which is now weak; and (*c*) *come*, the form of which is disguised, the Goth. being *kwim-an*, pt. t. *kwam*, pl. *kwem-um*, pp. *kwum-ans*. Curiously enough, all these verbs (except *quail*) are still strong, and they have even added one to their number in the verb *wear*, which was originally weak. See above, § 135; p. 158.

§ 145. **The verb 'to give.'** This differs from the foregoing verb *to bear* only in its fourth stem, in which there is a return to the original vowel of the first stem. This is

observable in the mod. E. *give*, pt. t. *gave*, pp. *given*. Two examples may be given from Gothic, viz. *gib-an*, to give, pt. t. *gaf*, pl. *geb-um*, pp. *gib-ans*; and *saihw-an*, to see, pt. t. *sahw*, pl. *sehw-um*, pp. *saihw-ans*. Anglo-Saxon commonly preserves the *e* in the first stem, the chief exceptions being when it takes a weakened form or is contracted. The verb *to give* is really no exception; for, though the infinitive is often quoted as *gif-an*, a better form is *giefan*, where the *e* is radical, and the *i* is a parasitic letter inserted after the *g*, as when people call a *garden* a *gi-arden*.

§ **146.** Examples in modern English include: (*a*) verbs still strong, as *eat*, *forget*, *get*, *give*, *lie*, *see*, *sit*, *speak*, *stick*, *tread*, *weave*: (*b*) verbs now weak, as *fret*, *knead*, *mete*, *weigh*, *wreak*; (*c*) the verb *quoth*, of which only the pt. t. remains; and *bid*, originally to pray, which has entirely superseded the old verb signifying 'command,' which properly belonged to the *choose*-conjugation. The pt. t. *was* also belongs here.

§ **147. The verb 'to drink.'** The Gothic stem-vowels are *i* (*ai*), *a*, *u* (*au*), *u* (*au*), with perfect regularity; the *ai* and *au* being substituted, as explained in § 143, only when the stem-vowel is followed by *r*, *h*, or *hw*. Examples are: *driggk-an*, to drink [with *ggk* pronounced as *ngk*], pt. t. *draggk*, pl. *druggk-um*, pp. *druggk-ans*; *bairg-an*, to keep, pt. t. *barg*, pl. *baurg-um*, pp. *baurg-ans*.

The A. S. stem-vowels are *e* (*eo*, *i*), *a* (*ea*, *æ*), *u*, *o* (*u*). Here the *eo* and *ea* occur only when the stem-vowel is followed by *r*, *l*, or *h*; and *æ* only occurs in *frægn*, *bærst*, *þærsc*, *strægd*, and *brægd*, pt. t. of *frign-an*, *berst-an*, *þersc-an*, *stregd-an*, and *bregd-an*. Examples are: *berst-an*, to burst, pt. t. *bærst*, pl. *burst-on*, pp. *borst-en*; *ceorf-an*, to carve, pt. t. *cearf*, pl. *curf-on*, pp. *corf-en*; *drinc-an*, to drink, pt. t. *drank*, pl. *drunc-on*, pp. *drunc-en*. Of these, the verb *to drink* is the most characteristic, because the verbs which resemble it are most numerous, and are best represented in modern English. The peculiarity of such verbs is the use of *i* for *e* in the first stem,

which is due to the fact that the stem-vowel is invariably followed by *two* consonants, *one* of which is the nasal *m* or *n* (or the *m* or *n* is doubled in the A. S. form). It may be added that, in *all* the verbs of this conjugation, the stem-vowel is succeeded (in A. S.) by *two* consonants, *one* of which is either *m*, *n*, *l*, *r*, *g*, or *h*, i. e. either a liquid or a guttural letter.

§ 148. Examples in modern English include: (*a*) *swell*, the only partially strong verb which retains the vowel *e*, though the pp. *swollen* is giving way to *swelled*; (*b*) a large number of strong verbs containing *in*, viz. *begin*, *run* (Lowl. Sc. *rin*), *spin*, *win*; *bind*, *find*, *grind*, *wind*; *cling*, *ring*, *sing*, *sling*, *spring*, *sting*, *swing*, *wring*; *drink*, *shrink*, *sink*, *slink*, *stink*; also *fight*, *swim*: (*c*) the following weak verbs, some of which have obsolescent strong past participles, viz. *braid*, *burn*, *burst*, *carve* (pp. *carven*), *climb* (occasional pt. t. *clomb*), *delve*, *help* (pp. *holpen*), *melt* (pp. *molten*), *mourn*, *spurn*, *starve*, *thrash*, *yell*, *yield*. The verb *worth*, as in 'wo *worth* the day!' belongs here. The verb to *cringe* seems to be a secondary form from A. S. *cringan*. *Quench* is a secondary form from A. S. *cwinc-an*, to become extinguished. Other secondary forms are *bulge*, *drench*, *stint*, *stunt*, *swallow*, *throng*, *warp* [1].

§ 149. **The verb 'to drive.'** We now come to a new gradation; where the Goth. has the stem-vowels *ei*, *ai*, *i* (*ai*), *i* (*ai*); and the A. S. has the invariable set *í*, *á*, *i*, *i*. The Gothic substitution of *ai* for *i* is merely due to the presence of *r*, *h*, or *hw*, immediately succeeding the stem-vowel. The Goth. *ei* is merely the way of denoting the long *i* (*í*). The

[1] It is worth while to add here that we find a variation of vowels in *reduplicated* words, as they are called; such as *chit-chat*, *dilly-dally*, *ding-dong* (for **ding-dang*), *crinkle-crankle*, *pit-pat*, &c. In many of these the root-vowel is *a*, weakened to *i* in the former syllable. It is a meaningless copy of the principle of gradation, and of late date.

A. S. *á* answers to a Teutonic *ai*. Hence the common Teutonic form appears equally from either set, and is to be written *í, ai, i, i*. We thus learn that there are two gradations of *í*. It can either be strengthened to *ai*, or weakened to *i* (short). This corresponds to the gradation observed in the Gk. λείπ-ειν, pt. t. λέ-λοιπα, 2nd aor. ἔ-λιπ-ον; and in the Lat. *fīd-ere*, to trust, with its derivatives *foed-us* (=**foid-us*), a compact, and *fīd-es*, faith. Gothic examples are: *dreib-an*, to drive, pt. t. *draib*, pl. *drib-um*, pp. *drib-ans*; *ga-teih-an*, to point out, pt. t. *ga-taih*, pl. *ga-taih-um*, pp. *ga-taih-ans*. In A. S. we have **drīf-an*, to drive; pt. t. *drāf*, pl. *drif-on*, pp. *drif-en*.

§ 150. Examples in mod. E. include: (*a*) verbs still strong or partially strong, as *abide, arise, bide, bite, cleave* (to adhere), *drive, ride, rise, shine, shrive, slide, smite, stride, strike, writhe, write*; to which add *rive, thrive*, of Scand. origin, and *strive*, originally a weak verb; (*b*) weak verbs, as *glide, gripe, reap, sigh, slit, spew, twit*. Though we find *chode* in Gen. xxxi. 36, the A. S. *cíd-an*, to *chide*, is a weak verb, pt. t. *cidde*. The frequent occurrence of long *i* in the infinitive will be observed.

§ 151. **The verb 'to choose.'** This also introduces a new gradation. Gothic has the stem-vowels *iu, au, u* (*au*), *u* (*au*); where the substitution of *au* for *u* is merely due to the effect of the stem-vowel being followed by *r, h*, or *hw*. A. S. has the stem-vowels *éo* (*ú*), *éa, u, o*. The A. S. *éo, éa*, invariably represent the Goth. *iu, au* respectively; and both sets of stem-vowels answer to an original Teutonic set expressed by *eu, au, u, u*. We hence learn that the Teut. stem-vowel *eu* can be strengthened, on the one hand, to *au*, and weakened, on the other, to *u*. This closely resembles the Greek gradation ευ, ου, υ, as seen in ἐλεύσομαι, I shall go, perf. εἰλήλουθα, 2nd aor. ἦλυθον. Examples in Gothic are: *kius-an*, to choose, pt. t. *kaus*, pl. *kus-um*, pp. *kus-ans*; *tiuh-an*, to pull, pt. t. *tauh*, pl. *tauh-um*, pp. *tauh-ans*. In Anglo-Saxon: *céos-an*,

to choose, pt. t. *céas*, pl. *cur-on* (for **cuz-on*), pp. *cor-en* (for **coz-en*), as shewn in § 130; also *búg-an*, to bow, pt. t. *béah*, pl. *bug-on*, pp. *bog-en*.

§ **152.** Examples in mod. E. include: (*a*) verbs which still shew strong forms, as *choose*, *cleave* (to split), *fly*, *freeze*, *seethe*, *shoot*; (*b*) verbs now weak, as *brew*, *chew*, *creep*, *flee*, *lie* (to tell lies), *reek*, *rue* (all with orig. *éo* in the first stem); and *bow*, *brook*, *crowd*, *shove*, *suck*, *sup* (with *ú* in the first stem); to which we may add *bereave*, *dive*, *drip*, *float*, *lock*, *lose*, *slip*, *smoke*, *tug*, as being secondary forms immediately derived from strong forms. The A. S. *béod-an*, to offer, command, is represented, as to its *meaning*, by mod. E. *bid*; but the mode of conjugating this mod. E. verb has been borrowed from that really belonging to the old verb *bid*, to beg, pray, which belongs to the *give*-conjugation; see § 146.

§ **153.** I now give the four stems of the seven conjugations in various Teutonic languages, as they afford much help in comparing the vowels of one language with those of another. The four stems exhibit respectively, the *infinitive*; the *past tense*, 1 *person singular*; the *past tense*, 1 *person plural*, and the *past participle*, as already said.

1. FALL-conjugation.

	Infin.	*Past sing.*	*Past plur.*	*Past part.*
TEUTONIC	FALL-AN	FE-FALL	FE-FALL-UM	FALL-ANO
Gothic[1] ...	*hald-an*	*hai-hald*	*hai-hald-um*	*hald-ans*
Anglo-Saxon	*feall-an*	*féoll*	*féoll-on*	*feall-en*
English ...	*fall*	*fell*	*fell*	*fall-en*
Dutch... ...	*vall-en*	*viel*	*viel-en*	*ge-vall-en*
German ...	*fall-en*	*fiel*	*fiel-en*	*ge-fall-en*
Icelandic	*fall-a*	*fèll*	*fèll-um*	*fall-inn*
Swedish ...	*fall-a*	*föll*	*föll-o*	*fall-en*
Danish ...	*fald-e*	*faldt*	*faldt-e*	*fald-et*

[1] Gothic has not the verb 'to fall'; I substitute for it *hald-an*, to hold, which belongs to this conjugation.

2. SHAKE – conjugation.

	Infin.	*Past sing.*	*Past plur.*	*Past part.*
TEUTONIC...	SKAK-AN	SKÔK	SKÔKUM	SKAK-ANO
Gothic[1] ...	*far-an*	*for*	*for-um*	*far-ans*
Anglo-Saxon	*scac-an*	*scóc*	*scóc-on*	*scac-en*
English ...	*shake*	*shook*	*shook*	*shak-en*
Dutch[1] ...	*var-en*	*voer*	*voer-en*	*ge-var-en*
German[1] ...	*fahr-en*	*fuhr*	*fuhr-en*	*ge-fahr-en*
Icelandic ...	*skak-a*	*skók*	*skók-um*	*skek-inn*
Swedish[1] ...	*far-a*	*for*	*for-o*	*far-en*
Danish[1] ...	*far-en*	*foer*	*foer-e*	*far-et*

3. BEAR – conjugation.

	Infin.	*Past sing.*	*Past plur.*	*Past part.*
TEUTONIC...	BER-AN	BAR	BÊR-UM	BOR-ANO
Gothic[2] ...	*bair-an*	*bar*	*ber-um*	*baur-ans*
Anglo-Saxon	*ber-an*	*bær*	*bær-on*	*bor-en*
English ...	*bear*	*bare, bore*	*bare, bore*	*bor-n*
Dutch[2] ...	*brek-en*	*brak*	*brak-en*	*ge-brok-en*
German[2] ...	*brech-en*	*brach*	*brach-en*	*ge-broch-en*
Icelandic ...	*ber-a*	*bar*	*bár-um*	*bor-inn*
Swedish ...	*bär-a*	*bar*	*bur-o*	*bur-en*
Danish ...	*bær-e*	*bar*	*bar-e*	*baar-et*

4. GIVE – conjugation.

	Infin.	*Past sing.*	*Past plur.*	*Past part.*
TEUTONIC...	GEB-AN	GAB	GÊB-UM	GEB-ANO
Gothic ...	*gib-an*	*gaf*	*geb-um*	*gib-ans*
Anglo-Saxon[3]	*giefan*	*geaf*	*geáf-on*	*gif-en*
English ...	*give*	*gave*	*gave*	*giv-en*
Dutch... ...	*gev-en*	*gaf*	*gav-en*	*ge-gev-en*
German ...	*geb-en*	*gab*	*gab-en*	*ge-geb-en*
Icelandic ...	*gef-a*	*gaf*	*gáf-um*	*gef-inn*
Swedish ...	*gifv-a*	*gof*	*gofv-o*	*gifv-en*
Danish ...	*giv-e*	*gav*	*gav-e*	*giv-et*

[1] In Gothic, Dutch, German, Swedish, and Danish, I give *far-an*, to travel, instead of 'shake,' which is not used.

[2] In Gothic, the diphthongs *ai*, *au* replace the vowels *i*, *u*, when *r* follows; see p. 163. In Dutch and German I give the verb *break*.

[3] In the A. S. *gi-efan*, *ge-af*, *ge-áfon*, the *gi* or *ge* is a substitution for *g*; the vowels are really *e*, *a*, *á*.

5. DRINK – conjugation.

	Infin.	*Past sing.*	*Past plur.*	*Past part.*
TEUTONIC...	DRENK-AN	DRANK	DRONK-UM	DRONK-ANO
Gothic ...	*driggk-an*	*draggk*	*druggk-um*	*druggk-ans*
Anglo-Saxon	*drinc-an*	*dranc*	*drunc-on*	*drunc-en*
English ...	*drink*	*drank*	*drank*	*drunk*
Dutch... ...	*drink-en*	*dronk*	*dronk-en*	*ge-dronk-en*
German ...	*trink-en*	*trank*	*trank-en*	*ge-trunk-en*
Icelandic ...	*drekk-a*	*drakk*	*drukk-um*	*drukk-inn*
Swedish ...	*drick-a*	*drack*	*druck-o*	*druck-en*
Danish ...	*drikk-e*	*drak*	*drakk-e*	*drukk-et*

6. DRIVE – conjugation.

	Infin.	*Past sing.*	*Past plur.*	*Past part.*
TEUTONIC...	DRÎB-AN	DRAIB	DRIB-UM	DRIB-ANO
Gothic ...	*dreib-an*	*draib*	*drib-um*	*drib-ans*
Anglo-Saxon	*drîf-an*	*drâf*	*drif-on*	*drif-en*
English ...	*drive*	*drove*	*drove*	*driv-en*
Dutch... ...	*drijv-en*	*dreef*	*drev-en*	*ge-drev-en*
German ...	*treib-en*	*trieb*	*trieb-en*	*ge-trieb-en*
Icelandic ...	*drîf-a*	*dreif*	*drif-um*	*drif-inn*
Swedish ...	*drifv-a*	*dref*	*drefv-o*	*drifv-en*
Danish ...	*driv-e*	*drev*	*drev-e*	*drev-et*

7. CHOOSE – conjugation.

	Infin.	*Past sing.*	*Past plur.*	*Past part.*
TEUTONIC...	KEUS-AN	KAUS	KUS-UM	KUS-ANO
Gothic ...	*kius-an*	*kaus*	*kus-um*	*kus-ans*
Anglo-Saxon	*céos-an*	*céas*	*cur-on*	*cor-en*
English ...	*choose*	*chose*	*chose*	*chos-en*
Dutch... ...	*kies-en*	*koos*	*koz-en*	*ge-koz-en*
German ...	*(er)kies-en*	*(er)kor*	*(er)kor-en*	*(er)kor-en*
Icelandic ...	*kjós-a*	*kaus*	*kus-um*	*kos-inn*
Swedish[1] ...	*bjud-a*	*böd*	*böd-o*	*bud-en*
Danish[1] ...	*byd-e*	*böd*	*böd-e*	*bud-et*

[1] In Swedish and Danish I substitute *bjud-a*, *byd-e*, to bid, offer; A. S. *béodan*.

§ **154.** We can hence compile a table which will give an approximate value of the vowel-sounds in the different languages. It is not altogether correct, because some of the modern languages have altered the old values of the sounds. Thus the mod. G. pp. *ge-trieb-en*, driven, has been substituted for *ge-trib-en*, so that the original German sound really answering to our short *i* was also short *i*. Such substitutions must be allowed for.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF VOWEL-SOUNDS, AS DEDUCED FROM STRONG VERBAL STEMS.

[The stems selected are: *fall* (stem 1), *shake* (1), *bear* (2), *give* (2), for Teut. A; *shake* (2), for Teut. long O; *bear* (3), for Teut. Ê; *bear* (1), *give* (1), *drink* (1), for E; *bear* (4), *drink* (4), for O; *drive* (1, 2, 4), for long I, AI, and I; *choose* (1, 2, 3, 4), for EU, AU, and U.]

TEUTONIC...	A	Ô, Ê	E	O	Î	AI	I	EU	AU	U
Gothic ...	*a*	*o, e*	*i, ai*	*u, au*	*ei*	*ai*	*i*	*iu*	*au*	*u*
Anglo-Saxon	*a, ea, æ*	*ó, é*	*e, i, eo*	*o, u*	*í*	*á*	*í*[1]	*éo, ú*	*éa*	*u, o*
English ...	*a, o*	*oo, ā*	*ea, i*	*o, u*	*ī*	*ō*	*i*	*ē*[2], *ou*	*ē*[2]	*u, o*
Dutch... ...	*a*	*oe, ā*	*e, i*	*o*	*ij*	*ee*	*i*[1]	*ie*	*oo*	*o*
German ...	*a, ah*	*uh, ā*	*e, i*	*o, u*	*ei*	*ei*[1]	*i*[1]	*ie*	*ō*	*o*
Icelandic ...	*a*	*ó, á*	*e*	*o, u*	*í*	*ei*	*i*	*jó*	*au*	*u, o*
Swedish ...	*a, o*	*ō, u*	*ä, i*	*u*	*ī*	*ē*	*i*	*ju*	*ö*	*u*
Danish ...	*a*	*oe, ā*	*æ, i*	*aa, u*	*ī*	*ē*	*i*[1]	*y*	*ö*	*u*

§ **155.** This table is not, perhaps, exact in all particulars, as regards the modern forms, but it will give a sufficient idea of what may be expected. The principal results are the following.

(1) The Teut. A may be lengthened to Â > Ô or Ê.

(2) The Teut. E may be 'graded' to A on the one hand, and O on the other.

(3) The Teut. Î may be graded by being strengthened to AI, or weakened to I.

(4) The Teut. EU may be graded by being strengthened to AU, or weakened to U.

[1] Substituted for the values in the tables; see the remarks above.

[2] A. S. *éo, éa* commonly become E. long *e*.

We thus form four groups of sounds which are related by gradation. In cases 2, 3, and 4, we may collect them as follows:—

The E-group; E, A, O.

The I-group; Î, I, AI.

The U-group; EU, U, AU.

I here call the second the I-group because all the varieties contain I; and for the same reason I call the last the U-group; but the true starting-points are Î and EU.

We may also note some of the results as follows.

Teut. A: remains as *a* usually; A. S. also has *ea* (before *l*, *r*, *h*, or after *g*, *c*, *sc*); also *æ*; also *o* (chiefly before *m* and *n*). See Sievers, O. E. Gram. §§ 49–84, throughout.

Teut. Ô, for Â; here Gothic has long *o*, to which answers A. S. *ó*, E. *oo*.

Teut. Ê, for Â: here Gothic has long *e*, to which answers A. S. *é*, commonly E. *ee*.

Teut. E: regularly weakened to *i* in Gothic, except before *r*, *h*, *hw*, when it appears as a short *ai*. In A. S. it often remains as *e*; or becomes *i* (chiefly before *m* and *n*); or *eo* (before *l*, *r*, *h*).

Teut. O: becomes *u* in Gothic, except before *r*, *h*, *hw*, when it appears as *au*. A. S. has *o*, occasionally *u*; the latter especially before *m* and *n*.

Teut. I: usually remains *i* in the Teutonic languages.

Teut. Î: Goth. *ei*; Du. *ij*; G. *ei*; the rest, *ī*.

Teut. AI: Goth. *ai*; A. S. *á*; Icel. *ei*; E. (commonly) *ō*; G. *ei*, *ie*; the rest, *ē*.

Teut. U: Goth., Swed., Dan. *u*; A. S. and Icel. *u*, *o*; Du. and G. *o*.

Teut. EU: Goth. *iu*; A. S. *éo* (and *ū*); Icel. *jó*; Swed. *ju*; Dan. *ȳ*; G., Du. *ie*; E. long *e*[1].

[1] E. *choose* is an exceptional form; the right vowel is *ee*, as in the verbs *cleave* (for **cleeve*), *creep*, *freeze*, *seethe*. The M. E. form is *ches-en* (with the former *e* long).

Teut. AU: Goth., Icel. *au*; A. S. *éa*; G., Du. *ō*; Swed., Dan. long *ö*.

Lastly, if the Table in § 154 be compared with that in § 80, p. 96, which was obtained from different considerations, the results will be found to agree in all essential particulars.

§ 156. We are now able to compare some at least of the vowel-sounds in different languages. By way of examples, we may take the following. The Teutonic long *ī* was pronounced like *ee* in *beet*. This sound is still preserved in Icelandic, Swedish, and Danish. It was also so pronounced in A. S. and M. E. But in E., Dutch, and German, it has suffered a precisely similar alteration. It has been moved on, as if by a new gradation, from Î to AI; so that the Du. *ij*, G. *ei*, and E. long *i* are all now sounded precisely alike, i. e. as *i* in *bite*[1]. Or again, we may consider the A. S. *á*, whence came the E. *o* in *stone*, and compare it with other languages. The A. S. *á* has not always the same value, but most often it has the value indicated in § 155, i. e. it answers to Teut. AI. We should expect this to answer to Du. long *e*, and accordingly we find the Du. *steen* answering to A. S. *stán* and E. *stone*. In conj. 6, stem 2, the G. corresponding sound would seem to be *ie*, but the fact is that the G. *trieb* (drove) is a modern form; the O. H. G. was *dreib* or *treib*, and the M. H. G. was *treib*. Hence the G. *ei* is the right equivalent of A. S. *á*, as in G. *Stein*, a stone. Having obtained this result, we are prepared to find other similar examples, of which a few may be cited. E. *bone*, A. S. *bán*, Du. *been*, bone, leg, shank; G. *Bein*, a leg. E. *whole*, A. S. *hál*, Du. *heel*, G. *heil*. E. *oath*, A. S. *áþ*, Du. *eed*, G. *Eid*. E. *oak*, A. S. *ác*, Du. *eek*, G. *Eich-e*. E. *soap*, A. S. *sáp-e*, Du. *zeep*,

[1] The *intermediate* sound between *ī* (*ee* in *beet*) and *ai* (*i* in *bite*) is *ei* (*a* in *name*). This is supposed to have been the sound of E. *ī* in the time of Shakespeare. Observe that German actually retains the archaic spelling *Wein*, corresponding to a time when that word was pronounced like E. *vein*.

G. *Seif-e*. It is not to be concluded that the A. S. *á* answers to Du. *ee*, and G. *ei* in all cases, for there are numerous special instances to the contrary, but we see here quite sufficient regularity to shew what we may often expect, and we can also see that differences of vowel-sound in the *modern* forms of related languages may easily arise from the same original sound in the common Teutonic type.

§ **157**. As I have already, in Chapter V, explained the A. S. long vowel-sounds at some length, it may be interesting to compare them, as we can now more easily do, with their German and Teutonic equivalents. For this purpose I shall say a few words upon each sound, without giving every detail, beginning with § 42.

The A. S. á (long a). In many cases this answers to Teut. AI, G. *ei*, as explained in § 156. Examples: *twá*, two, G. *zwei*; *hál*, whole, G. *heil*; *dál*, dole, G. *Theil*; *áþ*, oath, G. *Eid*; *cláþ*, cloth, G. *Kleid* (a dress); *láþ*, loath, G. *leid* (troublesome); *gást*, ghost, G. *Geist*; *hás*, hoarse, G. *heis-er*; *án*, one, G. *ein*; *stán*, stone, G. *Stein*; *bán*, bone, G. *Bein* (leg); *hám*, home, G. *Heim*; *dáh*, dough, G. *Teig*, &c. But there is a second value of the German equivalent, which is less common, viz. *eh*; as in *rá*, roe, G. *Reh*; *slá*, sloe, G. *Schleh-e*; *wá*, woe, G. *Weh*; *gá*, go, G. *geh-e*; *tá*, toe, G. *Zeh-e*; *lár*, lore, G. *Lehr-e*; *sár*, sore, allied to G. *sehr*, sorely, very; *már-e*, more, G. *mehr*. This sound is, in general, merely another development of the same Teut. AI, and either occurs at the end of a syllable, or is due to the influence of a following *h* or *r*; thus A. S. *rá* is also spelt *ráh*; and A. S. *slá* is a contracted form for **sláh-e*; see further in Kluge's Etym. G. Dict.

§ **158. The A. S. é (long e)**. This most often arises from a mutation of *ó*, as explained in Chap. XI. Thus E. *feet*, A. S. *fét*, is the pl. of *foot*, A. S. *fōt*; cf. G. *Fuss*, foot, pl. *Füsse*. Hence we shall often find that the corresponding G. sound is long *ü*. Examples: A. S. *fēl-an*, to feel, G. *fühl-en*;

grén-e, green, G. *grün*; *cén-e*, keen, bold, G. *kühn*; *héd-an*, to heed, G. *hüt-en*; *bréd-an*, to breed, G. *brüt-en*, to hatch; *swét-e*, sweet, G. *süss*; *grét-an*, to greet, G. *grüss-en*. But there are several examples in which the A. S. *é* has another origin; thus *héh*, high, is a shorter form of *héah*, high, and corresponds, regularly, to G. *hoch*.

§ 159. The A. S. í (long i). This commonly answers to G. *ei*; see § 156. Examples: A. S. *bí*, by, G. *bei*; *ír-en*, iron, G. *Eis-en*; *hwíl*, while, G. *Weil-e*, &c. It is very easy to multiply examples.

§ 160. The A. S. ó (long o). This commonly answers to Teut. Ô; see the pt. t of *shake* in § 153. The A. S. *far-an*, to go, makes the pt. t. *fór*; with which cf. G. *fuhr*; so that A. S. *ó* commonly = G. long *u* or *uh*. Examples: *scó*, shoe, G. *Schuh*; *dón*, to do, G. *thun*; *tó*, too, G. *zu*; *swór*, swore, G. *schwur*; *flór*, floor, G. *Flur*; *stól*, stool, G. *Stuhl*; *hóf*, hoof, G. *Huf*; *blód*, blood, G. *Blut*; *bród*, brood, G. *Brut*; *hód*, hood, G. *Hut*; *ród*, rood, G. *Ruth-e*, &c. The G. *kühl*, cool, M. H. G. *küele*, is allied to an unmodified form *kuol*, appearing in M. H. G. *kuol-haus*, a cooling house; and this latter agrees exactly with A. S. *cól*, cool. Two important examples occur in A. S. *bróðor*, brother, G. *Bruder*; and *módor*, mother, G. *Mutter*. It is surprising to find that this G. long *u*, answering to a Teut. long Ô, was really Â in the Aryan parent-speech. We thus get the remarkable variety of long vowels seen in Lat. *māter*, Doric Gk. *μάτηρ*, Attic *μήτηρ*, A. S. *módor*, O. H. G. *muotar* (G. *Mutter*); or again, in Lat. *fāgus*, Gk. *φηγός*, A. S. *bóc*, G. *Buche*, a beech-tree.

§ 161. The A. S. ú (long u). It was shewn in § 46 that the A. S. *ú* has been developed into the modern diphthong *ou*, as in *hús*, a house, just as the A. S. *í* has been altered to the modern diphthongal long *i*. Both of these changes have taken place in German also[1]. Just as the O. H. G. *wín* is

[1] The reason, in both languages, is the same. I have already given it. See p. 53, note 2.

now *Wein* (E. *wine*), so the O. H. G. *hûs* is now *Haus* (E. *house*). Examples: *brû*, brow, G. *Augen-braue*; *sûr*, sour, G. *sauer*; *fûl*, foul, G. *faul*, corrupt; *hûs*, house, G. *Haus*; *lûs*, louse, G. *Laus*; *mûs*, mouse, G. *Maus*, &c. But there are cases in which German has preserved the *ū* unchanged; as in *ðū*, thou, G. *du*; *nū*, now, G. *nun*; *cū*, cow, G. *Kuh*. Such instances are useful, as they enable the Englishman to realise what the original A. S. *ú* was like, especially when it is remembered that *coo* (cow), *noo* (now), *moos* (mouse), *hoos* (house) are quite common words in provincial English.

§ 162. The A. S. ý (long y). As found in A. S. *mýs*, pl. of *mûs*, mouse, it answers to G. *äu* in *Mäuse*, mice. The A. S. *fýlð*, filth, may be compared with G. *Fäulniss*, rottenness. Much the same sound appears in *hýr*, hire, G. *Heuer*; *fýr*, fire, G. *Feuer*. But in G. *Haut*, hide, A. S. *hýd*, and *Braut*, bride, A. S. *brýd*, the G. *au* has suffered no modification.

§ 163. The A. S. ǽ. It appears from the 3rd stem of the conjugation of the verb *to bear* (§ 153) that the A. S. *é* answers regularly, in some cases, to G. long *a*. Examples: *él*, eel, G. *Aal*; *mél*, meal, repast, G. *Mahl*; *éfen*, evening, G. *Abend*; *sprǽc*, speech, G. *Sprach-e*; *sǽd*, seed, G. *Saat*; *dǽd*, deed, G. *That*; *nǽdl*, needle, G. *Nadel*; *slǽp*, sleep, G. *Schlaf*, &c. But there are numerous cases in which A. S. words containing *é* are mere derivatives from words containing *á* (=G. *ei*), as explained in the next chapter. In such cases, German keeps the *ei* of the more primitive word. Thus A. S. *hǽl-an*, to heal (G. *heil-en*) is derived from A. S. *hál*, whole (*G. heil*). It is obvious that German is here an excellent guide to such a method of derivation.

§ 164. The A. S. éa. It appears, from the 2nd stem of the conjugation of *choose* (§ 153), that the A. S. *éa* represents Teut. AU, and is equivalent to G. *ō*. Examples: *fléa*, flea, G. *Floh*; *éar-e*, ear, G. *Ohr*; *éast*, east, G. *Ost*; *béan*, bean, G. *Bohn-e*; *stréam*, stream, G. *Strom*. But examples are

not wanting in which G. has kept the Teut. *au* unchanged; as in *be-réaf-ian*, to bereave, G. *be-raub-en*; *léaf*, leaf, G. *Laub*; *séam*, a seam, G. *Saum*; *dréam*, a dream, G. *Traum*; *béam*, beam, G. *Baum* (tree); *héap*, a heap, G. *Hauf-e*; *hléap-an*, to run (leap), G. *lauf-en*; *céap*, a bargain, G. *Kauf* (both perhaps from Lat. *caup-o*, a huckster, though Kluge considers these words as pure Teutonic).

§ 165. **The A. S. éo.** It appears from the 1st stem of *choose* (§ 153), that the A. S. *éo* (Goth. *iu*) answers to Teut. EU, G. *ie*. Examples: *séo*, she, G. *sie*; *féoh*, cattle (fee), G. *Vieh*; *béo*, bee, G. *Bie-ne*; *déor*, deer, G. *Thier* (animal); *béor*, beer, G. *Bier*; *céol*, keel, G. *Kiel*; *séoð-an*, to seethe, G. *sied-en*, &c. But there are cases in which an A. S. *éo* arises from contraction; and here G. has *ei*; as in *préo*, three, G. *drei*; *fréo*, free, G. *frei*; *féond*, fiend, G. *Feind* (enemy). Another contracted form occurs in A. S. *séon*, to see, G. *seh-en*.

§ 166. The above examples are intended to shew how the same original Teut. sound may be quite differently developed in such languages as modern English and modern German; so that, for example, the great apparent difference between the sounds of E. *flea* and G. *Floh* can be explained; they are different developments of Teut. AU, and that is all. Grimm's Law only enables us to say that, in such a pair of words as the E. *token* (A. S. *tácen*) and the G. *Zeichen*, the *t* is regularly shifted to a G. *Z*, and the *k* (A. S. *c*) to the G. *ch*. But we can now go further, and say that the A. S. *á* and G. *ei* are both alike developed from Teut. AI, and exactly correspond. Hence the E. *token* corresponds to the G. *Zeichen* all the way through, sound for sound; and it is only when we can prove such an original *identity* of form that words can fairly be said to be cognate. That is to say, we are bound to explain not the consonants alone, but the vowels also. If anything, the vowels are of even more importance than the consonants, as they enable us to apply

a *more delicate test.* It is not till this principle is thoroughly understood that true philology begins. Mere hap-hazard comparisons are utterly worthless.

§ 167. **Practical application of the principle of gradation.** A knowledge of gradation, as explained above, enables us to trace relationships between words which might otherwise seem unrelated. Thus, when we know that long *a* and short *a* are connected by gradation, we can easily understand that the vowel may appear as short *a* in one language and as long *a* in another. Take, for example, the Skt. *çapha*, a hoof. Here the Skt. *ç*, though pronounced as *s*, is weakened from *k*, and the Skt. *ph* is an aspirated *p*, so that the Aryan form of the first syllable was KAP. By Grimm's Law, the Aryan K and P answer to Teut. *h* and *f*, respectively, thus giving the Teut. form of the same syllable as HAF. If the A be graded to Â, it becomes, as above, an A. S. *ó*, which gives us A. S. *hóf*, a hoof, at once. We cannot doubt that the Skt. *çapha*, which, practically, differs from *hóf* only in exhibiting a short *a* instead of a long one in the first syllable, is really *cognate* with the A. S. *hóf*, E. *hoof*; for the words are identical in meaning. Similarly, we can perceive such connections as the following. A. S. *móna*, moon, allied to Gk. *μήνη*, moon; from the Aryan root MA, to measure, the moon being the measurer of time; cf. Skt. *má*, to measure (§ 160). E. *food*, A. S. *fó-da*, from the root PA, to feed; Skt. *pá*, to feed. E. *foot*, A. S. *fót*, Skt. *pâd* or *pad*, a foot. E. *boot*, advantage, A. S. *bót*, G. *Busse*, reconciliation; strengthened from the Teut. base BAT, good, preserved in Goth. *bat-iza*, better, *bat-ists*, best; where BAT = Aryan BHAD, as seen in Skt. *bhad-ra*, excellent. E. *stool*, A. S. *stól*, a chair, support; G. *Stuhl*, chair, throne; Gk. *στήλη*, a pillar, named from being firmly set up; from the Aryan root STÂ, to stand firm. E. *cool*, A. S. *cól*, allied to Icel. *kal-a* (pt. t. *kól*), to freeze; A. S. *ceal-d*, O. Mercian *cal-d* (§ 33), E. *col-d*; cf. Lat. *gel-u*, frost. E. *bough*, A. S. *bóh*,

bóg, an arm, shoulder, bough, branch; Icel. *bóg-r*, shoulder of an animal, *bow* (of a ship); cognate with Gk. *πῆχ-υς* (for **φῆχ-υς*), arm, Skt. *báh-u* (for **bhágh-u*), arm, Pers. *bázú*, arm.

§ 168. The A. S. *ó* does not always arise from Teut. Ô; and we may here conveniently discuss four words of special interest in which the A. S. *ó* arises from the loss of *n* in the combination *on*, the *o* being lengthened by compensation to make up, as it were, for the loss of the consonant, because a greater stress is thus thrown upon it. Again, *on* is a frequent A. S. and M. E. substitution for an earlier *an*, owing to the A. S. habit of changing *a* into *o* before nasals. Modern English has the later form *bond* as well as *band*[1]. Hence E. *goose*, A. S. *gós*, stands for **gons*=**gans*; cf. G. *Gans*, a goose, Lat. *ans-er* (for **hans-er*=**ghans-er*), Gk. *χήν* (for **χανς*), Skt. *hañs-a*, a swan. So also E. *tooth*, A. S. *tóð*, is for **tonð*=**tanð*; cf. Lat. acc. *dent-em*, Gk. acc. *ὀ-δοντ-α*, Skt. *dant-a*, tooth. E. *other*, A. S. *óðer*, stands for **onðer*=**anðer*; Goth. *anthar*, other, Skt. *antara*. Lastly, E. *sooth*, A. S. *sóð*, is for **sonð*=**sanð*; cf. Dan. *sand*, true, Icel. *sann-r*, true (put for **sanð-r*, by assimilation); Teut. SANTHO, true, answering to Aryan SENT-. The Aryan SENT- meant 'being,' or 'existent,' or 'actual,' whence the sense of 'true' easily resulted; it appears in the Lat. acc. *ab-sent-em*, being away, *præ-sent-em*, being near at hand; and it is clear that this SENT- is short for ES-ENT-, which is nothing but a present participial form from the Aryan root ES, to be, as seen in Skt. *as*, to be, Lat. *es-se*. It is not probable that such an abstract sense as 'be' was the original sense of this root; it most likely meant to 'breathe'; as seen in the Skt. *as-u*, vital breath, life. Thus *sooth* is simply 'that which lives,' hence a reality or truth. The corresponding word in Skt. is *sant*, which, as Benfey explains at p. 63 (s. v. *as*), is properly the

[1] *Band* first occurs in the Ormulum, and is of Scand. origin; not English (A. S.), as wrongly marked in my Dictionary.

pres. part. of *as*, to be, but meant also right, virtuous, steady, venerable, excellent. The feminine form was reduced to *satí*, with the sense of 'a virtuous wife'; and this term was afterwards applied to a widow who immolated herself on the funeral pile of her husband. This is the word which we usually write *suttee*, and incorrectly apply to the burning of a widow. The Skt. short *a* being sounded as the E. *u* in *mud*, we have turned *satí* into *suttee*, just as we write *jungle*, *punch*, *pundit*, *bungalow*, *thug*, *Punjaub*, for the same reason. One of the most interesting facts in philology is the bringing together of many words which at first sight look unrelated; and it can be shewn that the same root ES, to live, is the ultimate source of all the words following, viz. *am*, *art*, *is*, *sooth*, *sin* (English); *essence*, *entity*, *ab-sent*, *pre-sent* (Latin); *eu-* (prefix), (*palæ*)-*onto-logy* (Greek); and *sutt-ee* (Sanskrit).

§ **169.** But the most important application of the principle of gradation is the following. We see that each strong verb possesses four stems, some of which are often much alike. Thus, omitting suffixes, the stems of *scac-an*, to shake, are (1) *scac-* (2) *scóc-* (3) *scóc-* (4) *scac-*, yielding only two varieties, viz. *scac-*, *scóc-*. It is found that derived words, chiefly substantives (sometimes adjectives), do not always preserve the primitive stem (*scac-*), but are sometimes formed from the variant (*scóc-*). Thus the mod. E. *shape*, sb., agrees with the stem *scap-* of *scap-an*, to shape; but the A. S. *scóp*, a poet, lit. a shaper of song, agrees with the stem *scóp*, seen in the pt. t. sing. of the same verb. It is, however, not correct to say that *scóp*, a poet, is derived from the pt. t. *scóp*; we may only say that it is derived from that strengthened form of the base which appears in the past tense. It is precisely the same case as occurs with respect to the Gk. λείπ-ειν, to leave, perf. λέ-λοιπ-α (§ 134). We find the adj. λοιπ-ός, remaining; not formed from the perf. λέ-λοιπ-α, but exhibiting the *same gradation* as that which appears in λέ-λοιπ-α. If now we employ the symbol < to signify 'derived from,' and the

symbol ‖ to signify 'a base with the same gradation as,' we may, with perfect correctness, express the etymology of *scóp*, a poet, by writing *scóp*, sb. < ‖ *scóp*, pt. t. of *scáp-an*, to shape. This is sometimes loosely expressed by omitting the symbol ‖, but it must *always be understood*; so that if at any time, for the sake of brevity, I should speak of *scóp*, a poet, as being 'derived from the pt. t. of *scap-an*,' this is only to be regarded as a loose and inaccurate way of saying that it is 'derived from a base with the same gradation as *scóp*.' And this is all that is meant when E. sbs. are said to be derived from forms of the past tenses and past participles of strong verbs.

§ 170. The result of the last section is important, because most English grammars neglect it. Instances are given in Loth's Angelsächsischenglische Grammatik, but they are taken from Anglo-Saxon, and do not clearly bring out the survival of the principle in the modern language. As this point has been so much neglected, I have endeavoured to collect such examples of gradation as I have observed in modern English, and now subjoin them; but I do not suppose that the list is complete.

§ 171. *Fall*-conjugation. There are no examples of derivatives from a secondary stem, because the past tense is formed by reduplication, not by gradation. The verb *to fell* is derived, not by gradation, but by mutation, as will be shewn hereafter (§ 192 β). From the primary stem we have such substantives as *fall*, *hold*, *span*, &c.; where the derivation is obvious.

§ 172. *Shake*-conjugation. There are no modern examples of derivatives from the second stem, except in the case of *soke*, *soken*, A. S. *sóc*, *sóc-n* < ‖ *sóc*, pt. t. of *sac-an*, to contend; and in the doubtful case of *groove*, A. S. *gróf* (?) < ‖ *gróf*, pt. t. of *graf-an*, to grave, cut. But I believe it will be found that the A. S. *gróf* is unauthorised and imaginary; that *groove* is a word of late introduction into English, being unknown in the M. E. period; and that it was merely

borrowed from Du. *groeve*[1]. Nevertheless, the principle still applies; for Du. *groeve* is derived from the stem seen in *groef*, pt. t. of Du. *graven*, to grave.

§ **173.** *Bear*-conjugation. The stems are (1) *ber-* (2) *bær-* (3) *bǽr-* (4) *bor-*, as seen in *ber-an*, to bear; or (1) *nim-* (2) *nam-* (3) *nám-* (4) *num-*; as seen in *nim-an*, to take. The following are derivatives from the 2nd stem: E. *bair-n* (child), A.S. *bear-n* < ‖ *bær* (=**bar*), pt. t. of *ber-an*, to bear. Also E. *bar-m*, A. S. *bear-m*, the lap; from the same.

E. *share*, as in *plough-share*, A. S. *scear* (=**scar*) < ‖ *scær* (for **scar*), pt. t. of *scer-an*, *scier-an*, to shear.

E. *qual-m*, A. S. *cweal-m* (=**cwal-m*), pestilence, death < ‖ A. S. *cwæl* (=**cwal*), pt. t. of A. S. *cwel-an*, to die, which is now spelt *quail*.

From the 3rd stem: *bier*, A. S. *bǽr* < ‖ *bǽr-on*, pt. t. pl. of *ber-an*, to bear.

From the 4th stem: *bur-den*, *bur-then*, A. S. *byr-ðen*, a load < (by mutation) ‖ *bor-en*, pp. of *ber-an*, to bear (§ 193). Similarly *bir-th*, A. S. *ge-byr-d*.

E. *hole*, A. S. *hol*, a hollow, cave < ‖ *hol-en*, pp. of A. S. *hel-an*, to hide.

E. *score*, A. S. *scor*, a score, i. e. twenty < ‖ *scor-en*, pp. of *scer-an*, to shear, cut.

We may also note here that *nim-b-le* and *numb* are both from A. S. *nim-an*, to take; the latter adj. was actually formed from the pp. *num-en*.

§ **174.** The *give*-conjugation.

From the 2nd stem: *lay*, v., A. S. *lecg-an* < (by mutation) ‖ *læg* (=**lag*), pt. t. of *licg-an*, to lie (§ 192 a).

E. *set*, A. S. *sett-an* < (by mutation) ‖ *sæt* (=**sat*), pt. t. of *sitt-an*, to sit (§ 192 a). Likewise E. *sett-le*, a bench.

E. *trade* (not found in A. S.) < ‖ *træd* (=**trad*), pt. t. of *tred-an*, to tread.

[1] '*Groepe*, or *Groeve*, a Furrow'; Hexham's Du. Dict. 1658. I know of no authority for *groove* as an E. word older than Skinner (1671).

E. *wain*, A. S. *wæg-n* < ‖ *wæg*, pt. t. of *weg-an*, to carry.

E. *wreck*, M.E. *wrak*, that which is driven ashore < ‖ A. S. *wræc* (=**wrac*), pt. t. of *wrec-an*, to drive (to wreak). Also E. *wretch*, A. S. *wræc-ca*, likewise < ‖ *wræc*.

From the 3rd stem: E. *speech*, A. S. *spǽc-e*, older form *sprǽc-e* < ‖ *sprǽc-on*, pt. t. pl. of *sprec-an*, to speak. So also the Scand. word *seat* (Icel. *sæti*) is to be compared with A. S. *sǽt-on*, pt. t. pl. of *sitt-an*, to sit.

From the 4th stem: E. *lai-r*, A. S. *leg-er* < ‖ *leg-en*, pp. of *licg-an*, to lie.

E. *bead*, A. S. *bed*, a prayer < ‖ *bed-en*, pp. of *bidd-an*, to pray. The same principle is applicable to Scand. words also. Thus E. *law*, A. S. *lag-u*, borrowed from Icel. *lag*, order, pl. *lög* (with sing. sense) law < ‖ Icel. *lá* (for **lag*), pt. t. of *liggja*, to lie; the 'law' is 'that which lies' or is settled.

§ 175. The *drink*-conjugation.

From the 2nd stem: E. *bend*, v., A. S. *bend-an*, to fasten a string on a bow, and so to *bend* it, from A. S. *bend*, a band, which is derived (by mutation) from a base parallel with *band*, pt. t. of *bind-an* (§ 192 a).

E. *cram*, A. S. *cramm-ian* < ‖ *cramm*, pt. t. of *crimm-an*, to cram.

E. *drench*, A. S. *drenc-an* < (by mutation) ‖ *dranc*, pt. t. of *drinc-an*, to drink (§ 192 a).

E. *malt*, A. S. *mealt*, steeped grain < ‖ *mealt*, pt. of *melt-an*, to melt, hence to steep, soften. (We may observe that the A. S. pp. *molten* is still in use.)

E. *quench*, A. S. *cwenc-an* < (by mutation) ‖ *cwanc*, pt. t. of *cwinc-an*, to become extinguished.

E. *song*, M. E. *song*, *sang*, A. S. *sang* < ‖ *sang*, pt. t. of *sing-an*, to sing. So also *singe*, A. S. *seng-an* (to make to sing), to scorch (alluding to the singing noise made by burning logs), derived by mutation from the same stem *sang* (§ 192 β).

E. *stench*, A. S. *stenc* < (by mutation) ‖ *stanc*, pt. t. of *stinc-an*, to stink.

E. *thong*, A. S. *þwang* < ‖ **þwang*, pt. t. of **þwing-an*, only found in O. Fries. *thwing-a*, O. Sax. *thwing-an*, to constrain, compress.

E. *throng*, M. E. *throng*, *thrang*, A. S. *þrang* < ‖ *þrang*, pt. t. of *þring-an*, to crowd.

E. *wander*, A. S. *wand-r-ian*, frequentative verb < ‖ *wand*, pt. t. of *wind-an*, to wind, turn about. So also E. *wand*, originally a pliant rod, that could be wound or woven; and even E. *wend*, to go, formed by mutation (192 a).

E. *-ward* as a suffix (in *to-ward*, &c.), A. S. *-weard* (Goth. *-wairth-s*) < ‖ A. S. *wearþ*, pt. t. of *weorþ-an*, to become, orig. to be turned to.

E. *warp*, threads stretched lengthwise in a loom, A. S. *wearp* < ‖ *wearp*, pt. t. of *weorp-an*, to cast, throw, throw across.

E. *wrang-le*, frequentative from the stem *wrang*, pt. t. of *wring-an*, to twist, strain, wring. So also *wrong*, adj., A. S. *wrang*, i. e. perverse, from the same stem. We may also note that E. *swam-p* is allied to *swamm*, pt. t. of *swimm-an*, to swim. Similarly the Scand. word *stang*, a pole, stake (Icel. *stang-r*) is to be compared with A. S. *stang*, pt. t. of *sting-an*, to sting, poke.

From the 3rd stem: E. *borough*, A.S. *burh*, *burg* < ‖ *burg-on*, pt. t. pl. of *beorg-an*, to keep, protect.

From the 4th stem: E. *borrow*, A. S. *borg-ian*, verb formed from *borh*, *borg*, s., a pledge < ‖ *borg-en*, pp. of *beorg-an*, to keep. So also *bury*, A. S. *byrg-an*, formed by mutation from the same stem (§ 193).

E. *bund-le* < ‖ *bund-en*, pp. of *bind-an*, to bind.

E. *crumb*, A. S. *crum-a* < ‖ *crumm-en*, pp. of *crimm-an*, to cram, squeeze.

E. *drunk-ard* < ‖ *drunc-en*, pt. t. of *drinc-an*, to drink.

§ 176. The *drive*-conjugation.

From the 1st stem: E. *chine*, a fissure in a sea-cliff, A. S. *cin-u*, a fissure < ‖ *cin-an*, to split, crack.

E. *ripe*, A. S. *rípe*, adj. < ‖ *rípan*, to reap. Hence *ripe* is 'fit for reaping.'

E. *stirrup*, A. S. *stígráp*, lit. rope to climb or mount by < ‖ *stígan*, to climb.

E. *sty*, A. S. *stígo*, a pen for cattle; from the same.

From the 2nd stem: E. *abode*, M. E. *abood* < ‖ A. S. *ábád*, pt. t. of *ábídan*, to abide.

E. *dough*, A. S. *dáh* < ‖ **dáh*, pt. t. of **dígan*, to knead, only found in the cognate Goth. *deigan*, to knead.

E. *drove*, A. S. *dráf* < ‖ A. S. *dráf*, pt. t. of *drífan*, to drive.

E. *grope*, A. S. *gráp-ian*, weak verb < ‖ *gráp*, pt. t. of *grípan*, to gripe, seize.

E. *loan*, A. S. *lán* (a rare form) < ‖ *láh*, pt. t. of *líhan*, to lend; the *-n* is a suffix, and the *h* is dropped.

E. *lode*, a course, A. S. *lád* < ‖ *láð*, pt. t. of *líðan*, to travel, go. Here the change from final *ð* to final *d* is due to Verner's Law; the pt. t. pl. of *líðan* is *lidon*, and the pp. *liden*; § 130.

E. *lore*, learning, A. S. *lár* < ‖ **lás* (not found), cognate with Goth. *lais*, I have found out, pt. t. of **leisan*, to track, find out; see p. 155. See *Lore* and *Learn* in my Etym. Dict.

E. *road*, A. S. *rád* < ‖ *rád*, pt. t. of *ríðan*, to ride.

E. *slope* answers to an A. S. **sláp* < ‖ *sláp*, pt. t. of *slípan*, to slip.

E. *Shrove* (in Shrove-Tuesday) < ‖ E. *shrove*, pt. t. of *shrive*, A. S. *scrífan*.

E. *stroke*, A. S. *strác-ian*, weak verb < ‖ *strác*, pt. t. of *stríc-an*, to strike.

E. *wroth*, adj., A. S. *wráð*, i. e. perverse < ‖ *wráð*, pt. t. of *wríðan*, to writhe, turn about.

We have at least two Scandinavian words with a corresponding stem-vowel. These are *bait*, Icel. *beit-a* < ‖ *beit*, pt. t. of *bíta*, to bite; and *raid*, Icel. *reið* < ‖ *reið*, pt. t. of *ríð-a*, to ride. We may also add *bleak*, *gleam*, *leave*, *lend*, *ready*,

rear; v., *stair*, *weak*, *wreath*, all formed by mutation. See the next Chapter (§ 195).

From the 4th stem: E. *bit*, A. S. *bit-a*, sb. < ‖ A. S. *bit-en*, pp. of *bít-an*, to bite.

E. *drif-t* < ‖ A. S. *drif-en*, pp. of *drífan*, to drive. (The suffixed *t* will be explained hereafter.)

E. *grip*, sb., A. S. *grip-e*[1] < ‖ *grip-en*, pp. of *grípan*, to gripe, grasp.

E. *lid*, sb., A. S. *hlid* < ‖ *hlid-en*, pp. of *hlídan*, to cover.

E. *slit*, sb. (whence M. E. *slit-ten*, verb), A. S. *slit-e*, sb. < ‖ *slit-en*, pp. of *slítan*, to rend.

E. *whit-tle*, to pare with a knife, from A. S. *þwit-el*, a knife < ‖ *þwit-en*, pp. of *þwítan*, to cut.

E. *writ*, A. S. (*ge*)-*writ* < ‖ *writ-en*, pp. of *wrítan*, to write.

Besides these obvious derivatives, we find others, such as these :—

E. *chin-k*, formed with suffix *k* from a base *chin-* < ‖ *cin-en*, pp. of *cínan*, to split, crack.

E. *cliff*, A. S. *clif*, properly a 'steep,' or a place to climb up; the same as Icel. *klif*, a cliff < ‖ Icel. **klif-inn* (obsolete), pp. of *klífa*, to climb.

E. *dwin-d-le*, formed (with excrescent *d*) from **dwin-le*, a regular frequentative verb < ‖ *dwin-en*, pp. of *dwínan*, to decrease, dwindle, languish.

E. *slip*, weak verb, M. E. *slip-pen* < ‖ *slip-en*, pp. of *slípan*, to slip (strong verb).

E. *shrif-t*, A. S. *scrif-t* < ‖ *scrif-en*, pp. of *scrífan*, to shrive[2].

E. *stile* (to climb over), in which the *i* has been lengthened after loss of *g*, M. E. *stiȝ-el*, A. S. *stig-el* < ‖ *stig-en*, pp. of *stígan*, to climb.

[1] Curiously enough, *grip* as a *verb* is late, borrowed from F. *gripper*.

[2] Not really a Teutonic word; but borrowed from Lat. *scribere*.

E. *Strid*, a striding-place, a well-known place in the valley of the Wharfe < ‖ *strid-en*, pp. of *stríd-an*, to stride, stride across.

Similarly, the Scand. *thrif-t* is to be compared with *thriv-en*, pp. of *thrive*; and *wick-et*, a French word of Scand. origin, is to be compared with Icel. *vik-inn*, pp. of *vík-ja*, to turn. See also *wick-et*, *witch-elm* in my Etym. Dict.

It is also highly probable that the syllable *-dige* in A. S. *hláf-dige*, a lady, is from the same stem as **dig-en*, pp. of **dígan* = Goth. *deigan*, to knead; and that the original sense of our *lady* is, consequently, 'a kneader of bread.'

§ 177. The *choose*-conjugation.

From the 1st stem we may note the following. E. *dreary*, A. S. *dréor-ig*, of which the orig. sense was gory, dripping with blood, put for **dréos-ig* (cf. Verner's Law) < ‖ *dréos-an*, to drip.

E. *crowd*, s., is best explained by supposing (with Stratmann) that the A. S. infinitive (which does not occur) was **crúd-an*, to push, not **créod-an*, as usually assumed; the pt. t. is found as *créad*. In fact, Chaucer has the verb *croud-en*, to push, and the Dutch form is *kruijen*, formerly *kruid-en*, which answers to **crúd-an* just as the Du. *buig-en* does to A. S. *búg-an*; whereas, on the other hand, the Du. for *choose* (A. S. *céos-an*) is *kiez-en*, with a very different vowel, and an A. S. **créodan* would answer to a Du. **krieden*, of which no one has ever heard.

E. *dove*, A. S. *dúf-a*, lit. 'a diver' < ‖ *dúf-an*, to dive.

E. *lout*, s., a clumsy, slouching fellow < ‖ A. S. *lút-an*, to stoop; the change from A. S. *ú* to E. *ou* being regular (§ 46).

The sb. *cripple*, formerly *creeple*[1], one who creeps about, is a derivative of the verb *to creep*.

From the 2nd stem: E. *bread*, M. E. *breed*, A. S. *bréa-d* (where *d* is a suffix) < ‖ *bréaw*, pt. t. of *bréow-an*, to brew,

[1] 'In them that bee lame or *creepelles*'; (1577) J. Frampton, Joyfull Newes out of the newe founde Worlde; fol. 52, back. See p. 59, note 3.

hence, to ferment; the orig. sense being 'that which is fermented.' Observe that the vowel in *bread*, though now short, was long in M. E.

E. *-less*, the commonest suffix in English, also has a shortened vowel. It answers to M. E. *-lees*, A. S. *-léas* < ‖ *léas*, pt. t. of *léos-an*, to lose. The suffix *-less* means 'deprived of.' The A. S. *léas* was also used as an adj., with the sense of 'false'; hence E. *leas-ing* (A. S. *léas-ung*) in the sense of 'falsehood.' The adj. *loose* is Scandinavian, from Icel. *lauss*, loose, cognate with A. S. *léas*, loose, false.

E. *neat*, cattle, A. S. *néat* < ‖ *néat*, pt. t. of *néot-an*, to use, employ. Hence the sense is 'used,' domestic.

E. *reave* (commoner in *be-reave*), A. S. *réaf-ian*, to strip of clothes, despoil, from *réaf*, s., clothes, spoil < ‖ *réaf*, pt. t. of *réof-an*, to deprive, take away.

E. *red*, M. E. *reed*, A. S. *réad* < ‖ *réad*, pt. t. of *réod-an*, to redden.

E. *reek*, s., A. S. *réc*, another form of *réac*, smoke < ‖ *réac*, pt. t. of *réoc-an*, to exhale. The original Teut. AU is still seen in the cognate G. *Rauch*, smoke; § 164.

E. *sheaf*, A. S. *scéaf* < ‖ *scéaf*, pt. t. of *scúf-an*, to shove, push together.

E. *sheet*, A. S. *scét-e*, *scýl-e*, a sheet, allied to *scéat*, a corner, fold, corner of a sail, sheet or rope fastened to a corner of a sail < ‖ *scéat*, pt. t. of *scéot-an*, to shoot, hence, to project.

E. *throe*, A. S. *þréa* < ‖ *þréaw*, pt. t. of *þréow-an*, to suffer. The vowel in E. *throe* may have been influenced by the Icel. form *þrá*.

From the 3rd stem: E. *gut*, A. S. *gutt*, properly 'a channel' < ‖ *gut-on*, pt. pl. of *géot-an*, to pour.

E. *sud-s*, pl. < ‖ *sud-on*, pt. pl. of *séoð-an*, to seethe, boil.

E. *tug*, weak verb < ‖ *tug-on*, pt. pl. of *téo-n*, to draw, pull.

From the 4th stem: E. *bode*, A. S. *bod-ian*, to announce < ‖ *bod-en*, pp. of *béod-an*, to command.

E. *bow*, a weapon, A. S. *bog-a* < ‖ *bog-en*, pp. of *búg-an*, to bend, bow.

E. *bro-th*, A. S. *bro-ð* (where *-ð* is a suffix), put for **brow-ð* < ‖ *brow-en*, pp. of *bréow-an*, to brew.

E. *drop*, A. S. *drop-a*, s. < ‖ *drop-en*, pp. of *dréop-an*, to drop, drip.

E. *dross*, A. S. *dros*, sediment, that which falls down < ‖ *dros-en*, pp. of *dréos-an*, to fall, drip down.

E. *float*, v., A. S. *flot-ian* < ‖ *flot-en*, pp. of *fléot-an*, to float.

E. *frost*, A. S. *fros-t* (*t* suffixed) < ‖ **fros-en*, orig. form of *fröz-en*, pp. of *fréos-an*, to freeze.

E. *in-got*, a mass of metal poured into a mould, from *in* and *got* < ‖ *got-en*, pp. of *géot-an*, to pour.

E. *lock*, s., A. S. *loc-a*, a lock < ‖ *loc-en*, pp. of *lúc-an*, to lock, fasten..

E. *lose*, v., M. E. *losien*, A. S. *los-ian*, orig. to become loose < ‖ **los-en*, orig. form of *lor-en*, pp. of *léos-an*, to lose, which became M. E. *les-en*, and is obsolete.

E. *lot*, s., A. S. *hlot* < ‖ *hlot-en*, pp. of *hléot-an*, to choose by lots, assign.

E. *shot*, s. < ‖ *scot-en*, pp. of *scéot-an*, to shoot. Also *scot*, in *scot-free*, which is a doublet of *shot*, and perhaps a Scand. form. Cf. Icel. *skot-inn*, pp. of *skjóta*, to shoot.

E. *shove*, A. S. *scof-ian*, weak verb < ‖ *scof-en*, pp. of *scúf-an*, to push. Hence *shov-el*.

E. *slop*, A. S. *slop-pe* < *slop-en*, pp. of *slúp-an*, to dissolve, let slip. *Slop* was especially used of the droppings of a cow.

E. *smoke*, s., A. S. *smoc-a* < ‖ *smoc-en*, pp. of *sméoc-an*, to smoke.

E. *sod*, wet or sodden turf, hence soft turf < ‖ *sod-en*, pp. of *séoð-an*, to seethe; cf. *sodden*.

We have preserved two old past participles, viz. *rotten*, Icel. *rot-inn*, and *for-lorn*, A. S. *for-loren*; both belong to strong verbs of the *choose*-conjugation. *Shuffle*, *scuffle* are Scand. words, allied to *shove*. Some derivatives are formed by

mutation, as *brítt-le, dive, drip*, &c., which will be explained hereafter; see pp. 204, 208, 203. The verb *to shut* and the sb. *shutt-le* were also formed by mutation from the 3rd stem (*scut-on*) of *scéot-an*, to shoot; see p. 204, note 1.

Brief Summary of Results.

§ 178. The chief results of §§ 153, 154 may also be arranged as follows:—

There are 4 principal gradations; A, Ô (for Â), as seen in *shake*; pt. t. *shook*, with the variation Ê (for Â) seen in the pt. t. pl. of *bear*, viz. Goth. *ber-um*, A. S. *bǽr-on*; E, A, O, as seen in *bear* (A. S. *ber-an*, Lat. *fer-re*), pt. t. *bare*, pp. *bor-n*, &c.; Î, AI, I, as seen in *drive* (A. S. *drîf-an*), pt. t. *drove* (Goth. *draib*), pp. *driv-en*; EU, AU, U, as seen in *choose* (A. S. *céos-an*, Goth. *kius-an*), pt. t. *chose* (Goth. *kaus*), pp. *chosen* (Goth. *kus-ans*), &c. They may be thus arranged, so as to shew the oldest forms (including the Old High German):—

Teutonic.	Gothic.	A.-Saxon.	Icelandic.	O. H. German.
A { Ô ... Ê	*a* { *o* ... *e*	{ *a ó* ... *æ ǽ*	*a* { *ó* ... *á*	*a* { *uo* ... *ā*
E A O	{ *ai a au* *i u*	{ *e æ o* *eo ea o* *i a u*	*e a* { *o* *u*	{ *e a* *i u*
Î AI I	*ei ai i*	*í á i*	*í ei i*	*í ei i*
EU AU U	*iu au u*	{ *éo éa u* *ú ȳ*	*jó au* { *u* *o*	{ *iu ou o* *io ó* *ū*

CHAPTER XI.

Vowel-Mutation.

§ 179. 'A *man* said to *Goldburh*, buy a *whole goose* and a *cow cheap*.' This is my memorial sentence, for remembering the principal contents of the present chapter. I may remark that *Goldburh* is a real name; it is the name of the heroine in the old English romance of Havelok, which belongs to the reign of Edward I. I shall now discuss each of the words printed in italics in the above sentence. We find, in Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Grammar, the following facts.

1. The pl. of *mann*, a man, is *menn*, men.

2. From *gold*, s. gold, is formed the adj. *gylden*, golden, and the verb *gyldan*, to gild.

3. *Burh*, a borough, town, makes the plural *byrig*, towns. The dat. sing. is also *byrig*.

4. From *hál*, adj., whole, is formed the derived verb *hǽlan*, to heal, lit. to make whole.

5. *Gós*, goose, makes the pl. *gés*, geese.

6. *Cú*, a cow, makes the pl. *cý*, cows; hence, by the way, mod. E. *ki-ne*, which stands for *ki-en* (like *eyne*, eyes, for *ey-en*). Here *ki-* = A. S. *cý*, and *-en* is a pl. suffix (A. S. *-an*); so that *ki-ne* (=*ki-en*) is a double plural[1].

7. *Céap*, a bargain, whence our *cheap* is derived, produces a derivative verb *cíepan*, *cýpan*, to buy. This verb was sometimes written *cépan*, whence our *keep*. See *Cheap*, *Keep*, in my Etym. Dict.

[1] The pl. *kye* occurs in Northern English; it is spelt *kie* in Golding's translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, fol. 26 (1603); cf. p. 66, note.

§ 180. To these results we may add one more, viz. that just as in the 7th example we see *éa* changed to *íe*, or *ý* (*ý* being a later spelling), so we find examples in which the unaccented *ea* changes to the unaccented *ie* or *y*. Even *éo* changes like *éa*, and *eo* like *ea*. These facts can easily be remembered in connection with example 7. Thus *cwealm*, death, gives the verb *á-cwielm-an*, *á-cwylm-an*, to kill; *stéor*, a steer, ox, gives the derivative *stíeric*, *stýric*, a stirk; and *heorte*, heart, gives the verb *hiertan*, *hyrtan*, to hearten or encourage.

§ 181. **I-mutation.** If we now tabulate the above results, and call the secondary or derived vowels the *mutations* of their respective primary vowels, we obtain the following arrangement, where vowels in the row marked (A) are the primary, and those in the row marked (B) are the derived vowels.

(A) ..... a o u	á ó ú	ea, eo	éa, éo
(B) ..... e y y	é ó ý	ie, y	íe, ý

This vowel-mutation, which *frequently* takes place in forming derivatives from older words, is called, in German, *umlaut*. If we were to enquire thoroughly into all the cases in which mutation occurs, we should find that *in every case* the primary vowel is influenced by the occurrence of an *i* or *u* (rarely *o*) in the next syllable. This refers only to the primary form of the word, and cannot always be detected in the known forms of Anglo-Saxon; for it not unfrequently happens that the *i*, after having produced a mutation of the preceding vowel, drops out of sight, and is lost[1]. This will be understood by considering a few instances; but, before giving these, it is necessary to halt by the way, in order to mention that, in *all* the examples already cited, the effect is produced by *i*, not by *u*. The cases in which *u* produces any

[1] This is called '*concealed* mutation,' or *concealed umlaut*. It is very common.

effect are, comparatively, so few that I leave them out of sight here. The *principle* of mutation is the thing to be first acquired; after that, all is easy.

§ 182. **Concealed mutation.** An easy example of concealed mutation occurs in the word *French*. *French* is short for *Frankish*. But the *a* in *Frankish*, being followed by an *i* in the next syllable, 'is modified in the direction of *i*, the result being a new vowel intermediate to the other two,' as Mr. Sweet puts it in his A. S. Reader, p. xix. There is, in fact, a tendency to turn *Frankish* into *Frenkish*, and we actually find, accordingly, that *Frencisc* is the A. S. form of the word. This *Frenkish* (A. S. *Frencisc*) was afterwards shortened to *French*, as we now have it; so that the *i*, after modifying the *a* to an *e*, has disappeared; that is, the cause of the mutation has been *concealed*. On the same principle we can now explain all the above results in order, which we will proceed to do.

§ 183. A > E. We found (1) that the pl. of *man* is *men*; or, in A. S., that the pl. of *mann* is *menn*. The Icel. pl. is also *menn*. This particular word is of anomalous declension, so that the process is the less clear. Gothic, which is remarkable for *never* exhibiting mutation, makes the nom. pl. both *mans* and *mannans*; and it is probable that the latter form was shortened to **manna*, and afterwards the final vowel weakened, thus giving **manni*, which would be regularly changed into *menn* in Icel. and A. S. O. Friesic, O. Saxon, and O. H. G. have the unchanged plural *man* (the same as the singular), which would result from the pl. *man-s*, by loss of *s*. We can see the result more clearly in the dative singular; for it happens that the A. S. dat. sing. takes the form *menn* as well as the nom. plural; whereas the Icel. dat. sing. is *manni*, thus affording formal proof that *menn* < **menni* = *manni*.

§ 184 (2). O > Y. The adjectival suffix *-en* is written *-eins* in Gothic, which has *gulth*, gold; *gulth-eins*, golden.

Now *ei* is merely the Goth. way of writing *ī* (long *i*); so that *gold-en* may be equated to **gold-ín*. The *ī* (like *i*) produces a mutation of *o* to *y*, so that **gold-ín* became *gyld-en* quite regularly[1]. Similarly, we can explain the verb *gild*; for the regular A. S. infin. suffix of *causal* verbs (whereby verbs are formed from pre-existent substantives) is *-ian*, so that from *luf-u*, s., love, is formed the verb *luf-ian*, to love, &c. Hence the sb. *gold* gave rise to the causal verb **gold-ian*, to gild, which regularly became *gyld-an* by mutation and subsequent loss of *i*. This process is extremely common in causal verbs; we constantly find that *-ian* is shortened to *-an* after mutation has taken place. Modern English has substituted *golden* for *gilden*[2], but retains the old mutation in the verb *to gild*, the form of which is now explained.

§ 185 (3). U > Y. *Burh*, town, makes the pl. *byrig*. As the *i* is here retained, the cause of the mutation is obvious. I may mention, by the way, some curious results. The dat. sing., like the nom. pl., is also *byrig*; so that the A. S. for 'at the town' was *æt þære byrig*, the word *burh* being feminine, and requiring the fem. form of the def. article. In later English, this gradually became *at ther bury*, or (by assimilation of *th* to *t*) *at ter bury*, a form which at once explains the surname *Atterbury* (i.e. at the town). The name was borne by a bishop of Rochester, who attained to some fame in the reigns of Anne and George I. Curiously enough, the fact of the word *borough* being of the feminine gender was often (and at last entirely) lost sight of, whilst the true form of the dative was likewise forgotten. Hence *borough* was treated as an unchangeable neuter, and the very same phrase also appeared as *at ten borough*, where *ten* represents the A. S.

[1] Strictly, it became *gyld-in*, but final *-en* is used for *-in* in A. S., the suffix *-in* being disliked; see Sievers, O.E. Gram., §. 69.

[2] M. E. *gilden*; thus St. Chrysostom is called 'Iohn *Gilden-moth*,' or Golden Mouth; Specimens of English, 1298–1393, ed. Morris and Skeat, p. 69, l. 8.

þám, the dat. neuter of the def. article. This has given us the well-known name *Attenborough*. Further, it was not uncommon to use place-names *in the dative or locative case*, and, in some instances, the prep. *æt* (E. *at*), which governs a dative, was expressly introduced; see note to sect. iv. l. 99 in Sweet's A. S. Reader, 4th ed. This at once explains the use of the dative form *Bury* as a place-name; though we also find the nominative *Burgh*, *Borough* (as in *Borough Fen*, Cambs.), and *Brough* (in Westmoreland).

§ 186 (4). Â > long Æ. The verb *to heal* is easily explained. From the adj. *hál*, whole, was made the causal verb **hál-ian*, whence (by mutation and loss of *i*) the form *hǽl-an*, M. E. *hel-en*, E. *heal*. The original form of the causal verb is quite certain in this case; for Gothic always employs the form *hail-jan* (=*hail-ian*) from the adj. *hails*, whole. In Gothic, the letter usually printed *j* is really an English *y*; and *y* is the semi-vowel corresponding to *i*, as shewn in § 129; p. 150.

§ 187 (5). Ô > Ê. The mod. E. *goose*, A. S. *gós*, answers to a Teut. type GANS[1]; see Kluge's Wörterbuch, s. v. *Gans*. But its declension followed that of the feminine '*i*-stems,' and its plural nom. was originally **gósis*, which became **gésis* by mutation, and was then shortened to *gés*[2]. Similarly, the dat. sing. **gósi* became **gési* by mutation, and was shortened to *gés* likewise. The word *foot*, A. S. *fót*, answers to a Teut. type FÔT, of the masculine gender; see Kluge, s. v. *Fuss*. In Gothic it followed the *u*-declension, but in A. S. it adhered to the consonantal declension (as in Greek and Latin); hence the nom. pl. **fótis* and the dat. sing. **fóti* both produced the form *fét*. It is curious, however, that the nom. pl. sometimes

[1] Not GANSI, as in Fick, iii. 99; for this stem would have caused vowel-change even in the nom. sing.

[2] On 'the treatment of terminal consonants and vowels' in the Teut. languages (G. *auslautgesetz*), cf. Strong and Meyer's Hist. of the German Language, p. 61; the account there given is, however, incomplete, and refers to Gothic only. See Sievers, O. E. Gram., § 133 (b).

follows a different declension, and appears as *fótas*; whilst in M. E. we even find three forms of the plural, viz. *feet*, *foten*, and *fotes*, the two latter being of rare occurrence.

Other examples appear in *tooth*, A. S. *tóð*, masc., pl. *teeth*, A. S. *téð*, rarely *tóðas*; and in *book*, A. S. *bóc*, fem., pl. *béc*; but this form was exchanged for that of the M. E. *bokes* soon after the beginning of the thirteenth century.

§ 188 (6). Long U > long Y. The E. *mouse*, A. S. *mús*, answers to a Teut. fem. base MÛS[1]; see Kluge, s. v. *Maus*. It belongs to the consonantal declension; the A. S. plural was originally **músis*, which passed into the form **mýsis* by mutation, and was then shortened to *mýs*. Other examples occur in E. *louse*, A. S. *lús*, and in E. *cow*, A. S. *cú*, both of which are feminine; the pl. forms being *lýs*, *cý*. Of these, the former is E. *lice*; the latter is the (occasional) Tudor E. and prov. E. *kie* or *kye*, afterwards lengthened to *ki-ne*, by analogy with *ey-ne* and *shoo-n*, the old plurals of *eye* and *shoe*. On the other hand, our *house*, A. S. *hús*, was a *neuter* noun; and, having a long root-syllable, remained unchanged in the plural; see Sievers, O. E. Gr. § 238; p. 117, l. 4. That is, the pl. was *hús*, now extended to *hous-es* in order to make it conform to the general rule[2]. This is why we never use the plural *hice* (!).

§ 189 (7). Long EA > long IE (Y). The explanation of *cíep-an*, to buy, is precisely similar to that of *hǽl-an*, to heal; i. e. the mutation is concealed. The sb. *céap* produced the derived verb **céap-ian*, after which the *i* caused mutation and then vanished. The other examples are of precisely the same character. In *stýr-ic*, stirk, from *stéor*, the *i* is visible. The sb. *cwealm*, death, produced a verb **cwealm-ian*, passing

[1] Not MÛSI, as in Fick, iii. 241; for this stem would have caused mutation even in the nom. sing.

[2] Note the prov. E. *hous-en*, so often commended as 'a true old Anglo-Saxon form' by those who know no better. It is only an early Southern E form, never found before the Conquest.

into *cwielman* or *cwylman*, to kill; and the sb. *heort-e*, heart, produced the verb **heort-ian*, passing into *hiertan* or *hyrtan*, to encourage.

§ 190. **U-mutation.** I have now gone through the examples represented by the memorial sentence in § 179, adding a few more by the way. It now chiefly remains to add that the principle of mutation is extremely common in A. S., and may also be due, though rarely, to the occurrence of *u*, or even *o*, in the following syllable, as well as to the occurrence of *i*. Striking examples are seen in the A. S. *meoluc*, milk, *seolfor*, silver; words in which the *eo* seems to be due to *u*-mutation rather than to a mere 'breaking' of *i* into *eo* before a following *l*; see Sievers, O. E. Gram., §§ 39, 107. In the former case, *meol-uc* stands for *mil-uc** (cf. Goth. *mil-uk-s*, milk); and the *eo* is technically described as being 'a *u*-mutation of *i*,' because the *u* has turned *i* into *eo*. In the second case, the mutation is concealed; *seolfor* is contracted for **seol(o)for* or **seol(u)for*, and *eo* is, as before, a *u*-mutation of *i*; the Gothic form being *silubr*, O. Sax. *silubar*. These forms are of some interest, because the vowel *i* in the mod. E. words *milk* and *silver* shews that they belong rather to the Mercian than to the Wessex dialect. The form *silofer* occurs once, and *sylfor* twice in A. S. poetry, but *seolfor* is the usual form. The O. Mercian *sylfur* has been already noticed; see § 33. The Northumbrian form is *sulfer* (Matt. x. 9).

§ 191. **Examples.** I now give several examples of all the above *i*-mutations in A. S., reserving for the present such as are still retained in the modern language. These are of such importance that they will be noticed separately in § 192.

(1) A > E. A. S. *lang*, long; compar. *leng-ra* (for **lang-ira*=**lang-iza*); Goth. comparatives end in *-iza*; cf. § 130. A.S. *strang*, strong; compar. *streng-ra*, stronger. Also, from A. S. *lang*, the verb *leng-an* (=**lang-ian*), to prolong. From A. S. *land*, land, the verb *lend-an* (=**land-ian*), to

land. From A. S. *nam-a*, a name, the verb *nemn-an* (=**namn-ian*), to name. The strong verb 'to heave,' with pt. t. *hóf*, has the weak infinitive *hebban* (=**haf-ian*), instead of the regular **haf-an*, which is not found; see Sweet, A. S. Reader, p. lxx[1]. Similarly, the strong verb 'to swear,' with pt. t. *swór*, has the weak infinitive *swerian* (=**swar-ian*) instead of **swaran*, which is not found; id., p. lxxi.

In order to save space, and for the greater clearness, I shall use (as before) the symbol > to mean 'produces,' and the symbol < to mean 'is produced, or derived, from.' I also use two dots (..) as the sign of 'mutation,' so that >.. will mean 'produces by mutation,' and <.. will mean 'is derived by mutation.' My reason for the use of this symbol is that, in German, mutation is denoted by two dots over a vowel; for example, the pl. of *Mann* (man) is *Männer*, where *ä* is the modified form of *a*. In accordance with this notation, A. S. *swerian* <.. **swar-ian*; and again, A. S. *leng-ra* <.. **lang-ira*, compar. of *lang*.

(2) O > Y. A. S. *gold* >.. *gyld-en* (for **gold-in*, as explained above). So also A. S. *horn*, horn >.. *hyrn-ed*, horned. A. S. *storm*, storm >.. *styrm-an*, to storm, assail. A. S. *form-a*, first >.. *fyrm-est* (=**form-ist*), first; really a double superlative (E. *foremost*). A. S. *folg-ian*, to follow, often appears in the mutated form *fylgian*. A. S. *cor-* ‖ *cor-en*, pp. of *céos-an*, to choose >.. *cyr-e*, choice. A. S. *god*, god >.. *gyd-en* (=**gyd-in*), goddess; cf. G. *Gött-in*, goddess, &c.

(3) U > Y. A. S. *burh*, borough >.. *byrig*, plural. A. S. *wurc* (also *weorc*), work >.. *wyrcan* (=**wurc-ian*), to work. A. S. *wull*, wool >.. *wyll-en*, woollen. A. S. *wulf*, a wolf >.. *wylf-en*, a she-wolf; this is not in the dictionaries, but appears in the following curious gloss: 'Bellona, i. furia, dea belli, mater Martis, *wylfen*'; where 'i.' is the usual con-

[1] Note the form *hebban*, not *hefan*; the doubling of the *b* is due to the contraction ensuing the loss of *i*. Observe, too, that A. S. puts *bb* for *ff*; Sweet, A. S. Reader, p. xxviii.

traction for *id est*, that is to say[1]. A. S. *hungor*, hunger > .. *hyngrian*, to hunger. A. S. *munuc*, monk (merely borrowed from Lat. *monachus*) > .. *mynicen*, a nun; whence the surname *Minchin*.

(4) Long A > long Æ, A. S. *hál*, whole > .. *hǽl-an*, to heal; as in § 186. A. S. *lár*, lore > .. *lǽr-an*, to teach. A. S. *stán*, stone > .. *stǽn-en*, made of stone; also *stǽn-an*, v., to stone. A. S. *ác*, oak > .. *ǽc-en*, oaken. A. S. *brád*, broad > .. *brǽd-an*, to broaden, make broad, &c.

(5) Long O > long E. A. S. *gós*, goose, pl. *gés*; so also *tóð*, pl. *téð*; *fót*, pl. *fét*. The A. S. *bóc*, book, makes the pl. *béc*, as if=E. **beek*; but the M. E. pl. was *bok-es*, now *books*. A. S. *bót*, advantage, E. *boot* > .. *bét-an* (=**bot-ian*, Goth. *botjan*), to profit; Lowl. Sc. *beet*, to profit, amend—hence, to add fuel to fire. Burns uses it metaphorically in his Epistle to Davie, st. 8:—

> 'It warms me, it charms me,
> To mention but her name;
> It heats me, it *beets* me,
> And sets me a' on flame!'

(6) Long U > long Y. A. S. *cú*, cow, pl. *cý*, ki-ne; as in § 188. So also *cúð*, pp. known > .. *cýð-an* (=**cúð-ian*), M. E. *kythen*, to make known, shew, display.

> 'For gentil herte *kytheth* gentilesse.'
> CHAUCER, *Squ. Tale*, 483.

A. S. *tún*, enclosure, town > .. *týn-an* (=**tún-ian*), to enclose; M. E. *tynen*. Thus, in the Promptorium Parvulorum, written in 1440, we find: '*Tynyd*, or hedgydde, *Septus*.' A. S. *scrúd*, a shroud > .. *scrýdan* (=**scrúd-ian*), to clothe, cover up.

(7). EA > IE (Y). A. S. *céap*, a bargain (our *cheap*) > .. *cíep-an*, *cýp-an*, to buy (our *keep*), in § 189. A. S. *déad*, dead > .. *dýd-an* (=**déad-ian*), to make dead, kill. A. S. *séam*,

[1] See Wright's Vocab., ed. Wülcker, col. 194.

a horse-load > .. *sým-an* (=**séam-ian*), to load a horse. A. S. *dréam*, joy > .. *drým-an*, to rejoice. A. S. *néad*, need > .. *nýd-an*, to compel.

§ 192. It remains to give examples of the *i*-mutation in modern English, in which it is by no means uncommon, though our grammars usually say but little about it.

1. (a). A > .. E. In the following words, the Gothic form at once shews that the A. S. *e* is an *i*-mutation of *a*.

E. *ail*, A. S. *egl-an*; Goth. *agljan*, occurring in the comp. *us-agljan*, to trouble exceedingly; allied to E. *awe*, from Icel. *agi*, fear (Goth. *agis*, fear).

In E. *bar-ley*, the former syllable = A. S. *bere*, barley; Goth. *baris*, barley. (Mod. E. puts *ar* for *er*.)

E. *bed*, A. S. *bed*; Goth. *badi*.

E. *bellows*, pl. of *bellow*, M. E. *below*, *belu*, *beli*, A. S. *belg*, a bag; Goth. *balgs* (stem *balgi-*), a wine-skin.

E. *bend*, v., A. S. *bendan*, orig. to string a bow, fasten a band to it, from A. S. *bend*, a band (Goth. *bandi*, a band).

E. *berry*, A. S. *berige* (= **bazige*); cf. Goth. *basi*, a berry.

E. *better*, A. S. *betra* (=**batira*); Goth. *batiza*, better.

E. *best*, A. S. *betst* (=**batist*); Goth. *batists*, best.

E. *drench*, A. S. *drencan* (=**drancian*), to give to drink; Goth. *draggkjan*, to give to drink (where *ggk* = *ngk*, by an imitation of Greek spelling).

E. *ell*, A. S. *eln* (short for **elin* = **alin*); Icel. *alin*, Goth. *aleina*, a cubit.

E. *else*, A. S. *elles*; allied to Goth. *alja*, except; cf. Lat. *alias*, otherwise.

E. *end*, A. S. *ende*; cf. Goth. *andi-laus*, endless.

E. *fen*, A. S. *fenn*; Goth. *fani*, mud.

E. *guest*, A. S. *gest*, also *gæst*; Goth. *gasts* (stem *gasti-*), a guest, *gasti-gods*, good to guests, hospitable.

E. *hell*, A. S. *hel*, *hell*; Goth. *halja*, hell.

E. *hen*, A. S. *henn* (originally **henjá*, see Sievers, O. Eng.

Grammar, ed. Cook, §§ 256, 258), and so fem. of A. S. *hana*, Goth. *hana*, a cock.

E. *ken*, to know, M. E. *kennen*, to make known, Icel. *kenna*, Goth. *kannjan*, to make known.

E. *kettle*, A. S. *cetel*; Goth. *katils*; not a Teut. word, but borrowed from Lat. *catillus*, dimin. of *catinus*, a bowl.

E. *lay*, v., A. S. *lecgan* (=**lag-ian*); Goth. *lagjan*. Here *cg* is merely a way of writing *gg*; and the gemination[1] or doubling of the *g* is due to the contraction; (*gg* < *gi*).

E. *let*, v., to hinder, delay, A. S. *lettan* (=**latian*), to make late; Goth. *latjan*, to be late, tarry, from the adj. *lat-s* (A. S. *læt*), late, slow. The double *t* is due to contraction; (*tt* < *ti*).

E. *meat*, A. S. *mete*; Goth. *mats* (stem *mati-*), meat; *mati-balgs*, a meat-bag.

E. *mere*, a lake, A. S. *mere*; Goth. *marei*, sea.

E. *net*, A. S. *net*, *nett*; Goth. *nati*.

E. *send*, A. S. *sendan* (=**sandian*); Goth. *sandjan*.

E. *set*, A. S. *settan* (=**sat-ian*)[1]; Goth. *satjan*.

E. *shell*, A. S. *scell*; cf. Goth. *skalja*, a tile.

E. *stead*, a place, A. S. *stede*; Goth. *staths*, pl. *stadeis* (stem *stadi-*).

E. *swear*, A. S. *swer-ian*, a strong verb with a weak infinitive; but the Goth. infin. is *swaran*.

E. *twelve*, A. S. *twelfe*, *twelf*; Goth. *twalif*.

E. *wear*, to wear clothes, A. S. *werian* (=**wazian*); Goth. *wasjan*, to clothe.

E. *wed*, A. S. *weddian*, v., from *wed*, s., a pledge; Goth. *wadi*, a pledge.

E. *wend*, A. S. *wendan* (=**wandian*), to turn; Goth. *wandjan*, to turn.

(β). Besides the above words, in which the true origin of the *e* is so clearly shewn by the Gothic forms, there are many

[1] Gemination is common in A. S. in words of this sort. Thus *hebban* =**heffan* <**hafian* (see § 191), so that *fi* > *bb*. So also *gi* > *cg*; *ci* > *cc*; *li* > *ll*; *mi* > *mm*, &c.

others, some of which are explained in my Dictionary. Thus *blend* answers to A. S. *blendan*, to blind; but as *blendan* (=**bland-ian*) is really the causal verb due to *bland-an*, to mix, the two were confused, and the secondary verb took the sense of 'blend.' *Bench*, A. S. *benc* (=**bank-i*) is a derivative of *bank*. *Dwell*, A. S. *dwellan* (=**dwalian*), is a derivative from the base *dwal-* occurring in Goth. *dwal-s*, foolish; it meant originally to lead into error, then to hinder, delay, and intransitively, to remain. E. *edge*, A. S. *ecg* (for **aggi*), is cognate with Lat. *aci-es*, and answers to a Teut. form AGJO (Fick, iii. 10). E. *English* obviously stands for *Angle-ish*; the A. S. form is *Englisc* or *Æenglisc*, derived from *Angle*, pl. the Angles. *Fell*, A. S. *fell-an*, is a causal verb (=**fall-ian*), due to the strong verb *feall-an* (for **fall-an*), to fall. *Fresh*, A. S. *fersc*, stands for A. S. **far-isc*, i. e. full of movement, flowing, as applied to water that always flows, and is never stagnant; formed from *far-an*, to go, move, with the common suffix *-isc* (E. *-ish*). *Hedge*, A. S. *hecge* (see Supplement to Dict.), stands for **hag-jo*, from the older form *hag-a*, a hedge, which is the mod. E. *haw*; cf. *edge*, A. S. *ecg* (for **agjo*), just above. E. *length*, A. S. *lengð*, answers to a Teut. form LANGITHO (Fick, iii. 265); from *lang*, long; so also Icel. *lengd*, length, from *langr*. E. *nettle*, A. S. *netele*, is cognate with O. H. G. *nezilâ* (Schade), from a Teut. type HNATILO, dimin. of HNATJO, a nettle (O. H. G. *nazza*); Fick, iii. 81. E. *penny*, A. S. *pening*, older form *pending*, is probably a derivative from the base PAND, as seen in Du. *pand*, a pledge, G. *Pfand*, which is (I think) non-Teutonic, being borrowed from Lat. *pannus*, orig. a cloth. E. *quell*, A. S. *cwellan* (=**cwal-ian*), to kill < .. ‖ *cwæl* (=**cwal*), pt. t. of *cwel-an*, to die; where the symbol < .. ‖ means 'derived, by mutation, from the same base as that seen in *cwæl*'. E. *quench*, A. S. *cwencan* (=**cwanc-ian*), to extinguish < .. ‖ *cwanc*, pt. t. of *cwinc-an*, to go out, be extinguished. E. *say*, M. E. *sey-en*, A. S. *secgan* (=**sag-ian*);

cf. Icel. *segja*, to say; the original *a* appears in the sb. *saw*, i.e. a saying, A. S. *sag-u*. E. *sedge*, A. S. *secg* (=**sagjo*); lit. 'cutter,' i.e. sword-grass or sword-plant, from its shape; the original *a* appears in A. S. *sag-a*, E. *saw* (cutting instrument). E. *sell*, A. S. *sellan* (=**sal-ian*); the orig. *a* appears in Icel. *sal-a*, E. *sale*. E. *singe*, put for **senge*, M. E. *seng-en*, A. S. *seng-an*, lit. to make to sing, from the hissing of a burning log, &c.; the orig. *a* appears in A. S. *sang*, later form *song*, E. *song*. Chaucer has *senge* for *singe*; C. T. 5931. E. *stench*, A. S. *stenc*, a strong smell, the stem being *stan-ci-* (see Sievers, O. E. Gram, ed. Cook, § 266); < .. ‖ *stanc*, pt. t. of *stinc-an*, E. *stink*. E. *step*, v., A. S. *stepp-an* (=**stap-ian*); from the strong verb *stap-an*, to go, advance. E. *strength*, A. S. *strengðu* (=**strangiðu*); from *strang*, E. *strong*.

So also E. *string*, A. S. *streng-e*, a tightly twisted cord; from the same A. S. *strang*. E. *tell*, A. S. *tellan* (=**tal-ian*); from A. S. *tal-u*, a number, a narrative, E. *tale*. E. *unkempt*, i.e. *unkemb'd*, uncombed; from A. S. *cemb-an*, to comb < .. *camb*, E. *comb*. E. *web*, A. S. *webb* (=**waf-jo*), since *bb* results from the doubling of *f* (Sweet, A. S. Reader, p. xxviii) < .. ‖ *wæf* =(**waf*), pt. t. of *wef-an*, to weave. E. *Welsh*, A. S. *wel-isc*, foreign < .. A. S. *weal-h* (=**wal-h*), a foreigner; the mod. E. *Wales* properly means the people rather than the country, being merely a pl. sb. meaning 'foreigners'; A. S. *weal-as*. E. *wretch*, A. S. *wrecca*, lit. an exile, outcast (=**wrac-ja*) < .. ‖ *wræc* (=**wrac*), pt. t. of the strong verb *wrec-an*, to drive, urge, drive out. Cf. E. *wrack*, from the same root.

§ 193. O > .. Y. I now give some examples of the second *i*-mutation; from *o* to *y*.

2. (*a*). E. *gild*, v., A. S. *gyld-an* < .. *gold*, gold; this has been already given. Similarly, we have the following:—

E. *bight*, a coil of rope, a bay, A. S. *byht*, a bay, lit. 'bend' < .. ‖ *bog-en*, pp. of *búg-an*, to bow, bend. E. *birth*, Icel. *burðr*, A. S. *ge-byr-d* < .. ‖ *bor-en*, pp. of *beran*, to bear; so

also E. *burden*, A. S. *byr-ð-en*. E. *build*, A. S. *byld-an* < .. A. S. *bold*, a building, dwelling. E. *bury*, A. S. *byrg-an*, *byrig-an* < .. ‖ *borg-en*, pp. of *beorgan*, to hide. E. *drip*, a Scand. word, Dan. *dryppe*, to drip < .. ‖ Icel. *drop-ið*, pp. of *drjúp-a*, strong verb, to drop; cf. A. S. *drop-en*, pp. of the strong verb *dréop-an*, to drop, drip. E. *drizzle*, a frequentative form from a base *drys-* < .. ‖ **dros-en*, orig. form of *dror-en*, pp. of *dréosan*, to fall in drops. E. *filly*, a Scand. word, Icel. *fylja* < .. Icel. *foli*, a foal; cf. A. S. *fola*, a foal. E. *first*, A. S. *fyrst* (=**for-ist*) < .. A. S. *for-e*, before, in front. E. *kernel*, A. S. *cyrn-el* (=**corn-ila*) < .. *corn*, E. *corn*; the sense is 'a little grain.' E. *kiss*, v., A. S. *cyssan* (=**coss-ian*), from *coss*, s., a kiss. E. *knit*, A. S. *cnyttan* (=**cnot-ian*), from *cnot-ta*, a knot. E. *lift*, a Scand. word, Icel. *lypta* (pronounced *lyfta*)[1], put for **lopt-ia*=**loft-ia*; from the sb. *lopt* (pronounced *loft*), air; thus 'to lift' is 'to raise in the air'; cf. E. *loft-y*, *a-loft*, also from Icel. *lopt*. E. *vix-en*, M. E. *vixen*, *fixen*, a she-fox, A. S. *fyx-en* (=**fox-in*) < .. *fox*, E. *fox*; precisely parallel to A. S. *gyd-en*, a goddess, fem. of *god*, and to *wylf-en*, fem. of *wolf*; § 191 (3).

(β). The same mutation is remarkably exhibited in four words borrowed from Latin. Thus Lat. *coquina*, a kitchen > .. A. S. *cycen* (for **coc-in*), E. *kitchen*. Lat. *molina*, a mill > .. A. S. *mylen*, *myln*, M. E. *miln*, E. *mill*. Lat. *moneta*, a mint > .. *mynet*, E. *mint*; cf. E. *mon-ey* (F. *monnaie*) from the same Lat. word. Lat. *monasterium*, a monastery, was shortened to **monister* > .. A. S. *mynster*, E. *minster*.

§ **194.** U > .. Y. Third mutation; from *u* to *y*.

3. (α). There are two good examples that can be illustrated by Gothic. E. *kin*, A. S. *cyn*; Goth. *kuni*. E. *fill*, v., A. S. *fyllan* (=**full-ian*); Goth. *fulljan*, to fill. In the remarkable verb *to fulfil*, the second syllable naturally takes

[1] There is no written *ft* in O. Icelandic; it is denoted always by the Latin symbol *pt* (cf. Lat. *scriptus*), but it is pronounced *ft*.

the mutated form, the sense being 'to fill full,' though, in composition, the order of the elements is reversed.

(β). E. *brittle*, M.E. *brutel*, answering to A.S. **brytel* (not found) < .. ‖ *brut-on*, pt. t. pl. of *bréotan*, to break up; cf. A.S. *bryttan* (=**brut-ian*), to break, a secondary weak verb. E. *ding-y*, i.e. soiled with dung; we find the A.S. verb *ge-dyng-an*, to manure, in Ælfred, tr. of Orosius, i. 3; < .. A.S. *dung*, E. *dung* ‖ A.S. *dung-en*, pp. of *ding-an*, to throw away. E. *list*, v., as in the phr. *it listeth*, A.S. *lyst-an* (=**lust-ian*), to desire < .. A.S. *lust*, desire, pleasure. E. *pindar*, also *pinner*, an impounder; from A.S. *pyndan* (=**pund-ian*), to impound < .. *pund*, a pound, enclosure. E. *shut*, M.E. *shutten*, *shitten*, A.S. *scyttan*, to shut, to fasten a door with a bolt that is *shot* across < .. ‖ *scut-on*, pp. t. pl. of *scéotan*, to shoot[1]. E. *stint*, properly 'to shorten'; cf. A.S. *styntan*, occurring in the comp. *for-styntan*, to make dull < .. A.S. *stunt*, stupid. The peculiar sense occurs in the related Scand. words, such as Icel. *stytta* (put for **stynta*), to shorten, *stuttr* (put for **stuntr*), short, stunted. There is a further trace of the A.S. verb *styntan* in the gloss: '*Hebetat*, styntid' (*for* styntiþ); Wright's Vocab., ed. Wülcker, 25. 28. E. *think*, to seem, as it occurs in the phr. *methinks*, i.e. it seems to me, A.S. *mé þynceð*, from *þyncan* (=**þunc-ian*), to seem; cf. Goth. *thugkjan*, i.e. **thunkjan*, G. *dünken*, to seem; whence it appears that the base of this verb is *þunc-*. It happens that we also find A.S. *þanc*, thought, Goth. *thagks* (i.e. **thank-s*), remembrance; from the Teut. base THANK, to intend, think (Fick, iii. 128). Fick explains the base *þunc-* as due to a Teut. THONK-JO, which is possible; but it is extremely likely that there really was once a strong verb **þincan*, pt. t. **þanc*, pp. **þuncen*, as suggested by Ettmüller. E. *thrill*, M.E. *thrillen*, *thirlen*, A.S. *þyrlian*, *þyrelian*, to pierce; a verb formed from *þyrel*, s., a hole. Further, *þyrel*

[1] Or else, from the base seen in A.S. *scot-en*, pp. of the same verb; see the last section. It makes no difference.

stands for **þyrh-el* (as shewn by the cognate M. H. G. *durchel*, pierced) < .. A. S. *þurh*, prep., E. *through*. Thus 'a *thirl*' was a hole *through* a thing; whence the verb *thirl*, *thrill*, to pierce. E. *trim*, properly to set firm, make stable, as in 'to *trim* a boat'; A. S. *trymman*, *trymian*, to make firm < .. *trum*, firm, strong. E. *winsome*, A. S. *wynsum*, i. e. pleasant, from *wyn*, *wynn*, joy, a fem. sb., put for **wunni* (see G. *Wonne* in Kluge) < .. ‖ *wunn-en*, pp. of *winnan*, to win, gain. See also *Listen* in my Dictionary.

(γ). There are two good examples of words borrowed from Latin. Thus Lat. *uncia* > .. A. S. *ynce*, E. *inch*. L. *pūteus*, a well, pit > .. A. S. **puti* (for **pute-*), *pyt*, E. *pit*.

§ 195. Â > .. Æ. Fourth *i*-mutation.

4. (α). The following examples are well illustrated by the Gothic spelling; we must remember that the A. S. *á* commonly represents Teut. AI (Goth. *ai*); § 71. E. *heal*, A. S. *hǽlan* (=**hál-ian*), Goth. *hailjan*, to heal < .. A. S. *hál*, Goth. *hails*, M. E. *hool*, E. *whole*. E. *rear*, A. S. *rǽran* (=**ráz-ian*), Goth. *raisjan*, to raise, cause to rise; where *r* stands for *s* (with a *z*-sound), by Verner's Law. We should also particularly note the doublet *raise*, which is a Scand. form, Icel. *reis-a*. And just as Icel. *reis-a* < .. ‖ Icel. *reis*, pt. t. of *rís-a*, to rise, so likewise A. S. *rǽr-an* < .. ‖ A. S. *rás*, pt. t. of *rís-an*, to rise. Shortly, *rear* and *raise* are both causal forms of *rise*; but one is English, the other Scandinavian.

(β). E. *any*, M. E. *ani*, A. S. *ǽn-ig* (with long *ǽ*) < .. A. S. *án*, E. *one*. E. *bleak*, orig. 'pale,' A. S. *blǽc* < .. ‖ *blâc*, pt. t. of *blíc-an*, to shine, look bright or white. E. *bread-th*, in which the final *-th* is late; the M. E. form is *brede*, *breede*, A. S. *brǽd-u*. This is one of the substantives of which Sievers remarks (see *brǽdu* in the Index to his O. E. Grammar) that 'they have taken the nom. sing. ending from the *á*-declension,' though they properly 'belong to the weak declension, since they correspond to Goth. weak sbs. in *-ei*,' i. e. *-í*. Hence *brǽd-u* is for **bræd-í* < .. A. S. *brád*, broad. And,

in fact, we find Goth. *braid-ei*, breadth, which is the very cognate form required. E. *feud*, enmity, is a remarkably erroneous form. The mod. E. form should have been **feed* or **fead*, but it has been curiously confused with the totally different word *feud*, a fief, which is of French origin. The M. E. form is *fede* or *feid* in the Northern dialect (see Jamieson's Scot. Dict.), answering to the Dan. *feide*, a quarrel, feud. The corresponding A. S. word is *fǽh-ðe*, enmity < .. *fáh*, *fá*, hostile, E. *foe*. E. *heat*, A. S. *hǽtu*, is precisely parallel in form to A. S. *brǽdu*, breadth, explained above. Hence the *æ* is an *i*-mutation of *á*; from A. S. *hât*, M. E. *hoot*, E. *hot*. E. *hest*, a command, M. E. *hest*, has a final excrescent *t*; cf. *whils-t*, &c.; the A. S. form is *hǽs*, just as *behǽs* is the A. S. form of E. *behest*. The form *hǽs* is difficult, but probably stands for **hǽs-si*, which again stands for **hǽt-ti* (cf. *bliss*, A. S. *bliss*, *blíðs*, from *blíðe*, blithe[1]). The word is certainly formed, by mutation, from the verb *hátan*, Goth. *haitan*, to command. Curiously enough, the Goth. form of the sb. is *haiti*, which presents no difficulty. E. *lead*, v., A. S. *lǽdan* (=**lád-ian*) < .. *lád*, a course, E. *lode*. E. *leave*, v., A. S. *lǽfan*, to leave behind < .. *láf*, a heritage, that which remains. E. *lend*, with excrescent *d* and shortened vowel, M. E. *lenen*, A. S. *lǽnan* < .. *lán*, E. *loan*. E. *stair*, A. S. *stǽg-er* (=**stæg-ir* ?) < .. *stáh*, *stág*, pt. t. of *stíg-an*, to climb. E. *sweat*, v., M. E. *sweten*, A. S. *swǽtan* (=**swát-ian*) < .. *swát*, s., sweat. E. *thread*, A. S. *þrǽd* (for **þrá-di*) < .. *þrá-w-an*, to throw, to twist. The word to *throw* formerly had precisely the sense 'to twist,' like its Lat. equivalent *torquere*; cf. *throwster* in Halliwell, explained as 'one who throws or winds silk or thread.' Cf. also G. *Draht*, thread, from *drehen*, to turn, twist. E. *wreath*, A. S. *wrǽð* (=**wráði*), a twisted band, fillet < .. ‖ *wráð*, pt. t. of *wríð-an*, to writhe, twist. *Wrest* and *wrestle* are similar formations from the same root.

[1] See Bahder, Die Verbalabstracta, 1880, p. 65.

§ 196. Ô > .. Ê. Fifth *i*-mutation.

5. (*a*). We have already noted the plurals *feet, geese, teeth,* from *foot, goose, tooth.* A fourth such word is A. S. *bróðor,* brother, which made the pl. *bróðru,* but the dat. sing. *bréðer.* The Icel. *bróðir* made the pl. *brœðr,* now written *brœðr,* where the *œ* answers precisely to A. S. *é,* being the *i*-mutation of *o.* Hence the pl. *brether* was introduced into Northern English and even into the Midland dialect, and, finally, with the addition of the characteristic pl. suffix *-en,* into the Southern dialect. We find *brethre,* Ormulum, 8269; *brether,* Rob. of Brunne, tr. of Langtoft, p. 51; *bretherr-en,* Layamon, i. 90.

(*β*). In the five following examples, the Gothic form shews clearly what was the orig. A. S. form.

E. *deem,* A. S. *dém-an* (=**dóm-ian*), Goth. *domjan,* to deem, judge; from A. S. *dóm,* Goth. *dom-s,* judgment, opinion, E. *doom.* E. *feed,* A. S. *fédan* (=**fód-ian*), Goth. *fodjan,* to feed; from A. S. *fód-a,* E. *food.* E. *meet,* A. S. *mét-an* (=**mót-ian*), Goth. *motjan,* in the comp. *ga-motjan,* to meet; from A. S. *mót, ge-mót,* a meeting, assembly, preserved in the E. phr. 'a *moot* point,' i. e. a point for discussion in an assembly. E. *seek,* A. S. *sécan* (=**sóc-ian*), Goth. *sokjan,* to seek < ‖ A. S. *sóc* (Goth. *sok*), pt. t. of *sacan,* to contend, dispute; whence also *sake* and *soke* or *soken.* E. *weep,* A. S. *wép-an* (=*wóp-ian*), Goth. *wopjan*; from the A. S. sb. *wóp,* a clamour, outcry.

(*γ*). E. *beech,* A. S. *béce*; *beechen,* adj., A. S. *béc-en* (=**béc-ín*) < .. *bóc,* a beech-tree. It thus appears that the true word for 'beech' was *bóc,* now only used in the sense of *book*; hence the adj. *béc-en,* beechen, as well as a new form *béce,* beech. E. *bleed,* A. S. *bléd-an* (=**blód-ian*), from *blód,* blood. E. *bless,* A. S. *blétsian,* Northern form *bloedsia* (=A. S. **bléd-sian*); also from *blód,* blood. The suffix is the same as in *clean-se,* A. S. *clǽn-sian,* from *clǽn-e,* clean; and the orig. sense of *bless* was to purify a sacred place

or altar with sprinkled blood[1]. E. *breed*, A. S. *bréd-an* (=**bród-ian*), from *bród*, E. *brood*. E. *glede*, a live coal, A. S. *gléd* (=**gló-di*, see Sievers, O. E. Gram. § 269); from *gló-wan*, E. *glow*; where the *w* is lost, as in *thread* from *throw* in § 195. E. *green*, A. S. *grén-e*, O. H. G. *gruoni*, Teut. GRÔNJO (Fick, iii. 112); derived from A. S. *gró-wan*, allied to Icel. *gró-a*, E. *grow*. *Green* is the colour of *growing* herbs. E. *keel*, to cool, as used in Shakespeare, A. S. *cél-an* (=**cól-ian*); from *cól*, cool. E. *speed*, A. S. *spéd* (=*spó-di*, Fick, iii. 355), success; from A. S. *spó-wan*, to succeed, prosper. Cf. the remarkable cognate Skt. *sphíti*, prosperity, *sphâti*, increase, from *sphây*, to enlarge. E. *steed*, A. S. *stéda* (=**stód-jo?*), a stud-horse, stallion, war-horse; from A. S. *stód*, M. E. *stood*, now spelt and pronounced as *stud*.

§ 197. Û > .. Ŷ. Sixth *i*-mutation.

(*a*). An excellent example is seen in the E. *hide*, a skin, A. S. *hýd*. This *hýd* clearly stands for **húdi*, because it is, by Grimm's and Verner's Laws, the precise equivalent of Lat. *cuti-s* (stem *cuti-*), a hide. The plurals *mice*, *lice*, *ki-ne*, from *mouse*, *louse*, *cow*, have been discussed above; see § 188.

(*β*). The E. *de-file* is a strange compound with a F. prefix; the true old word is simply *file*, as used by Shakespeare, Macb. iii. 1. 65, and by Spenser, F. Q. iii. 1. 62. The A. S. form is *fýl-an* (=**fúl-ian*) < .. *fúl*, foul; so that *file* = to make foul. So also the sb. *filth*, A. S. *fýlð* (cf. O. H. G. *fúlida*) < .. *fúl*, E. *foul*. E. *dive*, A. S. *dýf-an* (=**dúf-ian*), a weak verb derived from the strong verb *dûf-an*, to dive; whence also *dûf-a*, E. *dove*. Properly, *dive* is a causal form. E. *kith*, A. S. *cýð*, knowledge, acquaintance, relationship (=**cun-ði*); cf. Goth. *kunthi*, knowledge; < .. A. S. *cûð* (=**cunð*), known; with which cf. Goth. *kunths*, pp. known. In the mod. E. *kith*, the *i* has been shortened. E. *pride*, A. S. *prýt-e*; from *prût*, E. *proud*. E. *wish*, v., A. S.

[1] This etymology is due to Mr. Sweet (Anglia, iii. 1. 156.).

wýscan (=**wúsc-ian*) < .. *wúsc*, a wish, s.; it is obvious that the mod. E. has really preserved the form of the *verb* only, though *wuss*, on the contrary, occurs in Lowland Scotch both as s. and v. To the above examples we may add the prov. E. *rimer*, common as the name of a tool for enlarging screw-holes in metal (see Halliwell). It simply means 'roomer,' being derived from A. S. *rým-an* (=**rúm-ian*), to enlarge, from the adj. *rúm*, large, *room-y*.

§ **198.** EA > .. Y; EO > .. Y. This is true, whatever be the *length*; i. e. *ea* > *y*, *éa* > *ý*; *eo* > *y*, and *éo* > *ý*. In early MSS., the *y* is written *ie*. We take all these together, as the seventh *i*-mutation. Examples in mod. E. are rare.

(*α*). The mod. E. *elder*, *eldest*, correspond to A. S. *yldra* (=**yld-ira*), *yldest* (=**yldista*), < .. *eald*, E. *old*. The sb. *eld*=A. S. *yld-u*, old age.

(*β*). E. *work*, v., A. S. *wyrcan* (=**weorc-ian*) < .. *weorc*, E. *work*, s. Mod. E. confuses the *eo* and *y*, so that this cannot fairly be instanced.

(*γ*). In the same way, E. *steeple*, a high tower, is from *steep*, high; but the A. S. form *stýpel* is formed by *i*-mutation from *stéap*, steep. So E. *teem*, v., M. E. *temen*, is from *team*, M. E. *tem*, *teem*, a family; but the A. S. verb *tým-ian* is formed by *i*-mutation from the sb. *téam*.

(*δ*). We may instance also Icel. *dýpð*, depth[1] < .. Icel. *djúpr*=A. S. *déop*, deep. Modern English imitates this in forming *depth* from *deep*. So also *theft* from *thief*; A. S. *þíefðe*, theft < .. *þéof*, a thief. The clearest example is E. *stirk*, a bullock, A. S. *stýr-ic*, formed with suffix *-c* and vowel-mutation from A. S. *stéor*, an ox, a *steer*.

§ **199. Mutation in Modern English.** By way of recapitulation, I here collect those instances in which the vowel-mutation has been clearly preserved even in modern English. The explanations of the words have been already given above.

[1] For **djúp-iðo*; cf. Teut. LANGITHO, length, at p. 201.

1. (*a*) *man*, pl. *men*; compare *bank*, *bench*; *saw* (a cutter), compared with *sedge*. (*b*) Substantives derived from adjectives, as: *long*, *length*; *strong*, *strength*[1]. (*c*) Adjectives from substantives, as: *Angle*, *English*; *Frank*, *French*; *Wales*, *Welsh*. (*d*) Verbs from substantives or adjectives, as: *band*, *bend*; *late*, *let* (to hinder); *sale*, *sell*; *tale*, *tell*. Here we may insert the cases in which the substantive lies nearer in form to the root, as: *qual-m*, *quell*; *song*, *sinġe*; *wand*, *wend*; *wrack* (sea-weed), *wretch* and *wreck*. With these we may rank: *comb*, *unkempt*, considering *kempt* as a pp. (*e*) Weak verbs from the base parallel with that of the pt. t. of strong verbs, as: *can*, *ken* (for *can* is an old past tense as regards its form); *drank*, *drench*; *fall*, *fell*; *lay* (A. S. *læġ*), *lay* (A. S. *lecgan*), which are distinguished by usage; *sat*, *set*. Similarly we have *stank*, *stench*, though *stench* is a sb. (*f*) Adjective from a verb: *fare*, *fresh*.

2. (*a*) *bor-n*, *birth* and *burden*; *corn*, *kernel*; *drop*, *drip*; *fore*, *first*; *fox*, *vixen*; *gold*, *gild*; *knot*, *knit*; *mon-ey*, *mint*; *monastery*, *minster*. (*b*) Of Scand. origin: *foal*, *filly*; *loft*, *lift*. (*c*) Similarly we have *bow*, sb. (A. S. *bog-a* ‖ *bog-en*, pp. of *búgan*), *bight*; *borrow*, v. (A. S. *borg-ian* ‖ *borg-en*, pp. of *beorgan*), *bury*, v.; *dross* (A. S. *dros* ‖ *dror-en* = **dros-en*, pp. of *dréosan*), *drizzle*.

3. *dung*, *dingy*; *full*, *fill*; *lust*, *list*; *pound*, *pind-ar*; *stunt-ed*, *stint*; *through*, *thrill*; *won*, pp., *win-some*.

4. *broad*, *breadth*; *foe*, *feud*; *hot*, *heat*; *load*, *lead*, v.; *loan*, *len-d*; *one*, *any*; *rose* (pt. t. of *rise*), *rear*; *throw*, *thread*; *whole*, *heal*. So also compare *wroth*, adj. (A. S. *wráð* ‖ *wráð*, pt. t. of *wríðan*), with the sb. *wreath*.

5. (*a*) *foot*, *feet*; *goose*, *geese*; *tooth*, *teeth*. Cf. *brother*, *brethr-en*. (*b*) *book*, *beech*; *blood*, *bleed* and *bless*; *boot* (advantage), *beet* (to profit, kindle); *brood*, *breed*; *doom*, *deem*;

[1] Here belongs A. S. *streng-e*, now spelt *string*, from the adj. *strong* So also the fish called a *ling* was formerly called *lenge* (Havelok, 832) and simply means 'the long fish,' from its shape.

food, feed; *glow, glede* (live coal); *grow, green*; *cool, keel* (to cool); *moot, meet*; *soke, seek*; *stud, steed.*

6. (*a*) *cow, ki-ne*; *louse, lice*; *mouse, mice.* (*b*) *dove, dive*; *foul, de-file* and *filth*; *un-couth, kith*; *proud, pride*; *room*, prov. E. *rimer* (a tool); Lowland Sc. *wuss*, s. (a wish), *wish*, v.

7. (*a*) A. S. EA: *old, eld-er.* (*b*) A. S. ÉA: *cheap, keep*; *steep, steeple*; *team, teem*; where mod. E. shews no difference in the vowel-sounds. (*c*) A. S. Éo: *steer, stir-k*; also *deep, depth*; *thief, theft.*

It thus appears that clear examples of mutation can be traced in *nearly eighty instances* even in modern English! Surely this is a point of some importance, such as should not be passed over in our dictionaries and grammars as if it were beneath investigation. When we find that Webster's Dictionary, for example, explains *food* as being the A. S. *foda* [*sic*; no accent], from *fedan* [*sic*; no accent], to feed, how are we to trust an etymologist who does not even know this elementary lesson, that the A. S. *é* is a mutation of a preexistent *ó*, and who thus ignorantly reverses the true order of things?

§ 200. It remains to be observed that, in many instances, the original vowel of the root has suffered both *mutation* and *gradation*, so that the results of the present chapter may often have to be taken in combination with those of the preceding chapter before the form of the root can be clearly seen. Thus the verb to *feed* is formed by mutation from *food*, A. S. *fóda*. But the *ó* in *fóda* is a strengthened form of *a*, so that the Teutonic base takes the form FAD, answering by Grimm's Law to an Aryan PAT, appearing in the Gk. *πατ-έομαι*, I eat. This Aryan PAT is an extension of the root PA, to feed, appearing in the Skt. *pâ*, to feed, Lat. *pa-sc-ere* (pt. t. *pā-ui*), to feed, &c. For further information on this subject, see Chapter XIII (below), where the method of discovering Aryan roots is more particularly discussed.

We are also now in a position to explain words similar to

those mentioned in §§ 47, 162; as e.g. *nýd*, need, *brýd*, bride, *gelýfan*, to believe, *hýd*, hide, *fýst*, fist. Of these, *nýd* answers to Goth. *nauths* (stem *nauthi-*), so that the *ý* is an *i*-mutation of *au* (A. S. *éa*). At the same time, the G. *Noth* is cognate with Goth. *nauths*, the G. long *o* being equivalent to Goth. *au*. Hence we conclude that E. *need* and G. *Noth* have related vowel-sounds. Similarly, E. *bride*, A. S. *brýd*, is cognate with Goth. *bruths* (stem *brúthi-*), and therefore with O. H. G. *brût*, whence G. *Braut*. *Gelýfan*, to believe=**ge-léaf-ian*, from *ge-léafa*, belief; and, as A. S. *éa*=Goth. *au*= G. *au*, this is precisely the G. *Glaube* (=**ge-laube*). E. *hide*, A. S. *hýd*, answers to Teut. HÛDI (Fick, iii. 78), cognate with Lat. *cūti-s*; the O. H. G. form is *hût*, whence G. *Haut*. Similarly, A. S. *fýst* answers to O. H. G. *fûst*, whence G. *Faust*. These examples may suffice; there are many more of a similar character.

CHAPTER XII.

Prefixes and Substantival Suffixes.

§ 201. Prefixes. A considerable number of the prefixes in English are of Latin origin, and due to prepositions, such as *ab*, *ad*, *ante*, &c. The prefixes *of English origin* are not very numerous. They are given in the Appendix to my Etym. Dict., in both editions; but it may be useful to give here a brief list of the chief of them. Cf. Koch, Eng. Gram. iii. 112; Sweet, A. S. Reader, p. lxxix.

A-, from various sources. (Only the *Teutonic* sources are noticed here.)

1. A. S. *of*; as in *of-dune*, E. *a-down*.

2. A. S. *on*; as in M. E. *on fote*, E. *a-foot*.

3. A. S. *and-*, against, opposite; as in A. S. *and-lang*, E. *a-long*. See **An-**, **Un-** (2).

4. A. S. *á-*, intensive prefix to verbs; as in A. S. *á-rísan*, E. *a-rise*. This A. S. *á-* is cognate with O. H. G. *ar-*, *ir-*, *ur-* (mod. G. *er-*), Goth. *us-*, *ur-*. The Goth. *us* is also used as a prep., signifying 'away from.' The chief verbs with this prefix are *a-bide*, *ac-curse* (written for *a-curse* by confusion with the F. and L. *ac-* = *ad*), *af-fright* (similarly, for *a-fright*), *al-lay* (similarly, for *a-lay*), *a-maze*, *a-rise*, *a-rouse*; we have also the past participles *a-ghast*, *a-go*. Among these words, *ac-curse* and *a-rouse* seem to have been formed by analogy; they have no representatives in A. S. The pp. *ámasod*, amazed, occurs in Wulfstan's Homilies, ed. Napier, p. 137, l. 23. See **Or-** below, p. 216.

5. *A-* in *a-do* is short for *at*, which was used in the North as the sign of the infinitive. The prov. E. 'Here's a pretty *to-do*' is equivalent to the old phrase 'Much *a-do*,' i. e. 'much at do,' much to do. There was an old phrase 'out at doors,' besides the more usual 'out of doors'; hence the phr. *out a-doors*, which may represent either of the older forms.

6. In some words, the A. S. prefix *ge-*, later *i-*, *y-*, was turned into *a-*. Thus A. S. *ge-wær* is our *a-ware*; and A. S. *ge-forð-ian* produced M. E. *a-forthen*, mod. E. *af-ford* (for **a-ford*). See **E-**, **Y-**.

We may also notice *a-ught*, A. S. *áwiht*, where *á-* is a prefix meaning 'ever,' cognate with *aye*, ever, which is Norse.

After-; A. S. *æfter*, after, prep. used in composition.

An-, in *an-swer*, A. S. *and-swaru*, s., an answer, reply. Here the A. S. *and-* is cognate with Du. *ont-*, G. *ent-*, Gk. *ἀντί*, Skt. *anti*, over against; the sense is 'against,' or 'in reply.' The same prefix appears as *a-* in *a-long*, and *un-* in *un-bind*. See **A-** (3), **Un-** (2).

Ann-, in *anneal*, A. S. *an-ælan*, to set on fire, burn, bake. Thus the prefix is really the common prep. *on*. In some senses, the word may be of French origin.

At-, in *at-one*, is the common prep. *at*, A. S. *æt*.

Be-. This is A. S. *be-*, *bi-*, the same as *bi*, prep. by; E. *by*.

C-. In *c-lutch*, the prefix seems to be the A. S. *ge-*. This is somewhat doubtful.

E-, in *e-nough*. *Enough* is M. E. *i-noh*, A. S. *ge-nóh*; cf. Goth. *ga-nohs*, enough. Hence the prefix is the A. S. *ge-*, Goth. *ga-*.

Edd-, in *edd-y*. In this obscure word, the prefix seems to be A. S. *ed-*, back, again; cognate with Icel. *íð-*, O. H. G. *it-*, *ita-*, Goth. *id-*, back. The Icel. *íða*, an eddy, corresponds to the Lowland Scotch *ydy*, an eddy, which occurs in the Boke of the Houlate (ab. 1453), st. 64, l. 827. We find the O. Sax. prefix *idug-*, back, in *idug-lónón*, to repay.

Emb-, in *emb-er days*. From A. S. *ymb-ryne*, a circuit.

The prefix is A. S. *ymb-*, about, cognate with G. *um-*, O. H. G. *umbi*, Lat. *ambi-*.

For- (1), E. and A. S. *for*, prep. Used in such compounds as *for-as-much*, *for-ever*, &c.

For- (2), A. S. *for-*, prefix, as in *for-gifan*, to for-give. Cf. Icel. *for-*, *fyrir-*, Dan. *for-*, Swed. *för-*, Du. and G. *ver-*, Goth. *fra-*, *fair-*, Skt. *parâ-*. The Skt. *parâ* is an old instrumental case of *para*, far; hence the orig. sense is 'away.' Allied to E. *far*. The prefix has something of an intensive force, or gives the sense of 'away,' or 'from.' The chief derivatives are *for-bear*, *for-bid*, *for-fend*, *for-go* (miswritten *fore-go*), *for-get*, *for-give*, *for-lorn*, *for-sake*, *for-swear*.

Fore-, in front; A. S. *fore*, before, prep. and adv. Cognate with Du. *voór*, Icel. *fyrir*, Dan. *för*, Swed. *för*, G. *vor*, Goth. *faura*, Lat. *pro*, Gk. πρό, Skt. *pra*. Orig. sense 'beyond'; allied to E. *far*, and to the prefix *for-* (2).

Forth-, forward. A. S. *forð*, adv.; extended from *fore*, before; see above. Cognate with Du. *voort*, from *voor*; G. *fort*, M. H. G. *vort*, from *vor*. Cf. also Gk. προτί (usually πρός), towards, Skt. *prati*, towards.

Fro-, as in *fro-ward*, i. e. turned from, perverse. The prefix *fro-*, Northern E. *fra-*, seems to be the Icel. *frá*, from, closely allied to Icel. *fram*, forward, and to E. *from*.

Gain-, against; M. E. *gein*, A. S. *gegn*, against. Hence *gain-say*, *gain-stand*.

Im-, as in *im-bed*, *im-park*, is the form which the prep. *in* assumes before a following *b* or *p*.

In-, A. S. *in*, prep., in; often used in composition. See above.

L-, in *l-one*, which is short for *al-one*; where *al* = M. E. *al*, mod. E. *all*.

Mid-, in the word *mid-wife*, is nothing but the A. S. prep. *mid*, with, now otherwise obsolete; cf. G. *mit*, with, *mit-helfen*, to help with, assist. So also the Span. *comadre*, a midwife, is, literally, a 'co-mother.'

Mis-, wrongly, as in *mis-deed, mis-take.* A. S. *mis-*, wrongly, amiss; allied to the verb *to miss.* Also found as Icel., Dan., and Du. *mis-*, Swed. *miss-*, Goth. *missa-*.

N- (1). A prefixed *n-* in E. words arises from a misdivision of consecutive words in a phrase. It most often results from the use of the indefinite article *an.* Thus *an ewt* became *a newt, an eke-name* became *a nick-name, an ingot* became *a ningot* (whence probably *a niggot*, used by North, and mod. E. *a nugget*). On the other hand, we must remember that *a nadder* became *an adder*; *a napron* > *an apron*; *a nauger* > *an auger*; *a norange* > *an orange*; *a nouch* > *an ouch*; *a numpire* > *an umpire*: hence the curious forms *adder, apron, auger, orange, ouch,* and *umpire*; all of which have lost an initial *n.*

N- (2). In the case of *nuncle,* the *n* is due to the final letter of the first possessive pronoun; so that *my nuncle* < *myn uncle, mine uncle.* We even find the form *naunt,* from *mine aunt.*

N- (3). In the word *n-once,* which only occurs in the phrase *for the nonce,* we have the M. E. *for the nones,* miswritten for *for then ones,* for the once. Here *then* is the dat. case of the def. article, A. S. *ðám;* later forms *ðan, than, then.*

N- (4), negative prefix. A. S. *n-*, prefix, short for *ne,* not. Cf. Goth. *ni*, Russ. *ne,* Irish *ni,* Lat. *ne,* not; Skt. *na,* not. It occurs in *n-aught, n-ay, n-either, n-ever, n-ill* (for *ne will*), *n-o, n-one, n-or, n-ot* (short for *n-aught*). See **Un-** (1); p. 217.

Of-, Off-. The prep. *of* is invariably written *off* in composition, except in the case of *of-fall,* where the use of *off* would have brought three *f*'s together.

On-; A. S. *on,* prep., E. *on*; in composition.

Or-, in *or-deal, or-ts.* The prefix is A. S. *or-*, cognate with Du. *oor-*, G. *ur-*, Goth. *ur-* or *us-*. It is therefore only another form of **A-** (4). *Or-deal,* A. S. *ordél, ordál,* is cognate with Du. *oordeel,* G. *urtheil,* judgment; *-deal* is the same as E. *deal,* a portion. The word meant 'that which is dealt

out,' hence, a decision. *Orts* is pl. of *ort*, cognate with or borrowed from Mid. Du. *oor-ete*, a piece left uneaten, from Du. *et-en*, to eat.

Out-, A. S. *út*; the prep. *out* in composition.

Over-, A. S. *ofer*; the prep. *over* in composition.

T-, in *t-wit*, A. S. *æt-witan*, to twit, reproach. Thus *t-* is short for *at-*, which is the same as *at*, prep.; see **At-** in Murray's Dictionary.

Thorough-, in *thorough-fare*; the same as *through*.

To- (1), in *to-day*, *to-morrow*; merely the prep. *to*, A. S. *tó*, to, as to, for.

To- (2), intensive prefix; obsolete, except in the pt. t. *to-brake*, Judges ix. 53. A. S. *tó-*, apart, asunder, in twain; cognate with O. Fries. *to-*, *te-*, O. H. G. *za-*, *ze-*, *zi-*, all with the sense of 'asunder'; closely related to O. H. G. *za-r-*, *ze-r-*, *zi-r-*, G. *ze-r-*, prefix; cf. also Goth. *twis-*, as in *twis-standan*, to separate oneself from.

Twi-, as in *twi-light*, A. S. *twí-*, lit. 'double,' hence 'doubtful,' allied to E. *two*. Cognate with Icel. *tví-*, Du. *twee-*, G. *zwie-*, which are allied, respectively, to Icel. *tveir*, Du. *twee*, and G. *zwei*, two.

Un- (1), negative prefix; A. S. *un-*, from Aryan N- (sonant), negative prefix. Cf. Du. *on-*, Icel. *ó-*, *ú-*, Dan. *u-*, Swed. *o-*, Goth. *un-*, G. *un-*, W. *an-*, Lat. *in-*, Gk. *ἀν-*, *ἀ*, Zend. *ana-*, Pers. *ná-*, Skt. *an-*. See **N-** (4); p. 216.

Un- (2), verbal prefix; A. S. *un-*, also *on-*, short for *ond-* = A. S. *and-*; cf. Du. *ont-*, G. *ent-*, Gk. *ἀντί*. It is therefore ultimately the same as *an-* in *an-swer*, and *a-* in *a-long*. See **An-** above; p. 214.

Un- (3), in *un-til*, *un-to*. The prefix is equivalent to the O. Fries. and O. Sax. *und*, up to, as far as to, Goth. *und*, up to, unto. The A. S. (Wessex) spelling of this prefix is *óð*.

Under-; the prep. *under* in composition.

Up-; the prep. *up* in composition.

Wan-, in *wan-ton*; see *Wanton* in my Dictionary.

With-, against; the prep. *with* in composition. The A. S. *wið* commonly means 'against'; this sense is retained in the phrase 'to fight *with* one.' Hence *with-stand.*

Y-, prefix; as in the archaic words *y-clept*, named, *y-wis*, certainly. M. E. *y-*, *i-*; A. S. *ge-*; cognate with Du. *ge-*, G. *ge-*, Goth. *ga-*. This prefix, once very common, made very little difference to the sense; sometimes it has a collective force. It was, perhaps, originally emphatic. See **A-** (6) and **E-**.

§ 202. SUBSTANTIVAL SUFFIXES. The substantival suffixes of E. origin are of three kinds, viz. (1) those like *-dom*, *-ship*, where the A. S. suffix was also an intelligible word; (2) suffixes expressive of diminution; and (3) suffixes consisting of only one or two letters, such as *-m* in *doo-m*, *-th* in *leng-th*; some of these being double or compound.

(1) In the first class we have only the following: *-dom*, *-hood* (also *-head*), *-lock* (also *-ledge*)[1], *-red*, *-ric*, *-ship* (also *-scape*, which is Dutch). See Koch, Eng. Gram. iii. 102; Sweet, A. S. Reader, p. lxxxi. To these should be added A. S. *lád*; see under **-hood** below. The *-craft* in *priest-craft*, &c., can hardly be regarded as a mere suffix.

-dom. A. S. *-dóm*, the same as A. S. *dóm*, judgment, E. *doom*. Cognate with Icel. *-dómr*, Dan. and Swed. *-dom*, as in Icel. *þræl-dómr*, Dan. *træl-dom*, Swed. *träl-dom*, thraldom; Du. *-dom*, G. *-thum*, as in Du. *heilig-dom*, G. *Heilig-thum*, sanctuary, relic. It occurs (*a*) in pure E. words, as *birth-dom*, *earl-dom*, *free-dom*, *heathen-dom*, *king-dom*, *sheriff-dom*, *wis-dom*: (*b*) in words of Scand. origin, as *hali-dom*, *thral-dom*: (*c*) in words in which the first element is foreign, as: *Christen-dom*, *duke-dom*, *martyr-dom*, *peer-dom*, *pope-dom*, *prince-dom*, *serf-dom*. New words, as *flunkey-dom*, can be coined.

-hood, -head. A. S. *-hád*, Friesic *-héd*; cf. § 42. The A. S. *hád* meant sex, degree, rank, order, condition, state, nature, form; so that *man-hood* means 'man's estate'; &c.

[1] The suffix *-ness* (=*-n-ess*) does not belong to this class. See § 232.

Cognate with Du. *-heid*, Dan. *-hed*, Swed. *-het*, G. *-heit*, appearing respectively in Du. *vrijheid*, Dan. *fri-hed*, Swed. *fri-het*, G. *Frei-heit*, freedom; where the Swed. form looks as if it were merely borrowed from German, as perhaps the Dan. form was also. Cf. also Goth. *haidus*, manner, way; further related to Skt. *ketu*, a sign by which a thing is known, from *kit*, to perceive, know. It occurs (*a*) in pure E. words, as *brother-hood*, *child-hood*, *knight-hood*, *likeli-hood*, *maiden-hood*, *man-hood*, *neighbour-hood*, *sister-hood*, *widow-hood*, *wife-hood*, *woman-hood*, and is spelt *-head* in *God-head*, *maiden-head*: (*b*) in words in which the first element is foreign, as in *false-hood*, *priest-hood*. In *boy-hood*, the word *boy* is Friesian; it is not found in A. S. The form *live-li-hood* is corrupt; here *-li-hood* has been substituted for M. E. *-lode*, and the real suffix is A. S. *-lád*, as in *líf-lád*, provisions to live by. This A. S. *lád* is the same as mod. E. *lode*; see *Lode* in my Etym. Dict.

-lock, -ledge. Only in *wed-lock*, *know-ledge*; the former of which has the pure E. suffix, from M.E. *-lŏk*, shortened from M. E. *lōk* = A. S. *lác*, whilst the latter exhibits the cognate Scand. form, Icel. *-leikr*. The A. S. *lác* is probably preserved in the mod. E. slang term *lark*, sport[1]; it meant 'play, contest, gift, offering,' but was also used to form abstract nouns, as in *réaf-lác*, robbery, *wroht-lác*, accusation, *wed-lác*, later *wed-lac*, matrimony, the wedded state. The cognate Icel. *leikr*, Swed. *lek*, play, is also freely used as a suffix, as in Icel. *kærleikr*, Swed. *kärlek*, love. There was also a corresponding A. S. verbal suffix *-lǽcan* (=**-lácian*), as in A. S. *néah-lǽcan*, M. E. *neh-lechen*, to draw nigh, approach; and it is not unlikely that the form of the suffix *-leche* in M. E. *know-leche*, knowledge, was really influenced by this A. S. verbal form. It makes no great difference.

-red (1), A. S. *-rǽden*; only in *hat-red*, *kin-d-red*. In the latter word the middle *d* is excrescent, the M. E. form being

[1] It should rather have given us a mod. E. *loke*; the common Northern *laik*, a sport, is from the Icel. *leikr*.

kin-rede, answering to an A. S. **cyn-rǽden*, not found. So also *hat-red*, M. E. *hat-reden*, answers to A. S. **hete-rǽden*, also not found. We find, however, A. S. *fréond-rǽden*, friendship, shewing that the suffix, like *-ship*, signifies 'state' or 'condition,' originally 'readiness.' It even occurs as a separate word, meaning 'condition, rule'; and is allied to Goth. *ga-raid-eins*, an ordinance, rule, G. *be-reit*, ready, and E. *ready*. Curiously enough, it is related to the verb *to ride*, not, as might at first be supposed, to the verb *to read*.

-red (2), in *hund-red*. The suffix in *hundred*, A. S. *hund-red*, is not the same as the above. It appears also in Icel. *hund-rað*, O. Sax. *hunde-rod*, O. H. G. *hunde-rit*, G. *hunde-rt*. In this case the suffix *-red* means tale, number, or more literally, 'reckoning'; so that *hund-red* means 'a hundred by reckoning,' the A. S. *hund* (cognate with Lat. *cent-um*) meaning a hundred, even when used without the suffix. Cf. Goth. *ga-rath-jan*, to reckon, to number.

-ric, in *bishop-ric*. From A. S. *rík-e*, Goth. *reik-i*, dominion; allied to Lat. *reg-num*, kingdom.

-ship, A. S. *-scipe*, originally 'shape, form, mode,' from *scepp-an* (=**scap-ian*), to shape, make. Cognate with Icel. *-skapr*, Dan. *-skab*, Swed. *-skap*, Du. *-schap*, G. *-schaft*, as seen in A. S. *fréond-scipe*, Dan. *frænd-skab*, Swed. *fränd-skap*, Du. *vriend-schap*, G. *freund-schaft*, i. e. *friend-ship*; for which the Icel. word is *vin-skapr*. See Weigand, Etym. G. Dict., ii. 540. The suffix is used (*a*) in pure English words, some of which are in early use, as: *friend-ship*, *hard-ship*, *lord-ship*, *town-ship*, *wor-ship* (=*worth-ship*); others in later use, as: *horseman-ship*, *king-ship*, *lady-ship*, *sheriff-ship*, *son-ship*, *steward-ship*, *ward-ship*: (*b*) with Scand. words, as *fellow-ship*: (*c*) with French words, as: *clerk-ship*, *court-ship*, &c. The word *land-scape*, originally also *land-skip*, was borrowed from Du. *landschap* in the 17th century.

§ **203**. (2). Suffixes expressive of diminution. The chief diminutive A. S. suffixes are *-c*, *-el*, *-en*, *-ing*, which may

be combined, giving the secondary forms, such as *-k-in*, *-l-ing*.

-c (probably from Teut. -KO). The word *bull* does not appear in A. S., though we find Icel. *boli*, a bull; but we find A. S. *bull-u-c*[1], E. *bull-o-ck*. It is usual to regard the suffix *-ock* as indivisible, but I would rather regard the suffix as double or compound, and due to some such form as a Teut. double suffix *-wo-ko*; or otherwise, the *-o-* (A. S. *-u-*) may have arisen from the ending of a stem in some word of this class[2]. This *-o-ck* no doubt came to be regarded as indivisible, and was used to form diminutives; hence *hill-ock*, a small hill; *humm-ock*, a small hump or heap; *rudd-ock*, the little red bird, the redbreast; *laver-ock*, little lark, from A. S. *láwerce*, *láferce*, a lark. There is an equivalent diminutive suffix in Irish, spelt *-og* (also perhaps for *-o-g*), whence our *shamr-ock*, Irish *seamr-og*, dimin. of *seamar*, trefoil. Cf. A. S. *matt-uc*, *mett-uc*, W. *mat-og*, a *matt-ock*, where the W. word may be of A. S. origin. The origin of *hadd-ock* is doubtful. The word *hammock* is W. Indian, so that it is of entirely different formation. Originally *hamaca*, it came to be spelt as now by association with words ending in *-ock*. *Padd-ock*, a toad, is a dimin. formation from Icel. *padda*, a toad. It is sometimes said to mean 'a large toad,' but this is a mere matter of usage. *Padd-ock*, a small enclosure, is a corruption of *parr-ock*, as is curiously proved by the fact that *Paddock Wood*, in Kent, not far from Tonbridge, was formerly called *Parrocks* (see Archaeologia Cantiana, xiii. 128; Hasted's Kent, v. 286). This is the A. S. *pearruc*, a paddock; from *sparr-an*, later *parr-en* (with loss of *s*), to enclose.

In the word *stir-k* we have the simple suffix *-k*. It is the dimin. of *steer*, A. S. *stéor*; whence A. S. *stýri-c*, a stirk.

[1] Not *bulluca*, as usually given; the dat. case *bulluce* occurs in the Liber Scintillarum, sect. 54.

[2] Cf. O. Sax. *-eh-u*, a horse, stem *EH-WO, cognate with Lat. *eq-uus*, stem *EQ-WO-.

-el, or rather *-e-l*, where the *-l* answers to the Aryan suffix -LO. See § 218. Thus E. *bramble* (with excrescent *b*), A. S. *brem-el*, is formed (with *i*-mutation) from A. S. *brôm*, broom (Kluge, s.v. *Brom-beere*); giving *brém-el* < **brómi-l* (see Sievers, O. E. Gr. § 265). Similarly, E. *hov-el* is a dimin. of A. S. *hof*, a house. E. *kern-el*, A. S. *cyrn-el*, is a dimin. of A. S. *corn*, a *corn*, a grain. E. *nav-el*, A. S. *nafe-la*, is a dimin. of E. *nave*, A. S. *nafa*, the boss of a wheel. E. *padd-le*, a little spade, formerly *spaddle*, is a dimin. of *spade*. E. *runn-el*, a rivulet, A. S. *ryn-el*, is a diminutive of *ryne*, a course < .. ‖ *ronn-en*, pp. of *rinnan*, to run. Other diminutive forms are *ax-le*, *bund-le*, *nipp-le*, *nozz-le*, *pimp-le*, *spang-le*, *spark-le*. In the word *cock-er-el*, a little cock, the suffix is the Aryan -RO-LO. So also in *pik-er-el*, a young pike; *mong-r-el*, a puppy of mixed breed, from A. S. *mang* (*ge-mang*), a mixture[1].

-en, or rather **-e-n** (Teut. -YA-NA?). In the word *maid-en*, diminutive of *maid*, the cognate O. H. G. *magat-în* or *meged-în*, dimin. of O. H. G. *magad*, a maid, shews that the suffix answers to a Teut. *-în*, which Schleicher (Compend. § 223) shews to be a compound suffix. A similar suffix is used to form Gothic feminines ending in *-ein-s* (stem *-ei-ni*). It is also diminutival in E. *chick-en*, on which see the note in the Supplement to my Dictionary, 2nd ed. In E. *kitt-en*, M. E. *kit-oun*, the suffix was originally French, and therefore this word does not exhibit the A. S. *-en*, but the Anglo-French *-oun* (Lat. acc. *-onem*); the change from *-oun* to *-en* being, however, due to association with diminutives in *-en*.

-ing, i. e. *-i-n-g*, is due to a Teutonic compound suffix; see § 241. It was chiefly used in A. S. to form patronymics, as in *æþel-ing*, son of a noble, from *æþele*, noble.

[1] *Kett-le*, *scutt-le*, are also diminutives, but are both borrowed from Latin, viz. from *cat-illus*, dimin. of *catinus*, a bowl, and *scut-ella*, dimin. of *scutra*, a tray.

It does not seem to be now used as a mere diminutive, except when *-l-* precedes. See below.

-l-ing, is compounded of the suffixes *-l* (*-el*) and *-ing*, and was early used to form diminutives. Examples are: *cod-ling*, *duck-ling*, *gos-ling*, *star-ling*, as diminutives of *cod*, *duck*, *goose*, and of prov. E. *stare*, A. S. *stær*, a starling. Many of these forms acquired a depreciatory sense, as: *fop-ling*, *lord-ling*, *strip-ling*, *wit-ling*, *world-ling*. Some are related to the primary words indirectly, as: *nest-ling*, a small bird in a nest; *sap-ling*, a young tree full of sap; *strip-ling*, a lad as thin as a strip; *year-ling*, a creature a year old. Some are from adjectives, as: *dar-ling* (=*dear-ling*), *fat-ling*, *first-ling*, *young-ling*. Some from verbs, as: *change-ling*, *found-ling*, *hire-ling*, *nurs-ling*, *shave-ling*, *starve-ling*, *suck-ling*, *yean-ling*. *Ster-ling* is a Latinised form of *Easter-ling*; see my Dictionary. *Scant-ling* does not properly belong here, being of F. origin (F. *eschantillon*).

-kin, i. e. *-k-in* or *-k-i-n*, seems to be a treble suffix. The cognate O. H. G. *-kín* or *-chín*, as in *wíbe-kín*, *wíbe-chín*, dimin. of *wíb*, a woman, shews that the *i* was once long; moreover, *-in* appears to be a double suffix, as said above, in discussing **-en**. The suffix *-kin* is not found in A. S., nor is it, in general, old; in many words it is due to the borrowing of Middle Du. words ending in *-ken*. Perhaps it first appears in names, as *Mal-kin*, i. e. little *Mald* or *Maud*, i. e. *Matilda*; whence E. *gri-malkin*, a cat, with the word *gray* (or perhaps F. *gris*, with the same sense) prefixed. The words *lamb-kin*, *pip-kin* (dimin. of *pipe*), *thumb-kin* (a thumb-screw) are probably of native formation. *Gris-kin* originally meant, not the spine of a hog, but a little pig; the base is Norse, from Icel. *griss*, a pig. E. *sis-kin*, a song-bird, is from Dan. *sis-gen* (=**sis-ken*), a little chirper; cf. Swed. dial. *sis-a*, to make a noise like a wood-grouse. In *nap-kin*, the E. suffix is added to the F. *nappe*, O. F. *nape*, a cloth, from Lat. *mappa*, a cloth:

The following words are all probably Dutch, although the Mid. Du. suffix *-ken*, once common, has been replaced, in the modern Du. language, by *-je* or *-tje* or *-etje* or *-pje* (after *m*), which is now widely used. *Bump-kin*, Mid. Du. *boom-ken*, a little tree, thick piece of wood, hence a block-head, dimin. of *boom*, a tree, cognate with E. *beam*. *Bus-kin* (for **brus-kin* or **burs-kin*), Mid. Du. *broosken*, a buskin, perhaps the same as Mid. Du. *borseken*, a little purse, dimin. of O. F. *borse*, a purse. *Cana-kin* (Shak.), Mid. Du. *kanne-ken*, explained by Hexham as 'a small Canne, Pot, or Cruse,' dimin. of Du. *kanne*, a can. *Cat-kin*, a spike of flowers resembling a cat's tail, Mid. Du. *katte-ken*, a kitten, dimin. of Du. *katte*, a cat. *Dodkin* (obsolete), a little doit, dimin. of Du. *duit*, a doit. *Fir-kin*, the fourth part of a barrel; from Du. *vier*, four. *Jer-kin*, dimin. of Du. *jurk*, a frock (Sewel). *Kilder-kin*, formerly *kinder-kin*[1], from Mid. Du. *kinde-kin*, a little child, also, the eighth part of a vat, because it is a small part of the vat; dimin. of Du. *kind*, a child. *Manni-kin*, Mid. Du. *manne-ken*, a little man, dimin. of Du. *man*, a man. *Mini-kin*, a term of endearment, Mid. Du. *minne-ken*, my love, dimin. of Du. *minne*, love. To the above words in *-kin* we may add prov. E. *bul-chin*, a bull-calf, dimin. of E. *bull*, and equivalent to *bull-ock*.

[1] Spelt *kinderkind* (with excrescent *d* at the end) in Peele's play of Edward I, ed. Dyce, 1883, p. 383, note.

CHAPTER XIII.

SUBSTANTIVAL SUFFIXES (*continued*).

§ 204. (3). Excluding the suffixes already explained in the last Chapter, the principal substantival suffixes are due to certain original Aryan suffixes which may be arranged in the following order, viz. -O, -Â, -I, -U, -IO, -IÂ, -WO, -WÂ, -MO, -MON, -RO, -LO, -NO, -NI, -NU, -TO, -TI, -TU, -TER (or -TOR), -TRO, -ONT, -ES (or -OS), -KO; or else, to combinations of these. The Aryan languages delight in the use of compound suffixes, sometimes double, sometimes treble, and occasionally even still more complex. I shall consider these Aryan suffixes in the above order, and discuss compound suffixes (such as Teut. -MA-N) under the first element (such as -MO). These Aryan suffixes often appear in a slightly different form in Teutonic; thus -TO becomes -THO or -THA (by Grimm's Law), or even -DO or -DA (by Verner's Law).

§ 205. **Aryan suffix** -O; fem. -Â. This suffix invariably disappears in modern English, and need not be discussed at length, though a large number of sbs. originally belonged to this class. It occurs as *-a* (fem. *-ô*) in Gothic, in the stems of Goth. sbs. of the A-declension, as it is called; see my Gospel of St. Mark in Gothic, p. xxxvii. It answers to the Gk. *-o-* in *ζυγ-ό-ν*, a yoke, and to the Lat. *-u-* (formerly *-o-*) in *iug-u-m*. Thus E. *fish*, Goth. *fisk-s*, has for its stem FISKA, appearing in the dat. pl. *fiska-m*. E. *half*, Goth. *halba*, has the stem HALBÔ, dat. pl. *halbo-m*, where -ô is a long vowel, and an-

swers to Aryan -â. E. *ship*, Goth. *skip*, has the stem SKIPA; dat. pl. *skipa-m*. Of these words, both in A. S. and Gothic, *fish* is masculine, *half* is feminine, and *ship* is neuter. Modern English has given up all idea of distinguishing genders in this way[1]. The following is a brief list of some of the substantives of this class. Cf. Sievers, O. E. Gr. §§ 239, 251.

(*a*). Masculine: E. *day*, A. S. *dag*, Goth. *dags*. E. *dough*, A. S. *dáh*, Goth. *daigs*. E. *fish*, A. S. *fisc*, Goth. *fisks*. E. *hound*, A. S. *hund*, Goth. *hunds*. E. *loaf*, A. S. *hláf*, Goth. *hlaibs*. E. *oath*, A. S. *áþ*, Goth. *aiths*. E. *shoe*, A. S. *scóh*, Goth. *skohs*. E. *sleep*, A. S. *slǽp*, Goth. *sleps*. E. *way*, A. S. *weg*, Goth. *wigs*. E. *wolf*, A. S. *wulf*, Goth. *wulfs*.

(*b*). Neuter: E. *deer*, A. S. *déor*, Goth. *dius*. E. *grass*, A. S. *græs*, Goth. *gras*. E., A. S., *holt*, a wood. E., A. S., Goth. *land*. E. *ship*, A. S. *scip*, Goth. *skip*. E. *sore*, s., A. S. *sár*, Goth. *sair*. E. *year*, A. S. *géar*, Goth. *jer*. E. *yoke*, A. S. *geoc*, Goth. *juk*.

(*c*). Feminine: E. *care*, A. S. *caru*, Goth. *kara*. E. *half*, A. S. *healf*, Goth. *halba* (side). E. *herd*, A. S. *heord*, Goth. *hairda*. E. *rung*, A. S. *hrung*, Goth. *hrugga* (= *hrunga*). E. *womb*, A. S. *wamb*, Goth. *wamba*.

§ 206. **Teutonic** -AN; fem. -ÔN (= ÂN). This suffix is common in many cases of A. S. weak nouns, but does not appear in modern English. Thus E. *tongue*, A. S. *tung-e*, f., makes the gen. *tung-an*; the Gothic *tugg-o* (=*tung-ô*) makes the gen. *tugg-on* (=*tung-ôn*); the Teut. form being TONG-AN; cf. § 205. Other nouns which had this suffix are *bear* (an animal), *bow* (for shooting); *bourn* (brook), *cove*, *drop*, *gall*, *shank*, *smoke*, *spark*, *stake*, *wit* (wise man), all masculine. Also the fem. sbs. *crow*, *ear*, *eye*, *fly*, *heart*, *week*; and the fem. pl. *ashes*, A. S. *æsc-an*, Goth. *azg-ôn*.

[1] Modern E. gender is (mainly) *logical*, i.e. it depends on distinctions of sex. The A. S. gender is *grammatical*, i.e. it depends on the form of the name itself, which is quite a different thing.

§ 207. **Aryan suffix** -I. This suffix disappears in modern English, like the preceding. It is commonly known only by its causing 'mutation' of the root-vowel of the stem. It occurs in the stems of Goth. sbs. of the *i*-declension; as in *arms*, an arm, dat. pl. *armi-m*. There are no neuter sbs. of this form. It occurs also in Skt. *ah-i*, a snake, Gk. ἔχ-ι-ς, Lat. *angu-i-s*, &c.

Examples are: (*a*) Masculine: E. *hip* (of the thigh), A. S. *hype*, Goth. *hups*, stem HUPI. E. *meat*, A. S. *mete*, Goth. *mats*; Teut. MATI. E. *string*, A. S. *streng* (=**strangi*), allied to *strang*, strong. (*b*) Feminine: E. *queen*, A. S. *cwén*, Goth. *kwens*; Teut. KWÊNI. E. *weird*, i.e. fate; A.S. *wyrd* < .. ‖ *word-en*, pp. of *weorþan*, to happen.

For further examples see Sievers, O. E. Gr. § 263.

§ 208. **Aryan suffix** -U. This suffix likewise disappears in mod. E. It occurs in the stems of Goth. sbs. of the *u*-declension; as in *handu-s*, a hand. It occurs in Skt. *áç-u*, quickly, Gk. ὠκ-ύ-ς, swift, Lat. *ac-u-s*, a needle, &c.

Examples are (*a*) Masculine: E. *wand*, of Scand. origin; Icel. *vönd-r* = Goth. *wand-us*; where *ö* is the *u*-mutation of *a*. (*b*) Feminine: E. *chin*, A. S. *cinn*, Goth. *kinnus*, Gk. γένυς. E. *hand*, A. S. *hand*, Goth. *handus*. (*c*) Neuter: E. *fee*, A. S. *feoh*, Goth. *faihu*.

§ 209. **Aryan suffix** -IO (written -JO by some German writers). This suffix appears as *-ja*[1] in Goth. *haird-ja-m*, dat. pl. of *haird-eis*, masc., a shepherd; and in *kun-ja*, dat. sing. of *kun-i*, n., kin. It is represented accordingly, by Goth. masc. sbs. ending in *-eis*, and Goth. neut. sbs. in *-i*; see my Gospel of St. Mark in Gothic, p. xxxvii. It is common in Latin as *-io-*, as in *od-io-*, stem of *odium*, hatred. In A. S. this suffix became simply *-e*, as in Goth. *and-eis*, A. S. *end-e*, M. E. *end-e*, in Chaucer, mod. E. *end*, where the suffix disappears. Similar words are: E. *herd*, in the sense of

[1] The Goth. *j* is pronounced as E. *y*.

shepherd, A. S. *hird-e*, m., Goth. *haird-eis*, m. (as above), Teut. HERD-YA (Fick, iii. 80). E. *leech*, A. S. *lǽc-e*, Goth. *lek-eis*, a physician, Teut. LEK-YA. In other words the *-io-* suffix (A. S. *-e*) has sometimes caused a doubling of the last letter in the A. S. form, and has afterwards fallen away, though it has often left its mark upon the word by producing an *i*-mutation of the preceding vowel. Thus E. *din*, A. S. *dyn* (put for *dynn*), is also found in the fuller A. S. form *dyn-e* (=DUN-YA). E. *hill*, A. S. *hyll* (=HUL-YA), cognate with Lat. *coll-is*. E. *ridge*, A. S. *hrycg* (= *hrygg* = HRUG-YA). E. *wedge*, A. S. *wecg* (= *wegg* = WAG-YA). See Sievers, O. Eng. Gr. § 247.

In A. S., the neuter Teut. suffix *-i* drops off, but not before it has caused *i*-mutation. Good examples are seen in E. *bed*, A. S. *bedd*, Goth. *badi*. E. *kin*, A. S. *cynn*, Goth. *kuni*. E. *net*, A. S. *nett*, Goth. *nati*. E. *wed*, s. (a pledge, *obsolete*), A. S. *wedd*, Goth. *wadi*. Other examples, mostly neuter, occur in A. S., viz. E. *den*, A. S. *denn* (cf. O. H. G. *tenni*, G. *Tenne*, a floor). E. *errand*, A. S. *ǽrend-e*, Icel. *eyrend-i*[1]. E. *hue*, A. S. *hiw*, Goth. *hiw-i*. E. *rib*, A. S. *ribb* (O. H. G. *rippi*). E. *web*, A. S. *webb*, where the A. S. double *b* stands, as usual, for double *f*, so that *webb* = **waf-ja* < *. ‖ A. S. *wæf* (for **waf*), pt. t. of *wef-an*, to weave. E. *wit*, A. S. *wit*, Goth. *wit-i*, from A. S. and Goth. *wit-an*, to know. E. *work*, s., A. S. *weorc*, Goth. *ga-waurk-i*. It should be particularly noticed that *all* the mod. E. words quoted in this section (except *leech* and *hue*) are pronounced with a short vowel, this effect being due to the mode of their formation.

Aryan -IÂ. This is the corresponding *feminine* suffix, appearing in Gothic as *-jo* in the dat. pl. *wrak-jo-m* of the sb. *wrak-ja*, vengeance. The Goth. sbs. commonly end in *-ja* in the nominative, but the A. S. drops the suffix altogether, though its original presence is marked, as before,

[1] In this word the suffix is obviously *double*; thus A. S. *ǽr-end-e* = Teut. AIR-AND-YA. Cf. Goth. *air-us*, a messenger.

by the doubling of the final consonant (unless there are two consonants already) and by *i*-mutation of the preceding vowel. As before, the vowel in mod. E. is usually *short*. Examples: E. *bridge*, A. S. *brycg*, f. (Icel. *brygg-ja*). E. *crib*, A. S. *cribb*, f. (O. Sax. *kribb-ia*). E. *edge*, A. S. *ecg*, f. (Du. *egg-e*). E. *hell*, A. S. *hel*, f., gen. *hell-e*, Goth. *hal-ja*, gen. *hal-jo-s*. E. *hen*, A. S. *henn*, formed with *i*-mutation from A. S. masc. *han-a*, a cock. E. *sedge* (lit. sword-grass), A. S. *secg*, a sword (= **sag-ja*, i.e. *cutt-er*), from Teut. base SAG= Aryan root SEK (Lat. *sec-are*, to cut). E. *shell*, A. S. *scell*, Goth. *skal-ja*, a tile, allied to E. *scale*, A. S. *scal-e*, a husk, pod. E. *sill* (of a door), A. S. *syll*, a base, support. E. *sin*, A. S. *synn* (for **synd*), O. Sax. *sund-ia*, G. *Sünde*, O. H. G. *sunt-a*[1]. Cf. Sievers, O. E. Gr. § 258.

§ 210. **Teutonic** -YAN, -ÎN. These suffixes appear in *some* sbs. of the weak declension[2]. Examples are: (*a*) masculine: E. *ebb*, s., A. S. *ebb-a*, gen. *ebb-an* (= **af-jan*)[3]. E. *neck*, A. S. *hnecc-a*, gen. *hnecc-an* (= **hnak-jan*). E. *well* (spring of water), A. S. *well-a*, gen. *well-an* (= **wal-jan*), from the base WAL (A. S. *weall-an*), to boil, boil up. E. *will*, s., A. S. *will-a*, gen. *will-an*, Goth. *wil-ja* (stem *wil-jan*). E. *wretch*, A. S. *wrecc-a*, gen. *wrecc-an* (= **wrak-jan*), from the base WRAK (A. S. *wræc*, pt. t. of *wrec-an*, to drive away, hence to exile).

(*b*) Feminine: E. *eld*, s., old age (obsolete), A. S. *yld-u*, *ield-u*, derived by *i*-mutation from *eald*, old, answers to O. Sax. *eld-î*, O. H. G. *elt-î*, old age, and therefore had originally the stem **eald-în*. So also E. *heat*, A. S. *hǽt-u*, from *hât*, hot; *hǽt-u* had originally a stem **hât-în*. The Gothic weak fem. sbs. of this class exhibit the suffix *-ein*, as in *manag-ein*, dat.

[1] Also *suntea*; see Schade.

[2] The 'weak declension' is the name given to that of stems ending in *n*; see Sievers, O. E. Gr. § 276, and my Gothic Gr. § 21. The term is not a happy one.

[3] The A. S. *bb* stands for *ff* < *fi*. Cf. Goth. *af*, E. *of*, i.e. from. Hence *ebb*, from **af-jan*, means 'the receding' of the sea (Schade.)

of *manag-ei*, multitude; and this *-ein* answers to a Teut. -ÎN. Sievers well remarks (§ 279):—'As respects their origin [i.e. etymologically], the abstracts in *-u*, *-o*, such as *brǽd-u*, breadth, *hǽl-u*, salvation, *meng-u*, *menig-o*, multitude, *streng-u*, strength, *ield-u*, age, belong to the weak declension, since they correspond to Goth. weak nouns in *-ei*. They have, however, taken the nom. sing. ending from the *á*-declension, and thus rid themselves entirely of the old inflectional forms.' Here likewise belongs E. *fill*, s., A. S. *fyll-o*, fem. < . . *full*, adj. full; orig. stem **full-în*; cf. Goth. *us-full-ein-s*, fulness.

Teut. -î-NA. Corresponding to this is the A. S. suffix *-en*, as already noticed in § 203. The words *maid-en*, *chick-en*, have been already cited as diminutives. Other examples are: (perhaps) E. *mai-n*, s., strength, A. S. *mæg-en*, neut., cognate with Icel. *meg-in*, strength, O. Sax. *meg-in*, O. H. G. *mek-in*. E. *swine*, A. S. *sw-în*, neut., cognate with Icel. *sv-în*, Goth. *sw-ein* (stem *sw-eina*). In the latter case, the suffix was orig. adjectival, as seen in Lat. *su-inus* (Varro), relating to sows, from *su-*, crude form of *sus*, a sow; cf. E. *sow*, A. S. *sugu*, *sú*. E. *brack-en*, A. S. *bracc-an*, is really a plural form, being the pl. of A. S. *bracc-e*, of the weak declension. Other words in *-en* will be discussed hereafter.

§ 211. **Aryan suffix** -WO (written -VO by German editors, who write *v* for *w*, needlessly). It occurs in Skt. *aç-va*, a horse, Gk. *ἵππο-ς* (= **ικ-ϝο-ς*), Lat. *eq-uu-s*; Skt. *e-va*, a course, Lat. *æ-uu-m*, a life-time, Goth. *ai-wa-m*, dat. pl. of *aiws*, an age. It is not observable in A. S. in the nom. sing., but appears in other cases (except in the nom. pl. and acc. pl. of neuters); see Sievers, O. E. Gr. § 249. Examples of neuter sbs. are: E. *bale*, s., harm, evil, A. S. *beal-u*, gen. *beal-we-s*, cf. Goth. *bal-wa-wesei*, s. f., wickedness. E. *cud*, also *quid*, A. S. *cud-u*, *cwud-u*, *cwid-u*, gen. *cwid-we-s*, Teut. KWID-WA (see Supp. to my Etym. Dict., 2nd ed.). E. *meal*, ground corn, A. S. *meol-u*, gen. *meol-wes* or *meol-o-wes* (where the inserted *-o-* is euphonic), Teut. MIL-WA. E. *tar*, A. S.

teor-u, gen. *teor-we-s*, stem TIR-WA = Teut. TER-WA, for TRE-WA; the word is of adjectival origin, and denoted originally 'belonging to a *tree*'; cf. *tree* below. Other neuters of this class are: E. *glee*, A. S. *glíg*, *gléo*, gen. *glí-we-s*, Teut. GLÎ-WA. E. *knee*, A. S. *cnéo*, *cnéow*, gen. *cnéo-we-s*, cognate with Goth. *kni-u*, gen. *kni-wi-s*, Teut. KNE-WA, allied to Lat. *gen-u*, Gk. γόν-υ, Skt *ján-u*. E. *tree*, A. S. *tréo*, gen. *tréo-we-s*, Goth. *tri-u*, gen. *tri-wi-s*, Teut. TRE-WA, cognate with Russ. *dre-vo*, a tree, W. *der-u*, an oak, Gk. δρῦ-ς, an oak. The suffix appears as *-w* in mod. E. *stra-w*, A. S. *strea-w*, as seen in *streaw-berige*, a strawberry, Wright's Vocab. ed. Wülcker, col. 298, l. 11; cognate with G. *Stroh*, O. H. G. *strô*, *strau*, gen. *straw-es*; the corresponding Goth. stem would be *STRA-WA (Kluge, s. v. *Stroh*). E. *lee*, i. e. shelter, a Scand. form, from Icel. *hlé*, lee, is cognate with A. S. *hléo*, *hleow*, gen. *hleo-we-s*, a shelter, preserved in prov. E. *lew*, warm, *lew-th*, shelter.

Masculine: E. *de-w*, A. S. *dea-w*, gen. *dea-we-s*, cognate with G. *Thau*, Teut. DA-WA (Fick, iii. 146). E. *lo-w*, a hill, mound, grave, A. S. *hlá-w*, *hlǽ-w*, dat. *hlá-we*, *hlǽ-we*, cognate with Goth. *hlai-w*, a grave, from the Teut. base HLI = Aryan root KREI (KLEI); cf. Lat. *cli-uu-s*, a hill. E. *sno-w*, A. S. *snáw*, Goth. *snai-w-s* (stem *snai-wa*).

§ 212. **Aryan -WÂ**, fem. form of the preceding. Examples occur in the following fem. sbs.: E. *cla-w*, M. E. *cla-w*, A. S. *clá-wu*, pl. *clá-we*, cognate with G. *Klaue*, O. H. G. *chla-wa* (see Schade). Fick gives the Teut. form as KLÂ-WA, iii. 52. Perhaps it is better to suppose the Teut. form to be KLA-WÂ, resulting from KLAU-Â, where KLAU is a 'graded' form of the Teut. base KLEU = Lat. *glu-* in *glu-ere*, to draw together; see Schade, s. v. *chlawa*. Also: E. *gear*, A. S. *gear-we*, fem. pl. equipments, formed from the adj. *gear-u*, (nom. pl. *gear-we*), ready, *yare*, Teut. GAR-WA, adj., ready, (Fick, iii. 102). E. *mead*, also *mead-ow*, A. S. *méd*, dat. *méd-we*, stem MÂD-WÂ, so that *mead* is from the nom. case,

and *mead-ow* from the dative or the stem; moreover, the -D- is for -TH- = Aryan -T-; in fact, the E. *-th* actually occurs in the forms *after-math*, *latter-math*, and the root is the Aryan MAD, to mow. Similarly, the double forms in E. *shade* and E. *shad-ow* are explicable by help of the A. S. fem. sb. *scead-u*, of which the acc. pl. is *scead-wa* (Grein). E. *sin-ew*, A. S. *sin-u*, *seon-u*, nom. pl. *seon-we*, Grein, ii. 430. E. *sto-w*, a place, A. S. *stó-w*, gen. *stó-we*; from the Aryan root STA, to stand, remain. The word *mall-ow*, A. S. *mal-we*, is a mere borrowing from the Lat. *mal-ua*.

§ 213. **Teutonic** -WAN. There is an instance of this in E. *swall-ow* (bird), A. S. *sweal-we*, s. fem., gen. *sweal-wan*, Teut. SWAL-WAN. Other examples are (probably): E. *arr-ow*, A. S. *ar-e-we* (gen. *arewan*), a late form, pointing to earlier **ar-we*, gen. **ar-wan*, answering to a Goth. fem. stem **arh-wôn*, as shewn by the closely allied Goth. *arh-wa-zna*, an arrow; Teut. stem ARH-WÂN, also found in the shorter form ARH-WA, whence Icel. *ör* (gen. *ör-va-r*), an arrow. The Teut. ARH-WA = Aryan ARQ-WA, whence Lat. *arqu-u-s*, more commonly *arc-u-s*, a bow, weapon of defence, from the root ARQ, to defend (Lat. *arc-ere*); see Fick, iii. 24. E. *barrow* (in *wheel-barrow*), M. E. *barowe*, *barwe*, answering to A. S. *bear-we*, gen. *bear-wan*, as seen in the comp. *meox-bearwe*, a barrow for dung. E. *sparr-ow*, A. S. *spear-we*, gen. *spear-wan*. E. *yarr-ow* (milfoil), A. S. *gear-we*, gen. *gear-wan*. The word *wid-ow*, A. S. *wid-we*, *weod--u-we*, is cognate with Goth. *wid-u-wo*, gen. *wid-u-won*, which seems to have an additional prefix before the final -WÂN, answering perhaps to the *-a-* in Skt. *vidh-a-vâ*, a widow. The E. *pill-ow* is not Teutonic; it occurs as M. E. *pil-we*, A. S. *pyl-e*. But there must have been a longer A. S. form **pyl-we*, cognate with O. H. G. *phulwi*, *phulwo* (Schade); all the forms are merely borrowed from Lat. *puluinus*, a bolster, cushion. Such words as *bill-ow*, *furr-ow*, *marr-ow*, *will-ow*, do not belong here.

§ 214. **Aryan** -MO. This is well marked in Mod. E., in which it appears as final *-m*, or as *-om* (in *bos-om*, *bott-om*, *fath-om*)[1]. All the extant words with this prefix are (I think) of the masculine gender, except *foam*, which is neuter. It should also be particularly noted that, with the exception of the words in *-om*, all these words are now *monosyllabic*, and all contain a vowel that is *long*, either essentially or by position; for, except when the vowel is essentially long, words of this class end in a *double* consonant. The A. S. suffix is *-m*, answering to Goth. *-ma*, Lat. *-mu-s*, Gk. *-μο-ς* (*-μη*), as in Lat. *cul-mus*, a stalk, Gk. *κάλα-μος*, a reed (*καλά-μη*, a stalk), which is cognate with E. *hal-m*, *haul-m*, a stalk, and Russ. *solo-ma*, straw.

Examples: E. *bea-m* (of timber), A. S. *béa-m*, Du. *boo-m*, a tree (E. *boom*, borrowed from Dutch), G. *Bau-m*, perhaps allied to Gk. *φῦ-μα*, a growth. [But the Goth. form is *bag-ms* (stem *bag-ma*), which points to an Aryan root BHAGH, as in Skt. *bah-u*, large; see *Bough* in my Etym. Dict.] E. *bos-om*, A. S. *bós-m*, G. *Bus-en*. E. *bott-om*, A. S. *bot-m*, G. *Bod-en*, prob. allied to Gk. *πυθ-μήν*, and to Vedic Skt. *budh-na*, depth. E. *doo-m*, A. S. *dó-m*, Goth. *do-m-s*, stem DO-MA, allied to Gk. *θέ-μις*, that which is set or established, from the root DHA, to put, place, whence E. *do*. E. *drea-m*, A. S. *dréa-m*, meaning (1) noise, rejoicing, (2) joy, (3) vision, Teut. DRAU-MA (Fick, iii. 152), prob. allied to Gk. *θρόος*, noise, tumult. E. *fath-om*, A. S. *fæð-m*, the space reached by outstretched arms, from the root PAT, to extend. E. *fil-m*, A. S. **fil-m*, only found in the dimin. form *film-en*, membrane, allied to E. *fell*, skin[2]. E. *foa-m*, A. S. *fá-m*, neut., prob. allied to Lat. *spu-ma*, Skt. *phe-na*, foam. E.

[1] The *o* in this final *-om* was formerly not written; cf. A. S. *bósm*, *botm*, *fæðm*. And, in fact, the final *-m* is here vocalic.

[2] Wright's Vocab., ed. Wülcker, col. 203, has: '*Centipillium*, *i. omentum*, filmẽ.' The meaning of the curl is uncertain. In the same, col. 446, the gen. pl. *filmena* occurs.

glea-m, A. S. *glǽ-m*, stem *glǽ-ma*=GLAI-MA, from a base GLI, to shine, as seen in *gli-ni*, *gli-mmer*, *gli-tter*, *gli-ster*. E. *gloo-m*, A. S. *glóm*, a faint light, from *glówan*, to glow. E. *haul-m*, *hal-m*, A. S. *heal-m*, Teut. HAL-MA (Fick, iii. 70), allied to Lat. *cul-mu-s*, Gk. καλά-μη (as above). E. *hel-m*, a helmet, A. S. *hel-m*, that which covers or protects, a helmet, Goth. *hil-m-s* (stem HIL-MA), Teut. HEL-MA (Fick, iii. 69), from the root of A. S. *hel-an*, to cover. E. *hol-m*, an islet in a river, A. S. *hol-m*, orig. 'a mound,' allied to Lat. *cul-men*, a mountain-top, and to *col-lis*, a hill. E. *loa-m*, A. S. *lá-m*, Teut. LAI-MA, closely allied to E. *li-me*, A. S. *lí-m*, Teut. LÎ-MA (Fick, iii. 268). In fact, *lime* and *loam* only differ in their vowel-gradation (cf. A. S. *drífan*, to drive, pt. t. *dráf*); and are allied to Lat. *li-nere*, to smear, daub. E. *qual-m*, A. S. *cweal-m* (for **cwal-m*) < ‖ *cwæl* (=**cwal*), pt. t. of *cwel-an*, to die. E. *sea-m*, A. S. *séa-m*, G. *Sau-m*, Teut. SAU-MA, from the root sû, to sew (Lat. *su-ere*). E. *sli-me*, A. S. *slí-m*, allied to Russ. *sli-na*, saliva, Lithuan. *seil-e*, spittle, O. Irish *sail-e*, saliva, and Lat. *sal-ī-ua*. E. *stea-m*, A. S. *stéa-m*, Teut. STAU-MA. E. *stor-m*, A. S. *stor-m*, Teut. STOR-MA (Fick, iii. 346). E. *strea-m*, A. S. *stréa-m*, allied to G. *Stro-m*, Teut. STRAU-MA, from the Teut. STREU, to flow=Aryan root STREU, SREU, to flow, whence also Gk. Στρύ-μων, the Strymon, a river-name, ῥεῦ-μα, flow, flood, Lithuan. *sro-we*, a stream, O. Irish *srúaim*, a stream. E. *swar-m*, A. S. *swear-m*, Teut. SWAR-MA, orig. 'a buzzing,' from Aryan root SWAR, to hum, buzz. E. *tea-m*, a row of horses, A. S. *téa-m*, a family, a line, cognate with G. *Zau-m*, a bridle, Teut. TAU-MA, a set, line, row, bridle, put for *TAUH-MA, derived from Teut. TEUH, to lead, Goth. *tiuh-an* (Lat. *duc-ere*)[1]. To these we may add E. *roo-m*, though the A. S. *rúm* was orig. an adj., meaning large, spacious; cf. Goth. *rums*, adj., spacious, also *rums*, s., room; Teut. RÛ-MA (1) spacious, (2) space; allied to Lat. *ru-s*, open country. The word *boo-m* also belongs

[1] So Kluge; this is better than to connect it with the verb to *taw*.

here, but is mere Dutch, from Du. *boom*, a tree, a boom, cognate with E. *beam* (of timber), given above; cf. E. *horn-beam* as the name of a tree. In *broom*, *harm*, the *m* is not a suffix, but radical.

§ 215. **Aryan** -MI, allied to -MO. The examples are but few. We may cite: E. *arm* (of the body), A. S. *ear-m*, stem AR-MO; but cf. Goth. *arm-s*, gen. *ar-mi-s*, stem AR-MI; allied to Lat. *ar-mu-s*, shoulder, Gk. ἁρ-μό-ς, joint, from the root AR, to fit. E. *ho-me*, A. S. *há-m*, Goth. *hai-m-s*, gen. *hai-mi-s*[1], perhaps cognate with Gk. κώ-μη, a village, Lithuan. *kĕ-ma-s*, a village. E. *wor-m*, A. S. *wyr-m* (=**wur-mi*), Teut. WUR-MI; see *Worm* in my Etym. Dict.

§ 216. **Aryan** -MON (-MEN). This suffix (occurring in Latin as *-mōn-*, *-men*, *-min-*) is seen in the borrowed words *abdo-men*, *acu-men*, *albu-men*, *bitu-men*, *o-men*, *regi-men*, *speci-men*. It occurs in A. S. weak sbs., as follows: E. *bar-m*, yeast, A. S. *beor-ma*, gen. *beor-man*, probably cognate with Lat. *fer-men-tum*, whence E. *ferment*. E. *bes-om*, A. S. *bes-ma*, gen. *bes-man*, cognate with O. H. G. *bes-a-mo*, G. *Bes-e-n*, Du. *bez-e-m*. E. *bloo-m*, a Scand. word, Icel. *blô-m*, Goth. *blo-ma*, stem BLÔ-MAN, from the verb *blô-wan*, to blow (as a flower); allied to Lat. *flo-s*, a flower. E. *na-me*, A. S. *na-ma*, gen. *na-man*, Goth. *na-mo*, stem NA-MAN, cognate with Lat. *nō-men*, Skt. *nā-man*, a name. E. *ti-me*, A. S. *ti-ma*, gen. *ti-man*, Teut. TÎ-MAN (Fick, iii. 114), allied to E. *ti-de*, A. S. *ti-d*, Teut. TÎ-DI. Here also belongs E. *bloss-om*, A. S. *blóst-ma*, gen. *blóst-man*; but the suffix is really triple, the stem being BLÔ-S-T-MAN, from *blô-wan*, to blow, flourish; cf. *bla-s-t*, from *blá-wan*, to blow (as wind); and see *bloo-m* above. Such a conjunction of suffixes is common in the Aryan languages.

§ 217. **Aryan** -RO. Some have supposed that the primitive Aryan language contained no *l*, and that *l* was merely developed out of *r*; but this view is hardly tenable. I shall

[1] But the Goth. pl. is also *haim-os* (stem *hai-má*).

here consider the suffixes -RO and -LO separately, and shall take -RO first. It may, however, be remarked here that the letters *r* and *l* are frequently interchanged in various Aryan languages.

Aryan -RO; Goth. -RA. It must be observed that the letter *r* easily allows a vowel to slip in before it, the vowel thus introduced being unoriginal. Thus the Gk. *κάπ-ρος* is certainly cognate with the Lat. *cap-er*, a goat. In fact, *cap-er* is merely the peculiar form of the nominative; the stem is *capro-*, as seen in the old acc. sing. *capro-m*. Again, the word which we now spell *acre* is the A. S. *æc-er*. In all such words the true suffix is -RA, and we must not look upon the *-e-* in the A. S. nominative *æc-e-r*, a field (Goth. *ak-r-s*, stem AK-RA), or the *-e-* in Lat. *ag-e-r* (stem AG-RO), as being an original vowel. It will be found, for instance, that the *-er* in *liv-e-r*, a part of the body, is of totally different origin from that of the *-er* in *liv-er*, one who lives. The former word belongs here; the latter does not. (See § 239.)

Examples. (*a*) Masculine. E. *ac-re*, A. S. *æc-er*, Goth. *ak-r-s*, stem AK-RA, cognate with Lat. *ag-er*, Skt. *aj-ra*; from √AG, to drive (cattle)[1]. So also *beav-er*, A. S. *bef-er*, Teut. BEB-RA (Fick, iii. 211). E. *fing-er*, A. S. *fing-er*, Goth. *figg-r-s*, Teut. FING-RA. E. *floo-r*, A. S. *flô-r*, Teut. FLÔ-RA (Fick, iii. 180). E. *hamm-er*, A. S. *ham-or*. E. *ott-er*, A. S. *ot-er*, Teut. UT-RA (Fick, iii. 33), allied to Gk. *ὕδ-ρα*, whence E. *hyd-ra*. E. *stee-r* (bull), A. S. *stéo-r*, Goth. *stiu-r-s*, Teut. STEU-RA (F. iii. 342). E. *summ-er*, A. S. *sum-or* (id. 326). E. *tea-r*, A. S. *téa-r*, also *teag-or* (Grein), Goth. *tag-r*, n., Teut. TAG-RA, allied to Gk. *δάκ-ρυ*. E. *thun-d-er*, A. S. *þun-or*, Teut. THON-RA (F. iii. 130), allied to Lat. *ton-i-tru*. To these may be added *ang-er*, of Scand. origin; from Icel. *ang-r*, stem ANG-RA (F. iii. 12). (*b*) Feminine. E. *feath-er*, A. S. *feð-er*, from √PET, to fly. E. *liv-er*, A. S. *lif-er*,

[1] The symbol √ signifies 'Aryan root.'

Teut. LIB-RA (F. iii. 271). E. *tind-er*, A. S. *tynd-er*, Teut. TOND-RA, from the Teut. base ·TAND, to kindle (id. 117). (*c*) Neuter. E. *bow-er*, A. S. *bú-r*. E. *lai-r*, A. S. *leg-er*, Goth. *lig-r-s*, a couch, stem LIG-RA; cf. A. S. *licg-an*, to lie. E. *leath-er*, A. S. *leð-er*, Teut. LETH-RA (F. iii. 278). E. *tim-b-er*, A. S. *tim-b-er* (Goth. *tim-r-jan*, to build), Teut. TEM-RA (id. 117). E. *udd-er*, A. S. *úd-er*, Teut. ÛD-RA (id. 33). E. *wat-er*, A. S. *wæt-er*, Teut. WAT-RA (id. 284); cf. Gk. *ἄν-υδ-ρος*, waterless. E. *wond-er*, A. S. *wund-or*, Teut. WOND-RA (306). We may add *stai-r*, A. S. *stǽg-er* (of uncertain gender) < .. ‖ *stág* (*stáh*), pt. t. of *stíg-an*, to climb. We also find the form -RU; as in E. *hung-er*, A. S. *hung-er*, m., Goth. *hûh-ru-s* (for **hunh-ru-s*). E. and A. S. *wint-er*, m., Goth. *wint-ru-s*.

§ 218. Suffix -LO. This suffix is well marked in modern English, being frequently represented by final *-le* or *-el*, or, in a few words, by *-l*; all of which are alike pronounced with a vocalic *l*. Some are of obvious verbal origin, as *beet-le*, a heavy mallet, A. S. *být-el*, a beater < .. *béat-an*, to beat. So also *bund-le* < ‖ *bund-en*, pp. of *bind-an*, to bind; *cripp-le*, formerly *creep-le*, from *creep*; *gird-le*, from *gird*; *lad-le*, from *lade*; *prick-le*, from *prick*; *sadd-le*, *sett-le*, both allied to *sit*; *shov-el* < *shove*; *shutt-le* < *shoot*; *spin-d-le*, A. S. *spin-l* < *spin*; *spitt-le* < *spit*; *teas-el* < *tease*.

Other examples are: *ang-le*[1], s., A. S. *ang-el*, a fish-hook, whence *ang-le*, v., to fish; *app-le*, *bram-b-le*, *brid-le*, *brist-le*, *gird-le*, *hand-le*, *haz-el*, *hurd-le*, *icic-le* (A. S. *ís-gic-el*), *stap-le*, *steep-le*, *stick-le*, a spine (as in *stickle-back*), *swiv-el*, *thist-le*, *watt-le*, *wrink-le*. The following are now monosyllabic: *fow-l*, A. S. *fug-el*; *hai-l*, A. S. *hæg-el*; *nai-l*, A. S. *nægl*; *rai-l*, a bar, Low G. *reg-el*, not found in A. S.; *rai-l*, a night-dress (obsolete), A. S. *hrægl*; *sai-l*, A. S. *seg-el*; *snai-l*, A. S.

[1] 'With patient *angle* trolls the finny deep'; Goldsmith, Traveller, 187. The A. S. *-el* = Goth. *-i-la*, with *i* preceding *-la*.

snæg-l; *sou-l*, A. S. *sáw-el*; *sti-le*, A. S. *stig-el* < ‖ *stig-en*, pp. of *stíg-an*, to climb; *tai-l*, A. S. *tæg-l* (cf. E. *tag*). Here belong E. *stoo-l*, A. S. *stó-l*; E. *whi-le*, A. S. *hwí-l*.

This suffix has been already mentioned as having been used to form diminutives; see § 203. Here also belong *sick-le*, A. S. *sic-ol*, borrowed from Lat. *sec-u-la*, from *sec-are*, to cut; and *ti-le*, A. S. *tig-el*, borrowed from Lat. *teg-u-la*, from *teg-ere*, to cover. *Mang-le*, s., a machine for smoothing linen, is borrowed (through the Dutch) from Low Lat. *manganum*, Latinised from Gk. μάγγανον, axis of a pulley; the familiar suffix *-le* being substituted for the unfamiliar *-an*.

§ 219. **Teutonic suffixes** -RA-NA, -AR-NA. These appear in at least two words, viz. *acorn*, *iron*. *Ac-or-n* is a later spelling (by confusion with *corn*, as if it were *oak-corn*, which is impossible) of A. S. *æc-er-n*, an acorn, corresponding exactly to Goth. *ak-ra-n*, fruit (stem *ak-ra-na-*, as in the compound *akrana-laus*, fruitless, unfruitful); from *ak-ra-*, stem of *ak-r-s*, a field, E. *acre*. The original sense was 'fruit of the unenclosed land,' or 'natural fruits of the forest,' such as acorns, mast, &c.; afterwards used in a more restricted sense. *Iron*, A. S. *ír-eŋ*, older form *ís-en*, is also found in the fuller form seen in A. S. *ís-er-n*, Goth. *eis-ar-n*. It would seem to be closely connected with A. S. *ís*, ice; perhaps from its glancing hard black surface. But this still remains an open question.

§ 220. **Teutonic suffix** -LAN. E. *hee-l* (of the foot), A. S. *hé-la*, gen. *hé-lan*; *neti-le*, A. S. *net-e-le*, gen. *net-e-lan*; *throst-le*, A. S. *þrost-le*, gen. *þrost-lan*. But *fidd-le*, A. S. *fiþ-e-le*, is merely borrowed from Lat. *uit-u-la*, a viol. Strictly speaking, the dimin. *nav-el*, already mentioned in § 203, exhibits this suffix; A. S. *naf-e-la*, gen. *naf-e-lan*.

Teutonic suffix -IL-SA. This remarkable form occurs in *buri-al*, M.E. *buri-el*, *biri-el*, *biri-el-s*, A. S. *byrg-el-s*, a tomb; and *ridd-le*, an enigma, M.E. *red-el-s*, A. S. *ráed-el-se*, from *ráed-an*, to read, explain. See further in § 231.

In the latter case, the gen. *rǽd-el-san* really exhibits the longer suffix -IL-SAN. So also *shutt-le*; see § 231 below. E. *ank-le* appears to have been taken from Norse; the A. S. *anc-l-éow* is difficult of explanation, though *-éow* appears as a formative suffix in *lár-éow*, a teacher.

§ 221. **Aryan** -NO (answering to Goth. *-na*). An unoriginal vowel is often inserted before the suffix; hence it often appears in Mod. E. as *-en* (*-e-n*) or *-on* (*-o-n*); but in some words as *-n* only. Examples are: *beac-on*, A. S. *béac-en*, Teut. BAUK-NA (Fick, iii. 197). *Ov-en*, A. S. *of-en*, *of-n*, Goth. *auh-n-s* (stem *auh-na*), Teut. UH-NA? (id. 32). *Rav-en* (bird), A. S. *hræf-n*, Teut. HRAB-NA (83). *Tok-en*, A. S. *tác-n*, Teut. TAIK-NA (114). *Wcap-on*, A. S. *wǽp-en*, Goth. *wep-na*, pl., Teut. WÊP-NA (288). The following words are now monosyllabic: *bair-n*, A. S. *bear-n*, Teut. BAR-NA (202). *Blai-n*, A. S. *blǽg-en*. *Brai-n*, A. S. *brǽg-en*. *Cor-n*, A. S. *cor-n*, cognate with Lat. *gra-num* (for **gar-num*). *Hor-n*, A. S. *hor-n*, Teut. HOR-NA (67); cf. Lat. *cor-nu*. *Loa-n*, A. S. *lá-n* (for **láh-n*) < ‖ *láh*, pt. t. of *líh-an*, to lend. *Rai-n*, A. S. *reg-n*. *Sto-ne*, A. S. *stá-n*, Goth. *stai-n-s*, stem STAI-NA. *Tha-ne*, A. S. *þeg-en*. *Wai-n*, A. S. *wæg-n*. *Yar-n*, A. S. *gear-n*. In a few words the suffix has disappeared altogether, as in *game*, A. S. *gam-en*, and in the Scand. word *roe* (of a fish), Icel. *hrog-n* (G. *Rog-en*)[1].

Suffix -NI. The Goth. stem of *token* is TAIK-NI, but Fick gives TAIK-NA as the common Teut. form. I know of no sure examples except the law-term *soken*, A. S. *sóc-n*, answering to Goth. *sok-ns* (stem SÔK-NI); and the interesting M. E. *er-n*, an eagle, A. S. *ear-n*, allied to Icel. *ör-n* (pl. *ar-ni-r*), stem AR-NI, and to Gk. *ὄρ-νι-ς*, a bird.

Suffix -NU. Examples are: E. *quer-n* (hand-mill), A. S.

[1] *Mor-n*, A. S. *morg-en*, Goth. *maurg-in-s* (stem *maurg-ina*), Teut. MORG-INA (Fick, iii. 243) seems to exhibit the suffix -INA. *Vix-en*, A. S. **fyx-en* < **fox*, M. H. G. *viihs-in-ne*, has a fem. suffix -INÎ.

cweor-n, Goth. *kwair-nu-s*. E. *so-n*, A. S. *su-nu*, allied to Skt. *sú-nu*. E. *thor-n*, A. S. *þor-n*, is given by Fick under THOR-NA, though the Gothic has *thaur-nu-s*.

§ 222. **Teut.** -NAN; A. S. *-nan*. This occurs in some weak substantives. Examples: *hav-en*, A. S. *hæf-e-ne*, gen. *hæf-e-nan*. E. *sun*, A. S. *sun-ne*, fem., gen. *sun-nan*. E. *teen* (vexation), A. S. *téo-na*, gen. *téo-nan*.

The word *glad-en*, a kind of iris, A. S. *glæd-e-ne* (gen. *glæd-e-nan*) is merely borrowed from Lat. *gladiolus*. So also *kitch-en*, A. S. *cyc-e-ne* (gen. *cyc-e-nan*) is borrowed from Lat. *coquina*, with mutation of *o* to *y*.

§ 223. **Aryan suffix** -TO. This highly important suffix, usually the mark of the past participle passive, as in E. *stree-t*, borrowed from the Lat. *strata* (i. e. *strata uia*, paved way), appears under various forms in the Teutonic languages. We may especially note it in the suffix *-th-s* (stem -THA) of the past participles of Gothic weak verbs, as in *lag-i-th-s*, E. *lai-d*, pp. of *lag-j-an*, to lay.

It is remarkable that Horne Tooke, in his celebrated derivation of *truth* from *troweth* (as being 'that which a man troweth') should have overlooked the Gothic pp. form in *-th-s*. Derivation from the third person singular of the present tense is extremely clumsy. In the suffixes of E. sbs. it occurs in three forms, viz. *-th*, *-t*, and *-d*. These will be considered separately.

(*a*) **E. suffix** *-th*. Some words are of verbal origin, as:—*bir-th*[1] from *bear*; *bro-th* from *brew* (A. S. *bréow-an*, pp. *brow-en*); *ear-th* from *ear*, to till (obsolete); *grow-th*; *steal-th*; *til-th*; *tro-th*[2] from *trow*. *Ru-th*, allied to the verb *rue*, is a Scand. form; Icel. *hrygg-ð*. *Mon-th* is from the sb. *moon*. *Weal-th* is a mere extension from M. E. *wele*,

[1] Usually *gebyrd* in A. S. The form *beorð* is extremely rare, but we find, '*Puerperium*, hyse-beorð'; Wright's Vocab., ed. Wülcker, col. 528, l. 7, where *hyse* = boy, and *hyse-beorð* = boy-birth, child-birth.

[2] Some regard *tro-th* as a mere variant of *tru-th*, from *true*, adj. But see *trowwpe* in the Ormulum, l. 1350.

E. *weal.* When the suffix is added to adjectives, we find that an *i*-mutation of the preceding vowel takes place; this is because it answers to the stem -I-THA of the Gothic past participles of the causal verbs in *-jan*; cf. *lag-ith-s*, pp. of *lag-j-an*, to lay, cited above. Hence we can explain the vowel-changes in the following forms, some of which are, however, not of early formation. Examples: *bread-th* < *broad*; *filth* < *foul*; *heal-th* < *whole*; *leng-th* < *long*; *mir-th* < *merr-y*; *streng-th* < *strong*. By analogy with these, we have *warm-th* from *warm*, without mutation; *slo-th* < *slow*; *tru-th* < *true*; so also *wid-th* from *wide*, *dear-th* from *dear*, *dep-th* < *deep*; with an inevitable shortening of the vowel. *Ki-th*, A. S. *cý-ðe* < .. A. S. *cú-ð*, known, which is for **cun-ð*, pp. of *cunn-an*, to know, with vowel-shortening. In the word *you-th*, the suffix has a different origin; it is discussed below, on p. 251.

(*b*) **E. suffix** *-t*. The suffix appears as *-t* after *f, gh, n, r, s*; merely because *ft, ght, nt, rt, st* are easier final sounds than *fth, ghth, nth, rth, sth*. This is best seen in the words *drough-t*, formerly M. E. *drouhthe*, A. S. *drug-a-ðe*, drought, from *drug-ian*, to be dry; *heigh-t*, formerly *high-th*; *thef-t*, from *thef-th*, A. S. *þief-ðe* < .. *þéof*, a thief. In some instances the original Aryan -TO remains as *-t*, after *f, gh, n, r*, or *s*. Examples are: *wef-t*, Teut. WEF-TA (Fick, iii. 289), from A. S. *wef-an*, to weave; together with such formations as *drif-t* from *drive* (A. S. *drîf-an*, pp. *drif-en*); *shrif-t*, from *shrive*; *rif-t*, a word of Scand. origin, Icel. *rip-t*, from *rive* (Icel. *rîf-a*, pp. *rif-inn*). E. *ligh-t*, s., takes the mutated vowel[1] of the verb *lýht-an*, to shine = **léoht-ian*; from the sb. *léoh-t*, which corresponds to Goth. *liuh-ath*, neut. (stem LIUH-A-THA), from the Teut. base LEUH = Aryan root REUQ, to shine. In the E. *knigh-t*, A. S. *cniht*, the *-t* is certainly a suffix, but the word is of obscure origin; the most likely supposition is that it is a derivative of

[1] But a far simpler solution is to derive it, not from the A. S. form, but from the O. Mercian *liht* (§ 33).

A. S. *cyn*, kin, with an adj. suffix *-iht*[1], as seen in A. S. *stán-iht*, stony; if so, then *cniht* (for **cyn-iht*), is allied to *cyn*, just as the Gk. γν-ήσιος, legitimate, is to γέν-ος, kin.

Craf-t, A. S. *cræf-t*, orig. 'power,' is from the Teut. base KRAP, to force together (Fick, iii. 49), whence also E. *cra-m-p*. *Haf-t*, A. S. *hæf-t*, the handle by which a thing is seized or held, from A. S. *hæb-ban* (= **haf-ian*), to have, hold. *Shaf-t*, A. S. *sceaf-t*, a smoothed pole or rod, from *scaf-an*, pp. *scaf-en*, to shave. *Bough-t*, s., in the special sense of a fold (also spelt *bout*), is of Scand. origin; Dan. *bug-t*, Icel. *bug-ð*, a bend, coil; from the verb to *bow* (Goth. *biug-an*). Of this *bigh-t* is a mere variant, answering in form to A. S. *byh-t* (=**bug-ti*), from the same root. *Though-t*, A. S. *þoh-t*, allied to Icel. *þót-ti*, *þót-tr* (i. e. **þóh-ti*, **þóh-tr*), thought, is derived from *þenc-an*, to think, pp. *þoh-t*, *ge-þoh-t*.

Similarly we have *draugh-t* (also *draf-t*, a phonetic spelling) from *draw*, A. S. *drag-an*; *weigh-t*, from *weigh*; *hef-t*, a heaving, from *heave*; and several others, for which see sections 224, 225. *Brun-t* is rather an obscure word, but is of Scand. origin, and allied to Dan. *bryn-de*, heat, passion; the *-t* is a suffix, and the original verb is seen in Goth. *brinn-an*, to burn (pp. *brunn-ans*).

E. *har-t*, A. S. *heor-o-t*, is cognate with O. H. G. *hir-u-z*, Teut. HER-U-TA (Fick, iii. 67). This form stands for HER-WO-TA, where HER-WO- is cognate with Lat. *cer-uu-s*, a hart, stag. Thus the suffix is really a *double* one, and the sense is the 'horned' animal; cf. Gk. κερ-α-ός, horned, κέρ-ας, a horn, and E. *hor-n*. Of similar formation, but more obscure, are E. *gann-e-t*, A. S. *gan-o-t*, cognate with O. H. G. *gan-a-zo*, a gander, allied to *gan-der* and *goose*; and E. *horn-e-t*, A. S. *hyrn-e-t*, cognate with O. H. G. *horn-i-z*, *horn-u-z*, named from its humming noise. The dimin. suffix *-et* is usually French, being rare in native English. E. *Eas-t*, A. S. *éas-t*, the east, was evolved from the Teut. adv. AUS-TA-NA, from

[1] A *double* suffix, viz. *-ih-t*; cf. Lat. *um-ec-tus*, moist, from *um-ere*.

the east; see Fick, iii. 8, and *osten* in Kluge. Thus *-t* is a suffix, and the base AUS- is the same as in Lat. *aur-ora* < **aus-osa*, dawn; cf. Skt. *ush-as*, dawn; from Aryan √ US, to shine, burn. E. *fros-t*, A. S. *fros-t* (usually spelt *forst*) < ‖ A. S. **fros-en*, orig. form of *fror-en*, pp. of *fréos-an*, to freeze.

(*c*) **E. suffix** *-d*. The Aryan suffix -TA often appears as *-d* in English, whilst the Gothic has *-th*[1]. Thus E. *gol-d* answers to Goth. *gul-th*; and E. *bloo-d* to Goth. *blo-th*. The same remark applies to the Aryan suffixes -TI and -TU, discussed below. Examples are: E. *bla-de*, A. S. *blæ-d* (with short *æ*), cognate with Icel. *bla-ð*, G. *Bla-tt*; see Fick, iii. 219, and *Blatt* in Kluge. E. *blood*, A. S. *blô-d* (Goth. *blo-th*), from *blô-wan*, to blow, flourish; *blood* being taken as the symbol of blooming or flourishing life. E. *bran-d*, A. S. *bran-d*, lit. a burning, hence (1) a fire-brand, (2) a bright sword, from the Teut. stem BRANN, to burn. E. *brea-d*, A. S. *bréa-d*, cognate with Icel. *brau-ð*, bread, lit. that which is brewed or fermented, from A. S. *bréow-an*, pt. t. *bréa-w*, to brew. E. *gol-d*, A. S. *gol-d* (Goth. *gul-th*), from the same root as *yell-ow* and *glo-w*, viz. Aryan GHAR, to shine. E. *hea-d*, M. E. *heued* (= *heved*), A. S. *héaf-o-d*, Goth. *haub-i-th*. E. *moo-d*, A. S. *mô-d*, Goth. *mod-s* (stem *mo-da*), Teut. MÔ-DA (Fick, iii. 242), probably connected with Gk. *μαί-ομαι*, I seek after. E. *threa-d*, A. S. *þræ-d*, cognate with Icel. *þrá-ðr*, G. *drah-t*, O. H. G. *drâ-t*, from the same base as A. S. *þró-w-an*, to throw, also to twist (Lat. *torqu-ere*); so that *threa-d* is that which is twisted. Similarly we may explain E. *broo-d*, A. S. *bró-d*, from a Teut. base BRÔ, to heat; cf. G. *brüh-en*, M. H. G. *brü-en*, to scald. E. *soun-d*, A. S. *sun-d*, (1) a swimming, power to swim, (2) a strait of the sea; probably for *SWOM-DA (Fick, iii. 362) < ‖ *SWOM-A-NA, pp. from the base SWEM, to swim. *War-d*, A. S. *wear-d*, a guard; from √ WAR, to defend.

§ 224. **Aryan -TI.** This suffix only appears in English

[1] Cf. Verner's Law; see § 129.

as *-th*, *-t*, and *-d*; but *-th* is exceptional. See Sievers, O. E. Gram. § 269. Compare § 223.

(*a*) **E. suffix** *-th*. As to the word *bir-th*, the usual A. S. form is *ge-byr-d* = **ge-bor-ði* < . . ‖ *ge-bor-en*, pp. of *ber-an*, to bear; but see p. 240, note 1. O. Friesic has both *berthe* and *berde*. *Grow-th* is of Scand. origin, from Icel. *gró-ði*; but the true stem of this word is GRÔ-THAN, so that the suffix is -THA-N.

(*b*) **E. suffix** *-t*. E. *fligh-t*, A. S. *flyh-t* (= **fluh-ti*), allied to G. *Fluch-t* < . . ‖ *flug-on*, pt. t. pl. of *fléog-an*, to flee, fly. *Gif-t*, A. S. *gif-t*, Icel. *gif-t*, Teut. GEF-TI (Fick, iii. 100), from *gief-an*, to give, pt. t. *geaf* (for **gaf*). *Gues-t*, A. S. *ges-t*, *gæs-t*, Goth. *gas-t-s* (stem GASTI), a stranger, hence a guest; cognate with Lat. *hos-ti-s*, an enemy, a stranger. *Migh-t*, A. S. *miht*, *meht*, also *meaht*, Goth. *mah-t-s* (stem MAHTI), from the verb seen in E. *may*, Goth. *mag-an*. *Nigh-t*, A. S. *niht*, *neht*, Goth. *nah-t-s* (stem NAHTI), cognate with Lat. *nox* (stem *nocti*); cf. Skt. *nak-ta*, night; all from the Aryan √ NEK, to fail, disappear; from the failure of light. *Pligh-t*[1], obligation, A. S. *plih-t*, danger, risk, connected with the strong verb *plion*, pt. t. *pleah*, to risk. *Shif-t*, s., a change, is from the Icel. *skip-ti* (i. e. **skif-ti*), a division, exchange; the A. S. has only the verb *scif-tan*, to divide; cf. Icel. *skíf-a*, to divide, *skíf-a*, s., a slice, prov. E. *shive*, a slice. *Sigh-t*, A. S. *sih-t*, *ge-sih-t*, more commonly *ge-sih-ð*, *ge-sieh-ð*; cf. *seg-en*, pp. of *seón*, to see. [Here the *e* in *seg-en* produced **ge-seh-ð*, whence *ge-sieh-ð* by the breaking of *e* before *h*; and hence again *ge-sih-ð*, the change from *ie* to *i* being due to 'palatal' mutation; see this explained in Sievers, O. E. Gram. § 101.] *Sleigh-t*, cunning, is of Scand. origin; from Icel. *slæg-ð*, cunning, a sb. formed from the

[1] Only in certain senses, and nearly obsolete as a sb.; the derived verb *to plight* is common. *Plight*, condition, is a totally different word, and should be spelt *plite*, as in M. E., being really of F. origin, from Lat. *plicita*, fem. pp. of *plic-are*, to fold.

adj. *slæg-r*, whence E. *sly*. *Thirs-t*, A. S. *þyrs-t* (= **þurs-ti*); cf. Goth. *þaurs-ans*, pp. of *þairs-an*, to be dry. *Wigh-t*, a creature, man, doublet of *whi-t*, a thing, both from A. S. *wih-t*, a wight, also a whit, Goth. *waih-t-s* (stem WAIH-TI), Teut. WEH-TI (Fick, iii. 282). *Wrigh-t*, a workman, A. S. *wyrh-t-a*, is a derivative of *wyrh-t*, *ge-wyrh-t*, a deed; this *wyrh-t* = Teut. WORH-TI, a deed (Fick, iii. 293); cf. Goth. *fra-waurh-t-s* (stem FRA-WAURH-TI), evil-doing; from the same root as E. *work*.

(*c*) **E. suffix** *-d*. *Dee-d*, A. S. *dǽ-d*, Goth. *de-d-s* (stem *dedi* = **dâdi*), Teut. DÂ-DI (Fick, iii. 152); the verb being A. S. *dó-n*, E. *do*. *Gle-de*, a glowing coal, A. S. *glé-d*, formed with *i*-mutation from *glówan*, to glow. *Mín-d*, A. S. *ge-myn-d*, formed with *i*-mutation from *mun-an*, to think, *ge-mun-an*, to remember; cf. Lat. *men-s* (stem *men-ti*). *Nee-d*, A. S. *né-d*, *néa-d*, Goth. *nau-ths* (stem *nau-thi*); cf. O. H. G. *niu-wan*, *nû-an*, to crush. *See-d*, A. S. *sǽ-d*, Icel. *sæ-ði*; cf. Goth. *mana-seth-s* (stem MANA-SE-DI), the seed or race of man; the world; Teut. SÂ-DI (Fick, iii. 312); the verb is A. S. *sá-w-an*, E. *sow*. *Spee-d*, A. S. *spé-d*, success, haste; *spé-d* = **spó-di*, from *spó-w-an*, to succeed. *Stea-d*, a place, A. S. *ste-de*, Goth. *sta-th-s* (stem STA-THI), a place, lit. 'standing,' from √ STA, to stand. *Stu-d*, A. S. *stó-d*, orig. a herd of horses, Teut. STÔ-DI (Fick, iii. 341); from Teut. base STÔ, strengthened form of √ STA, to stand. *Stee-d*, A. S. *sté-d-a*, a stud-horse, is derived from A. S. *stód* by mutation; i. e. *stéda* = **stód-ja*, with suffix *-ja* = *-io*.

§ 225. **Aryan** -TU. (*a*) There is one clear example of the suffix *-th* in English, from Teut. -THU. This is E. *dea-th*, A. S. *déa-ð*, Goth. *dau-thu-s*, death (stem *dau-thu*); from the Teut. base DAU, to die (Fick, iii. 143).

(*b*) **E. suffix** *-t*. *Lof-t* is of Scand. origin; from Icel. *lopt* (= **loft*), the air; Goth. *luf-tu-s*; root unknown. *Lus-t*, A. S. *lus-t*, pleasure; Goth. *lus-tu-s*, pleasure; root uncertain; cf. Skt. *lash*, to desire, *las*, to sport.

(*c*) **E. suffix** *-d*. *Floo-d*, A. S. *flŏ-d*; Goth. *flo-du-s*; from *flŏ-w-an*, to flow. *Shiel-d*, A. S. *scil-d*, *scel-d*; Goth. *skil-du-s*; root uncertain. *Wol-d*, *weal-d*, A. S. *weal-d*, O. Sax. *wal-d*, a wood; cf. Icel. *völlr* (= **wal-dus*), a field. The *o* in the form *wold* is due to the influence of the preceding *w*; the M. E. forms are both *wold* and *wald*.

§ 226. The Aryan suffixes -TA, -TI, discussed above, can be followed by other suffixes; thus E. *foo-d*, A. S. *fō-da* (stem *fō-da-n*) had originally a suffixed -N; cf. Goth. *fo-dei-n-s* (stem *fo-dei-ni*), food, feeding; from the Aryan √ PÂ, to feed. E. *mai-d-en*, A. S. *mæg-d-en*, cognate with O. H. G. *mag-a-lī-n*, answers to a Goth. **mag-a-dei-n*, a dimin. form from Goth. *mag-a-th-s*, fem. (stem *mag-a-thi*), a maiden, allied to Goth. *mag-us* (stem *mag-u*), a boy; the sense of *mag-us* is 'growing lad,' from the verb appearing in E. *may*. The Mod. E. *maid* is merely a contracted form of *maiden*; the M. E. short form for 'maiden' is *may*, A. S. *mæg*; whilst the A. S. form answering to Goth. *magaths* is *mægð* or *mægeð*; all from the same root. On the other hand, the suffix -TO occurs in combination with, and following, the suffix -(I)S. This double suffix -(I)S-TO appears as E. *-st*; and is discussed below; see § 233, p. 254.

§ 227. **Aryan** -TER (-TOR). This suffix is found in such words as Lat. *fra-ter*, Skt. *bhrâ-tar*, brother; and answers to Gothic *-thar*, *-dar*, and *-tar*. Of these three Gothic forms, the change to *-dar* is due to Verner's Law; whilst the preservation of the form *-tar* is due to the occurrence of a foregoing *h* or *s*.

(*a*) Goth. *-thar*. *Bro-ther*, A. S. *brō-ðor*, Goth. *bro-thar*, Teut. BRÔ-THAR (Fick, iii. 204); usually referred to Aryan √ BHER, to bear, as meaning one who bears, i. e. carries, aids, or supports the younger children.

(*b*) Goth. *-dar*. *Fa-ther*, M. E. *fa-der*, A. S. *fæ-der*, Goth. *fa-dar*, as if from a √PA, but the sense is doubtful. *Mo-ther*, M. E. *mo-der*, A. S. *mō-dor*, Teut. MÔ-DAR (Fick, iii. 242);

as if from an Aryan √MÂ; but here again the original sense is uncertain.

(*c*) *Daugh-ter*, A. S. *dôh-tor*, Goth. *dauh-tar*, cognate with Gk. *θυγ-ά-τηρ*, Skt. *duh-i-tar*; usually explained as 'milker' of the cows; cf. Skt. *duh* (for **dhugh*), to milk. But this is a mere guess. The word *sis-ter* (really *sis-t-er*) is exceptional; it is a Scand. form, from Icel. *sys-t-ir*, allied to A. S. *sweos-t-or*, Goth. *swis-t-ar*; the Teut. form is SWES-T-AR (F. iii. 360), but the *t* is a Teut. insertion, due to form-association, as it does not appear in Skt. *svas*-r, nor in Lat. *sor-or* = **sos-or*.

§ 228. **Aryan** -TRO. Upon this suffix, which usually denotes an agent or implement, Sievers has written an excellent article in Paul und Braune's Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, vol. v. p. 519. By Grimm's Law, the Aryan T is represented in Teutonic by TH. Hence Sievers discusses the following Teutonic equivalent stem-suffixes, viz. (1) -THRO-; (2) -THLO-, where *l* is substituted for *r*. Each of these may be further subdivided. Thus -THRO- either remains (*a*) as *-þro-* (with *þ* = *th* in *thin*); or (*b*) becomes *-ðro-* (with *ð* = *th* in *thine*, in consequence of Verner's Law); or (*c*) appears as *-tro-*, when it follows such letters as *f*, *h*, *s*; or (*d*) appears as *-tro-* when the suffix *-s-* (Aryan -ES-?) precedes it. Again, -THLO- appears (*e*) as *-þlo-*; or (*f*) as *-ðlo-*; or (*g*) as *-tlo-* after *f* or *s*; or (*h*) especially in Anglo-Saxon, assumes the transposed form *-ld*. We have thus eight cases to consider, which will be taken separately.

(*a*) **The form** *-þro-*. The mod. E. *rudder* is M. E. *roder*, more commonly *rother*, A. S. *rô-ðer*, orig. a paddle, an instrument to row with; from *rô-w-an*, to row. *La-ther* answers to A. S. *lêa-ðor*, lather, soap[1], cognate with Icel. *lau-ðr*, foam, soap; from Teut. base LAU, to wash; cf. Lat. *lau-are*, to wash. *Mur-der*, also written *mur-ther*, A. S. *mor-ðor*, Goth.

[1] 'Nitrum, *lêaðor*'; Wright's Voc. ed. Wülcker, col. 456, l. 14.

maur-thr (stem *maur-thra*), Teut. MOR-THRO (Sievers); from √MAR, to grind, kill, die. Here also probably belongs *lea-ther*, A. S. *le-ðer*, G. *le-der*, Teut. LE-THRA (Fick, iii. 278); but the root is unknown, so that the right division may be LETH-RA.

(*b*) **The form** *-ðro-*. After an (originally) unaccented syllable ending in a vowel or *l*, this becomes Goth. *-dr-*, A. S. *-dr-*. E. *bladder* answers to A. S. *blǽ-dre* (Wright's Voc. ed. Wülcker, col. 201, l. 42, col. 160, l. 3), allied to Icel. *bla-ðra*; from the root of A. S. *blá-wan*, to blow, i. e. to puff out. *Adder*, M. E. *ṇadder*, A. S. *næ-dre*, Goth. *nadrs* (stem *na-dra*), Teut. NA-DRA (Fick, iii. 156). *Fodder*, A. S. *fó-dor*, Teut. FÔ-DRA, may similarly be derived directly from √PÂ, to feed; but was rather perhaps formed with suffix -RA from the Teutonic root FOD (=FO-TH) appearing in Goth. *fod-jan*, to feed; see Osthoff, Forschungen, i. 146; it makes little ultimate difference. *Ladder*, M. E. *laddre*, from A. S. *hlǽ-der*; cf. G. *lei-ter*; lit. 'that which leans'; from Teut. base HLI, to lean, Aryan √KLI, to lean, whence also Gk. κλῖ-μαξ, a ladder (Kluge). *Wea-ther*, A. S. *we-der*, Teut. WE-DRA (Fick, iii. 307); prob. from √ WÊ, to blow; cf. Goth. *wai-an*, to blow. Whether *shoulder* belongs here is doubtful; *wonder* is probably to be divided as *wond-er*, and has accordingly a different suffix. See § 217.

(*c*) **The form** *-tro-*. *Hal-ter* (for **half-ter*), A. S. *hælf-tre*, cognate with G. *Half-ter*, O. H. G. *half-tra*; which Kluge rightly connects with E. *helve*, A. S. *hielf*, a handle. *Laugh-ter*, A. S. *hleh-tor*, *hleah-tor*; from the verb to *laugh*, A. S. *hlehh-an*. *Slaugh-ter*, a Scand. form, from Icel. *slá-tr*, confused with A. S. *sleah-t*, with the same sense; the latter is derived from the base *slah-* of the contracted verb *sleán*, to slay. *Fos-ter*, verb, A. S. *fóstrian*, is from the A. S. sb. *fós-ter*, nourishment; the suffix is really a double one, as *fós-ter*= *fó-s-ter*; from √PÂ, to feed. *Blus-ter*, prob. of Scand. origin; cf. Icel. *blás-tr*, a blast of wind, from *blás-a*, to blow.

In the word *Eas-t-er*, A. S. *éas-t-or*, Sievers regards the *t* as inserted; cf. Lithuan. *ausz-ra*, dawn. In any case, it is closely related to *eas-t*, A. S. *éas-t*.

(*d*) **Double suffix** *-s-tro-*. Whether we should regard the *-s-* as due to the Aryan -ES-, or rather consider it, with Sievers[1], as an inserted letter, I cannot say. Examples are:—*bol-s-ter*, A. S. *bol-s-ter*, cognate with G. *Pol-s-ter*; and *hol-s-ter*, borrowed from Du. *hol-s-ter*, a pistol-case, cognate with A. S. *heol-s-tor*, a hiding-place; cf. Goth. *huli-s-tr*, a veil, from *hulj-an*, to cover. See § 238.

(*e*) **The form** *-plo-*. *Nee-dle* is from A. S. *nǽ-dl*, cognate with Goth. *ne-thla*; Teut. NÊ-THLA (F. iii. 156), from the √ NÊ, to bind, sew; cf. Lat. *ne-rē*, G. *näh-en*, to sew. This seems to be the sole example.

(*f*) **The form** *-dlo-*. *Spittle* is a word which has been changed in form, owing to a connection with the secondary and late verb *spit*. The M. E. form was *spo-til*, answering exactly to A. S. *spá-tl* (=**spai-dlo-*), from *spi-w-an*, pt. t. *spá-w*, to spit, mod. E. *spew*. The secondary verb *spǽ-t-an* became M. E. *speten*, *spetten*, and was confused with *spitten*, which is a Mercian form, appearing as *spittan* in Matt. xxvii. 30. (§ 33.)

(*g*) **The form** *-tlo-*. Of this there is no certain example in English; *brist-le* is from A. S. *byrst*, a bristle. *Thros-t-le* a thrush, has an inserted *t*, which we do not sound; the A. S. forms are both *þros-le* and *þros-t-le*; the relation of the former to *thrush*, A. S. *þrys-ce* (=**þros-c-ia*) is obvious.

(*h*) **The A. S. transposed form** *-ld* **(for** *-dl***).** This transposition is precisely like that seen in the Shakespearian form *neeld* for *needle*, a form which also occurs in P. Plowman, C. xx. 56. An equally clear case is seen in the A. S. *spáld*, spittle (Elene, l. 300); usually spelt *spátl*. Hence A. S. *bo-ld*, a building, stands for *bo-dl* (=**bo-dlo-*); from the Aryan √BHÛ, to dwell, live, be. This sb. is obsolete, but we still

[1] He refers to Osthoff, in Kühn's Zeitschrift, vol. xxiii. p. 313.

use the derived verb *byld-an* (=**bold-ian*), to *build*. Curiously enough, the A. S. also has *bo-tl*, a dwelling, a house, which Sievers regards as a 'hardened' form of *bo-dl*; hence, probably, *Bootle* in Cumberland and Lancashire, and *Bottle Field* in Warwickshire. Another example, according to Sievers, is *thresh-o-ld*, which he refers to a form[1] *þresk-o-ðlo-*, whence A. S. *ðresc-o-ld*, Icel. *þresk-o-ldr*; and he regards all the other forms, such as A. S. *ðresc-wald*, mod. Icel. *þresk-jöldr*, *þrepskjöldr*, as due to popular etymology. Cf. O. H. G. *drisc-u-fli*, a threshold (Schade). Sievers adds that the E. adj. *level* is from the rare A. S. *læfelde*, even, for **lafi-ðlo-*, allied to Goth. *lofa*, the palm of the hand. But it may rather be French; for we have yet to find an example of M. E. *level* used as an adjective. The sb. *level* is certainly French, and of Latin origin.

§ 229. **Aryan suffix** -ONT (-ENT, -NT). This is the suffix so common in present participles, as in the Gk. acc. τύπτ-οντ-α, and in the Lat. *am-ant-*, *mon-ent-*, *reg-ent-*, *aud-i-ent-*, from *am-are*, to love, *mon-ere*, to advise, *reg-ere*, to rule, *aud-ire*, to hear. The Gothic usually has *-and-*, as in *bair-and-s*, bearing (stem *bair-and-a*); also *-ōnd-* (=*ay-ąnd-*), as in *frij-ond-s*, loving; infin. *frijon*; cf. § 263. Hence the A. S. *-end-e*, as in *bind-end-e*, binding; Northern M. E. *-and*, Midland M. E. *-end-e*, Southern M. E. *-ind-e*, afterwards corrupted (about A.D. 1300) into *-ing-e*, mod. E. *-ing*. Thus, in M. E. we get North. *bind-and*, Midland *bind-ende*, *bind-end*, Southern *bind-inde*, *bind-inge*, *bind-ing*. In A. S. we have several sbs. in *-end*, *-nd*, which were originally present participles. Only a few are now in use, viz., *errand*, *fiend*, *friend*, *tidings*, *wind*; to which we may add *sooth*, already explained in § 168; and perhaps *youth*. *Err-and*, M. E. *er-end-e*, A. S. *ǽr-end-e*, or *ær-end-e*, a message (stem **ǽr-end-ja*), orig. perhaps 'a

[1] *prescold* (not *perscold*, as misprinted in my Dictionary) is the form in Deut. vi. 9; in Exod. xii. 22, it is *perxold*, i.e. *percsold*. Wright's Vocabularies give the forms *percswold*, *perscwald*, *preoxwold*, *prexwold*.

going,' but the root is uncertain[1]. *Fiend*, M. E. *fend*, A. S. *féond*, an enemy, orig. the pres. part. of the contracted verb *féon*, to hate; Goth. *fij-and-s*, an enemy, pres. part. of *fi-j-an*, to hate; from Aryan √ PI, to hate. *Friend*, M. E. *frend*, A. S. *fréond*, a friend, orig. pres. part. of *fréon*, to love; Goth. *frij-ond-s*, orig. pres. part. of *fri-j-on*, to love; from Aryan √ PRI, to love. *Tid-ing-s*, a pl. form due to M. E. (Southern) *tíd-ind-e*, (Midland) *títh-end-e*; a Scand. form, from Icel. *tíð-ind-i*, neut. pl., tidings, pres. part. of **tíð-a*, to happen, cognate with A. S. *tíd-an*, to happen; from the sb. which appears in Icel. *tíð*, A. S. *tíd*, E. *tide*. *Wind*, A. S. *wi-nd*, cognate with Lat. *ue-nt-us*, wind; orig. sense 'blowing'; from Aryan √ WÊ, to blow; cf. Skt. *vá*, to blow, Goth. *wai-an*, to blow, and Lithuan. *wë-jas*, wind. To these Koch adds, perhaps rightly, the word *you-th*, A. S. *geó-guð*, originally *geógúð* with two suppressed *n*'s, and therefore for **geong-unð*, cognate with O. H. G. *jug-und*, *jung-und*, G. *Jug-end* (stem **jung-unð-u*, as Kluge has it). Koch also adds the sb. *even* or *eve*, in the sense of 'evening,' on the strength of the G. cognate form *Ab-end*; but the etymology of the word is very doubtful.

It is perhaps worth while to note here that the suffix in *morn-ing*, *even-ing*, has nothing to do with the present participle of mod. E. verbs, but is discussed below, in § 241.

§ 230. **Aryan** -OS, -ES. This appears in Skt. *ap-as*, work, Lat. *op-us* (=**op-os*), gen. *op-er-is* (=**op-es-is*); Gk. *γέν-os*, gen. *γέν-ε(σ)-os*. In Teutonic it is sometimes joined with some other suffix; thus, with added -A, it produces -ES-A, weakened to -IS-A, as in *hat-is* (stem HAT-IS-A), hate. In English it sometimes (*a*) disappears, or (*b*) appears as *-s*, or (*c*) as *r*.

[1] Usually written *érende*, with long *æ*; so Sievers and Grein; Heyne gives the O. Sax. *árundi*, O. H. G. *árunti*. But Fick and Schade consider the first vowel as short. The Icelandic forms are *erendi*, *örendi*, *eyrendi*.

(*a*) It disappears. Thus *hate*, s. M.E. *hat-e* (dissyllabic), keeps the vowel of the A. S. verb *hat-i-an*; the A. S. sb. is *het-e*, with *i*- mutation of *a*, originally **hat-iz* (Sievers, O.E. Gram. § 263, note 4), Goth. *hat-is* (stem HAT-IS-A). *Awe* is of Scand. origin; from Icel. *ag-i*, cognate with A. S. *eg-e*, originally **ag-iz* (Sievers, as above), Goth. *ag-is* (stem AG-IS-A). The simple suffix became *-az* in the Teut. LAMB-AZ, and was lost in the A. S. *lamb*, E. *lamb*; see Sievers, O.E. Gr. § 290. Here belong also, according to Sievers, the words *bread*, *calf*, *share* (in *plough-share*).

(*b*) It appears as *-s*, *-ze*, *-x*. *Ad-ze*, M.E. *ad-se*, *ad-es-e*, A. S. *ad-es-a*; origin unknown. *Ax*, badly spelt *axe*, A. S. *æx*, *eax*, Northumbrian *ac-es-a*, Goth. *akw-iz-i*, allied to Gk. *ἀξ-ί-νη*, an axe, *ὀξ-ύς*, sharp; origin uncertain. *Bliss*, A. S. *blíð-s*, *blíd-s*, and, by assimilation, *blis-s*; from *blíð*, *blíð-e*, blithe; so that *bliss* is 'blitheness.' A. S. *blíð-s* is cognate with O. Sax. *blíd-s-ea* (=**blíd-s-já*), and is therefore to be classed with *-já-* stems, the suffix being double (Sievers, O.E. Gr. § 258). *Eave-s*, A. S. *ef-es*, fem. (gen. *ef-es-e*), corresponds to Goth. *ub-iz-wa*, a porch, hall, orig. a projecting shelter, from the Teut. prep. UF (Goth. *uf*, allied to E. *up*); cf. G. *ob-dach*, a shelter, *ob-en*, above, E. (*ab*)-*ove*; the suffix being double.

(*c*) It appears as *-r* in E. *ea-r* (of corn); G. *äh-re*, Goth. *ah-s*, Lat. *ac-us*, gen. *ac-er-is*. Also in *cild-ṙ-u*, pl. of A. S. *cild*; cf. mod. E. *child-r-en*; see Sievers, O.E. Gr. §§ 289, 290.

§ **231.** We have thus already had examples of the double suffixes -ES-O, -ES-IÂ, -ES-WO. We also find the suffixes -IS and -LO in combination, producing both -IS-LO, weakened to Teut. -S-LA, and -LO-S, weakened to Teut. -L-S.

(*a*) -S-LA. *Hou-sel*, A. S. *hú-s-l* (for **hun-s-l*), Goth. *hun-s-l* (stem HUN-S-LA), a sacrifice, holy rite. *Ou-sel*, A. S. *ó-s-le* (for **am-s-le*), cognate with G. *Am-se-l*, O. H. G. *am-sa-la*; root uncertain. Koch also refers hither E. *ax-le* (=**ac-sle*), but the *s* may be an extension of the root.

(*b*) -L-S. The remarkable words *burial*, *riddle*, *shuttle* (see § 219), have lost a final *s*; they are, respectively, corruptions of *buriels*, *riddles*, *shuttles*; it is obvious that the *s* was mistaken for the *plural* suffix, and was accordingly purposely dropped. *Burial*, M. E. *biriel*, *buriel*, *buriels*, A. S. *byrg-el-s*, a burying-place, from *byrg-an*, to bury. *Riddle*, M. E. *red-el-s*, A. S. *rǽd-el-se*, *rǽd-el-s*, an ambiguous speech; from *rǽd-an*, to explain; we still say 'to *read* a *riddle*.' *Shuttle*, M. E. *schitel*, A. S. *scyt-el-s* < .. ‖ *scot-en*, pp. of *scéot-an*, to shoot. Of this word *skittle* is a mere variant, being a Scand. form; but the final *-s* does not appear in Dan. *skyttel*, a shuttle, Icel. *skutill*, an implement shot forth, harpoon, bolt. Koch adds three more examples, viz. *bridle*, *girdle*, *stickle* (a spine, as in *stickle-back*); but, as a fact, all of these have double forms in A. S., viz. A. S. *brid-el* as well as *brid-el-s*, *gyrd-el* as well as *gyrd-el-s*, and *stic-el* as well as *stic-el-s*; there is therefore no need to consider them here, and they have already been mentioned in § 217.

§ 232. **E. suffix** *-ness*. This is not a simple suffix, like *-hood*, *-ship*, but a compound, to be divided as *-n-es-s*. The *-n-* originally belonged to a substantival stem, so that the true suffix is rather *-es-s*, Gothic *-as-su-*, supposed to stand for -ES-TU-, by assimilation; cf. § 235. In the Lord's prayer, the petition 'Thy kingdom come' is, in Gothic—*kwimai thiudinassus theins*. Here the word *thiudinassus*, kingdom, is formed with the suffix *-as-su-s* from the stem *thiudin*= *thiud-an-*, i. e. king; cf. *thiudan-s*, a king, *thiudan-on*, to rule, *thiudan-gardi*, kingdom. So also *leikin-assus*, healing, *leikin-on*, to heal; *drauhtin-assus*, warfare, *drauhtin-on*, to war. We find no trace of *n* in *ufar-assus*, superfluity, *ufar-ass-jan*, to abound; from *ufar*, over, above. The Goth. *-n-assus*, *-assus*, is masculine; but the corresponding A. S. *-n-is* (also *-n-ys*, *-n-es*, *-n-ess*) is feminine. It is mostly used for forming abstract substantives, expressive of quality, from adjectives; as *hálig-nis*, holi-ness, from *hálig*, holy. Hence

E. *glad-ness*, *mad-ness*, *sad-ness*, and a large number of similar substantives. It can be added to adjectives of French and Latin origin with equal readiness; hence *rigid-ness*, *sordid-ness*, etc. The whole number of derivatives containing this suffix considerably exceeds a thousand [1].

§ 233. **Aryan** -(I)S-TO. This is common in E. words of Gk. origin, as in *soph-ist*, F. *soph-iste*, Lat. *soph-is-ta*, Gk. σοφ-ισ-τής (stem *σοφ-ισ-τᾱ), allied to σοφ-ός, wise; and hence, in the form *-ist*, it can be used generally, as in *dent-ist*, *flor-ist*, from the Lat. stems *dent-*, *flor-*. It appears as *-est* in the native word *harv-est*, A. S. *hærf-est*, from √ KARP, to pluck; cf. Lat. *carp-ere*. So also *earn-est*, orig. a sb., as in the phrase 'in earnest'; A. S. *eorn-ost*, *eorn-est*, cognate with G. *Ern-st*; from a base ARN, extended from the √ AR, to raise, excite.

Hence, probably, we may explain some words with the suffix *-st* (= *-s-t*), as, e. g. *twi-st*. *Twi-st*, A. S. *twi-st*, a rope; from *twi-*, double, as in *twi-feald*, twy-fold, two-fold, allied to *twá*, two; cf. Skt. *dvi*, two. *Tru-st*, of Scand. origin; Icel. *trau-st*, trust; cf. Goth. *trau-an*, to believe; allied to *true*, *trow*. *Try-st*, *tri-st*, allied to *trust*; probably due to the mutated form in Icel. *treysta*, v. (= **traust-ja*), to rely upon, from *trau-st*, trust. In some other words, the origin of the *s* may be different; thus Fick (iii. 87) refers E. *las-t*, a burden, load, as in 'a last of herrings,' A. S. *hlæs-t*, neut. (stem *hlas-ta*) to the base HLATH, to lade, whence A. S. *hlad-an*, Goth. *hlaþ-an*; in which case A. S. *hlæs-t* stands for **hlæð-t*, as being easier to pronounce. Cf. A. S. *bliss*, *blíðs*, as forms of *bliss*. Similarly, we may explain *wris-t*, A. S. *wris-t*, fem. (stem *wris-tá*), as put for **wrið-t*; from the base *wrið-*, as seen in *wrið-en*, pp. of *wríð-an*, to writhe. So also *rus-t*, A. S. *rus-t* (stem *rús-ta*); put for **rud-t* < ‖ *rud-on*, pt. pl. of *réod-an*, to be

[1] Compare the article on the suffix *-nis* in Weigand's Etym. German Dictionary; and see Kluge, s. v. *dienen*.

red; cf. E. *rudd-y*, A. S. *rud-u*, s., redness; and see G. *Rost* in Kluge. *Gris-t*, A. S. *gris-t*, corn to be ground, is clearly connected with *grind-an*, to grind, and may stand for **grid-t*.

§ 234. **Teutonic** -S-TI. Here we may place *fist*, *list*(*en*). *Fi-st* is A. S. *fý-st* (= **fústi*), allied to G. *Fau-st*, which Fick refers to Teut. FONSTI, and connects with Russ. *piaste*, fist, Old Slavonic *pęstĭ*, fist, where the vowel *ę* denotes that *n* has been lost; see Schmidt, Vocalismus, i. 167, where it is shewn (1) that this is correct, and (2) that it is an argument against connecting *fist* with Lat. *pugnus*, as is usually done[1]. The verb *to listen*, M. E. *lust-n-en*, is derived from M. E. *lust-en*, A. S. *hlyst-an*, to listen, by the insertion of *-n-* (cf. Goth. *full-n-an*, to become full). This verb *hlyst-an* is from the sb. *hlyst*, hearing (= **hlu-s-ti*), Teut. HLUSTI, hearing (Fick, iii. 90); which again is from Teut. HLEU = Aryan √KLEU, to hear.

§ 235. **Teutonic** -S-TU. This appears in E. *mi-st*, vapour, A. S. *mi-st*, gloom, fog; cognate with G. *Mi-st*, Goth. *maih-s-tu-s*, dung; from Aryan √MEIGH, to sprinkle, whence Lat. *ming-ere*. See also § 232.

§ 236. **Teut. suffix** -S-T-MAN. This appears in E. *blossom*, A. S. *blós-s-t-ma* (stem *blós-s-t-man*), a blossom; from *blós-w-an*, to blow. Without the *-s-t*, we have Icel. *blós-m*, Goth. *blós-ma* (stem *blós-man*), a bloom; § 211.

§ 237. **Teut.** -SKA. This appears in *tu-sk*, A. S. *tu-sc*, or, by metathesis, *tux*. This A. S. *tu-sc* is almost certainly, as Ettmüller says, put for **twi-sc*, and meant originally double tooth, molar tooth, from A. S. *twi-*, double. Cf. A. S. *ge-twi-s-an*, twins, Genesis xxxviii. 27; O. H. G. *zwi-s*, twice, *zwi-sk*, *zwi-ski*, double. I would also refer hither E. *hu-sk*, M. E. *hu-ske*, as it has almost certainly lost an *l*, and stands for **hul-sk*; cf. A. S. *hul-u*, a husk, prov. E. *hull*, a

[1] This would require a Teut. form FUH-STI; see Kluge, who takes the opposite view, connecting it with *pugnus*, but not with Russ. *piaste*.

'husk or shell; G. *Hül-se*, O. H. G. *hul-sa*, M. H. G. (Alemannic) *hul-s-che*, a husk (Schade); and cf. E. *holl-ow* < ‖ A. S. *hol-en*, pp. of *hel-an*, to hide, cover.

§ 238. **A. S. -ES-TRAN**; cf. § 228 (*d*). This appears in A. S. *-es-tre*, a common fem. suffix, as in *bæc-es-tre* (stem *bæc-es-tran*), a female baker, M. E. *bak-s-ter*, preserved in the name *Baxter*; *webb-es-tre*, M. E. *web-s-ter*, preserved in the name *Webster*. Only one of these words, viz. *spin-s-ter*, still retains the sense of the feminine gender; the restriction of the suffix to the feminine was early lost, so that *song-ster*, for example, has now the precise sense of *sing-er*. But the A. S. *sang-er-e*, a singer, was masculine; whilst *sang-es-tre*, a songster, was feminine. There are numerous examples in Wright's Vocabularies, ed. Wülcker, coll. 308–312. Thus we find: '*Cantor*, sangere: *Cantrix*, sangystre: *Fidicen*, *fiðelere* [fiddler]; *Fidicina*, fiþelestre [fiddlester]: *Sartor*, séamere: *Sartrix*, séamestre': etc. Hence our *sempster* or *seamster* is A. S. *séam-es-tre*, from *séam*, a seam, a sowing. The fem. sense is now so far lost that the F. fem. suffix *-ess* has been added to *songster* and *seamster* or *sempster*, producing the forms *song-str-ess*, *seam-str-ess*, *semp-str-ess*. In M. E. *-ster* was freely added to bases not found in A. S.; hence *huck-ster*, properly the fem. of *huck-er* (now spelt *hawker*); see *Huckster* in my Etym. Dict. In Tudor-English the suffix was rather widely used; hence *team-ster*, *tap-ster*, and obsolete words such as *drug-ster*, *malt-ster*, *whip-ster*, etc. In some words it expressed something of contempt, possibly owing to the influence of the Lat. *poetaster*; hence *fib-ster*, *game-ster*, *pun-ster*, *rhyme-ster*, *trick-ster*; see Morris, Hist. Outlines of E. Accidence, p. 90[1].

§ 239. **E. suffix *-er***. This very common suffix, as in *fish-er*, usually expresses the agent, and is much used in

[1] The suffix *-ist-er*, as in *chor-ist-er*, is of different origin; for here the *-er* is additional. Cotgrave explains F. *choriste* by 'a Chorist, a singing man in a Queer.' Cf. § 233.

substantives derived from verbs. The A. S. form is *-er-e*, as in *bóc-er-e*, a scribe, lit. 'book-er'; the corresponding Gothic word is *bok-ar-ei-s* (=**bok-ar-ji-s*, stem *bok-ar-ja*); see St. Mark in Gothic, ed. Skeat, Introd. § 16. Thus the Goth. suffix is *-ar-ja*, but the A. S. suffix may have been slightly different. Such is the view taken by Ten Brink (Anglia, v. 1); he argues that the A. S. form was *-ér-e* (with long *e*), answering to Teut. *-ár-ja* (with long *a*); and I think his arguments must be admitted. E. *-er* has also been explained by supposing that -AR is here a shortened form of -TAR (see Koch, E. Gram. vol. iii. p. 76); which does not seem at all likely. It is needless to give examples of the use of this suffix.

§ 240. Aryan -KO. This is very common in Gk. in the nominative form *-κος*, and in Latin as *-cus*; as in λογ-κός, whence E. *logi-c*; *pau-cus*, cognate with E. *few*.

In Gothic it usually appears as *-ha* or *-ga*, but always after a vowel; the vowel is commonly due to the stem of the sb., as in *staina-ha-*, stem of *staina-h-s*, stony, from *staina-*, stem of *stain-s*, a stone; *handu-ga-*, stem of *handu-g-s*, handy, clever, wise. These are adjectives (see § 256); in substantives, the simple suffix is rare, but occurs perhaps in *stir-k*, already discussed in § 203 above.

Other examples are the following:—

E. *-y*, *-ey*; A. S. *-ig*, *-h*. *Bod-y*, A. S. *bod-ig*; cf. O. H. G. *pot-ah*. *Hon-ey*, A. S. *hun-ig*; cf. Icel. *hun-an-g*. *Iv-y*, A. S. *if-ig*. *Sall-y*, *Sall-ow*, a willow-tree, A. S. *seal-h*, stem **sal-go*; cf. Lat. *sal-i-x*, gen. *sal-i-cis*[1]. Here also belongs the diminutival suffix *-y*, as in *Bett-y*; and the *-ie* in *lass-ie*.

We also find examples of a Teut. suffix -KA, as already noted in § 203. Such are the following:—

E. *-k*; A. S. *-c*. *Fol-k*, A. S. *fol-c*, Teut. FOL-KA (F. iii. 189); cf. Lithuan. *pùl-ka-s*, a crowd, Russ. *pol-k'*, an army;

[1] An E. *-ow* answers to A. S. nom. *-h* i *farr-ow*, from A. S. *fearh*, a pig; *furr-ow*, A. S. *furh*; *marr-ow*, A. S. *mearh*. But in these three words the A. S. *-h* is radical, not a suffix.

root uncertain. *Haw-k*, A. Š. *haf-oc*; cf. Icel. *hau-k-r*, O. H. G. *hab-uh*; lit. 'the seizer'; from √KAP, to seize, hold. *Wel-k*, *Wil-k*, a shell-fish, usually misspelt *whelk*, A. S. *wil-oc*, later *wel-oc*; named from its spiral shell; from √WER, to turn, wind. *Yol-k*, *Yel-k*, A. S *geol-ec-a*, the yellow part, from *geol-u*, yellow. *Sil-k*, A. S. *seol-c*, is merely a borrowed word, obtained from Slavonic traders; it is the Slavonic form of the Lat. *Seri-cum*, the material obtained from the *Seres*; but the suffix is the Aryan -ĸo.

§ **241.** The Teut. suffix *-ga* is common in combination with a preceding *-an-*, or more usually *-in-*, or *-un-*, of doubtful origin. Of *-an-ga* there is but one example, viz. in the Goth. *bals-ag-ga* (=*bals-an-ga*), a doubtful word in Mark ix. 42; but the suffixes *-in-ga* and *-un-ga* (originally *-in-gó*, *-un-gó* in the case of *feminine* substantives) are very common in A. S. in the forms *-ing*, *-ung*.

(*a*). **A. S. suffix -ing.** This was in common use to form patronymics, of which a striking example occurs in the Northumbrian version of Luke iii. 24–38, where 'the son of Judah' is expressed by *ioda-ing*, 'the son of Zorobabel' by *sorobabel-ing*, etc. Hence were formed a large number of tribal names, such as *Scyldingas*, the Scyldings, *Scylfingas*, the Scylfings, both mentioned in the poem of Béowulf. Hence also are derived many place-names, as, e.g. *Barking*, in Essex, from the tribe of *Barkings*, A. S. *Beorcingas*; *Buckingham*, from the A. S. *Buccinga-hám*, i.e. home of the Buckings, where *-a* is the suffix of the genitive plural; *Nottingham*, from the A. S. *Snotinga-hám*, i.e. home of the Snotings or sons of Snot, the 'wise' man; cf. A. S. *snot-or*, Goth. *snut-r-s*, wise. In composition with *-l-*, it appears as *-ling*, already discussed as being a diminutival suffix in § 203. Without the *-l-*, it has a diminutival or depreciatory force in *lording*, lit. a little lord. *Farth-ing*, A.S. *feorð-ing*, *ferð-ing*, also found as *feorð-l-ing*, means a fourth part of a penny; from *feorþ-a*, orig. *féorþ-a*, fourth, from *féower*, four. *Herr-ing*,

A. S. *hær-ing*, the fish that comes in shoals or armies, from *her-e* (stem *har-ja*), an army, host. *K-ing*, short for *kin-ing*, A. S. *cyn-ing*, sometimes explained as the 'son of the tribe,' chosen of the tribe, otherwise 'the man of high rank' (Kluge); in either case, the derivation of *cyn-ing* from A. S. *cyn*, tribe, race, stock, whence also *cyn-e*, royal, is indubitable. *Penn-y*, A. S. *pen-ig*, fuller form *pen-ing*; oldest A. S. form *pend-ing*; formed by *i*-mutation from *pand-*, the same as Du. *pand*, G. *Pfand*, a pledge. *Rid-ing*, as the name of one of the three divisions of Yorkshire, is for **thrid-ing* (i.e. *North-riding* for *North-thriding*); of Scand. origin; from Icel. *þridj-ung-r*, the third part; from *þriði*, third. *Shill-ing*, A. S. *scill-ing*; cf. Goth. *skill-igg-s* (= *skill-ing-s*). *Whit-ing*, a fish named from the whiteness of the flesh. We may add the obsolete word *æthel-ing*, A. S. *æþel-ing*, a prince; from *æþele*, noble.

(*b*) **A. S. suffix -ung.** This is extremely common in sbs. derived from verbs, as in *clǽns-ung*, a cleans-ing, from *clǽns-ian*, to cleanse; *georn-ung*, a yearn-ing, from *georn-ian*, to yearn. The suffix *-ung* simply takes the place of the infinitive suffix *-an* or *-ian*. Even in A. S. this suffix frequently appears as *-ing*; as in *leorn-ing*, learn-ing, also spelt *leorn-ung*; *fylg-ing*, a follow-ing, from *fylg-an*, to follow. In mod. E. the spelling *-ing* for this suffix is universal, and extremely common. Unfortunately, it has been confused with the ending of the present participle, so that many sentences are now difficult to parse. Thus the phrase 'he is gone hunting' was formerly 'he is gone a-hunting,' where *a* represents the A. S. prep. *on*, and *hunt-ing* is for the A. S. *hunt-unge*, dat. of *huntung*, a substantive of verbal origin. In Ælfric's Colloquy, we have the Lat. *heri fui in venatione*; above this is the A. S. gloss—*gyrstan dæg ic wæs on huntunge*, 'yesterday I was a-hunting[1].' These words in *-ing* are now used with an ellipsis of a following *of*, which gives the sb. all the appearance of

[1] Or otherwise—*ic wæs on huntaðe*. There was a sb. *huntaþ*, with the same sense and force as *huntung*.

being part of the verb itself. Thus 'he was seen killing flies' is to be explained by comparison with 'he amused himself by killing flies,' i.e. by *the* killing *of* flies; so that it really stands for 'he was seen *in the* (*act of*) killing *of* flies.' There is an instructive sentence in Bacon's third Essay which should be particularly considered. 'Concerning the Meanes of procuring Unity; Men must beware, that in the Procuring, or Muniting, of Religious Unity, they doe not Dissolve and Deface the Lawes of Charity, and of humane Society.' Here it is clear that 'the Meanes of procuring Unity' is precisely the same thing as 'the Meanes of *the* procuring *of* Religious Unity.' Consequently, *procuring* is just as much a substantive as the word *procuration*, which might be substituted for it, in the fuller form of the phrase, without making any difference. In fact, these words in *-ing* had precisely the force of Lat. words in *-atio*, when formed from verbs. Nowadays, the phrase 'he was punished for the breaking of a window' has become '... for breaking a window'; whence, by the substitution of an active past participle for the *supposed* active present participle, has arisen the extraordinary phrase 'he was punished for *having broken* a window.' This phrase is now an accepted one, so that the grammarians, in despair, have invented for words thus used the term *gerund*, under the impression that to give a thing a vague name is the same thing as clearly explaining it[1]. This term, however, should only be employed for convenience, with the express understanding that it refers to a modern usage which has arisen from a succession of blunders.

It is unnecessary to give further examples of this common suffix, which can be added, in modern English, to any verb whatever.

[1] Thus I read in a recent book, that 'the gerund in *-ing* must be distinguished from the verbal noun in *-ing*,' &c. The fact is, that the difference is purely one of modern usage; etymologically, it makes no difference whatever. Moreover, the so-called 'verbal noun' is only 'verbal' in the sense of being *derived from a verb*; just as in the case of *steal-th* from *steal*.

CHAPTER XIV.

Adjectival, Adverbial, and Verbal Suffixes.

§ 242. The easiest adjectival suffixes are those which can be traced as having been independent words. These are *-fast*, *-fold*, *-ful*, *-less*, *-like* or *-ly*, *-some*, *-ward*, *-wart*, *-wise*.

-fast, A. S. *fæst*, the same as *fast* when used independently. It occurs only in *shame-fast*, M. E. *scham-fast*, A. S. *sceam-fæst*, now corrupted into *shame-faced*; and in *stead-fast*, *sted-fast*, M. E. *stede-fast*, A. S. *stede-fæst-e*, firm or fast in its stead or place.

-fold, A. S. *-feald*; as in *two-fold*, *three-fold*, *mani-fold*.

-ful, A. S. *-ful*, i. e. full; as in *dread-ful*, *heed-ful*, *need-ful*, etc. It is freely added to sbs. of F. origin, as *grace-ful*, *grate-ful*, &c.

-less, M. E. *-lees*, A. S. *-léas*; this, the commonest of all adjectival suffixes, can be added to almost every sb. in the language; as *cap-less*, *hat-less*, *coat-less*, *wig-less*. The A. S. *léas* properly means 'loose' or 'free from'; it is merely another form of *loose*, which is the Scand. form, being borrowed from Icel. *lauss*, loose. This Icel. word is likewise in very common use as a suffix; as in Icel. *vit-lauss*, wit-less. The suffix *-less* has no connection whatever with the comparative adjective *less*.

-like or **-ly**. The form *-like* only occurs in words of modern formation, as *court-like*, *saint-like*, which may also be *court-ly*, *saint-ly*. In all older forms, it appears as

-ly, a shortened form of *-like*, A. S. *-lic*, formerly *-líc*; as in *gást-lic*, ghost-ly, *eorþ-lic*, earth-ly. *Ghast-ly*, M. E. *gast-ly*, i. e. terrible, is formed from A. S. *gǽst-an*, to terrify.

-some, M. E. *-sum*, *-som*, A. S. *-sum*; cognate with Icel. *-samr*, G. *-sam*, and orig. the same word as E. *same*. See Weigand's Etym. Germ. Dict., s.v. *-sam*. Hence *win-some*, A. S. *wyn-sum*, delightful, from *wyn*, joy; *lis-som*, short for *lithe-some*, etc. Added to sbs. of F. origin in *mettle-some*, *noi-some*, *quarrel-some*, *toil-some*. In the word *bux-om*, M. E. *buh-sum*, from A. S. *búg-an*, to bow, bend, we have the same suffix; the orig. sense was yielding, pliant, obedient, a sense which occurs as late as in Milton, who twice speaks of 'the *buxom* air'; P. L. ii. 842, v. 270.

-ward, A. S. *-weard*, i. e. turned towards, inclined; expressive of the direction in which a thing tends to go. The Gothic form is *-wairth-s*, as in *and-wairth-s*, present; from *wairth-an*, to be turned to, to become[1]. The A. S. form is parallel to the pt. t. *wearð* of the corresponding A. S. verb *weorð-an*. Thus *to-ward* is 'turned to'; *fro-ward* is 'turned from'; *way-ward* is short for *away-ward*, i. e. 'turned away'; *for-ward*, i. e. 'turned to the fore'; *back-ward*, 'turned to the back.' *Awk-ward* is 'turned aside,' hence perverse, clumsy; from M. E. *auk*, transverse, strange, a form contracted from Icel. *afug-r*, *öfug-r*, going the wrong way; just as *hawk* is formed from A. S. *hafoc*.

-wart. Only in *stal-wart*, a corrupt form of *stal-worth*. The suffix is A. S. *weorð*, worth, worthy; see *Stalwart* in my Etym. Dict.

-wise, A. S. *wís*. Occurs in *weather-wise*, i. e. knowing as to the weather. M. E. also had *right-wis*, *wrong-wis*. The latter is obsolete; the former (A. S. *riht-wís*, lit. knowing as to right) is now corrupted to *righteous*.

§ 243. Other adjectival suffixes agree more or less with

[1] Cognate with Lat. *uert-ere*, to turn, *uert-i*, to be turned, to become. So also Lat. *uers-us*, towards, is allied to E. *-ward*.

the substantival suffixes explained in the last Chapter. Such are the following.

Aryan -O. Very common, but lost in mod. E. Thus E. *blind*, A. S. *blind*, answers to Goth. *blind-s*, stem BLIND-A. Koch instances *black*, *bleak*, *blind*, *broad*, *cool*, *dark*, *deaf*, *deep*, *dumb*, *full*, *glad*, *good*, *great*, *grim*, *high*, *hoar*, *hot*, *lief*, *loath*, *red*, *rough*, *short*, *sick*, *stiff*, *white*, *whole*, *wise*, *worth*, *young*; and some others. Here belongs *loose*, from Icel. *lauss*, stem LAUS-A. See Sievers, O. E. Gram. § 293. *Few*, *slow*, do not belong here; see § 248.

§ **244. Aryan** -I. Examples are scarce. We may refer hither the following. *Mean*, in the sense of common or vile, A. S. *ge-mǽn-e*; cognate with G. *ge-mein*, O. H. G. *gi-mein-i*, Goth. *ga-main-s* (stem GA-MAIN-I). Whether this is related to Lat. *com-mun-i-s*, common, is still disputed; but the relationship is probably real.

§ **245. Aryan** -U. The chief examples are *quick*, A. S. *cwic-u*, *cwic*; and *hard*, A. S. *heard*, cognate with Goth. *hard-u-s*, and allied to Gk. κρατ-ύ-ς, strong.

§ **246. Aryan** -IO. Cf. Gk. ἅγ-ιο-ς, holy. Lost in mod. E., but sometimes appears as *-e* in A. S. and even in M. E. This suffix sometimes causes *i*-mutation of the preceding vowel. Without mutation are the following. *Dear*, A. S. *déor-e*; cf. O. H. G. *tiur-i*, whence G. *theuer*; Teut. DEUR-YA (Fick, iii. 146). *Free*, A. S. *fréo*, *frío*; Goth. *frei-s* (stem *fri-ja*); originally 'at liberty,' 'acting at pleasure,' and allied to Skt. *pri-ya*, beloved, agreeable; from √PRI, to love. *Mid*, A. S. *mid*, Goth. *midjis*; Teut. MED-YA. *New*, A. S. *niw-e*, Goth. *niu-ji-s* (stem *niu-ja*); derived from Goth. *nu*, A. S. *nú*, E. *now*. *Wild*, A. S. *wild*, Goth. *wilth-ei-s* (stem *wilth-ja*). The following exhibit mutation. *Keen*, A. S. *cén-e* (=**cón-jo-*), cognate with G. *kühn*, O. H. G. *chuon-i*[1], Teut. KÔN-YA (Fick, iii. 41); perhaps allied to *can*. *Sweet*, A. S. *swét-e*

[1] Hence O. H. G. *Chuon-rát*, *Kuon-rát*, keen (in) counsel; appearing in English as *Conrad*.

(=**swót-jo-*); Teut. SWÓT-YA (Fick, iii. 361); this appears to be a later formation from an older SWÓTU, cognate with Lat. *suāuis* (for **swad-uis*), Gk. *ἡδ-ύ-ς*, Skt. *svād-u*, sweet; so that it was originally a *u*-stem. Cf. Goth. *hard-ja-na* as the acc. masc. of *hard-u-s*, hard.

§ 247. **Teutonic** -Î-NA. This answers to Goth. *-ei-na*, as in *silubr-ei-na-*, stem of *silubr-ei-n-s*, silver-n, from *silubr*, silver; and to A. S. *-en*, E. *-en*, *-n*. This suffix sometimes causes *i*-mutation of the preceding vowel, as seen in *beech-en*, A. S. *béc-en*, from *bóc*, a beech-tree; and in A. S. *gyld-en*, golden, from *gold*, gold. The latter has been displaced by *gold-en*; and the suffix is much commoner in Early English than in A. S. Hence we commonly find no mutation of the vowel. Examples are: *ash-en*, made of ash; *birch-en*; *braz-en*, made of brass; *flax-en*; *gold-en*; *hemp-en*; *lead-en*; *oak-en*; *oat-en*; *silk-en*; *wax-en*; *wheat-en*; *wood-en*; *wool-l-en*. So also *leather-n*, *silver-n*, the latter of which is almost obsolete. *Asp-en* (properly an adjective, as when we speak of 'the aspen-tree') is now practically used as a sb.; the old sb. *æsp* or *æps*, an 'asp,' from which it is derived, being now almost forgotten. *Lin-en* was also originally an adjective only, from A. S. *lín*, flax; not a native word, but merely borrowed from Lat. *lin-um*. *Tre-ën* or *treen* was once used as an adj. from *tree*, chiefly with the sense of 'wooden[1].' *Glas-en*, made of *glass*, has long been out of use. *Elm-en*, from *elm*, is still in use in our dialects. The words *ev-en*, *heath-en*, do not belong here; see § 252. With this suffix cf. Lat. *-inus*, as in *can-inus*, E. *can-ine*.

§ 248. **Aryan** -WO. In § 212 we have seen that -WÂ answers to E. *-ow* in *mead-ow*, *shad-ow*. Similarly we can explain *call-ow*, A. S. *cal-u* (stem *cal-wo-*); *fall-ow*, A. S. *feal-u* (stem *feal-wo-* < *fal-wo-*); *mell-ow*, with *l* for *r*, O. Mercian *mer-we*, tender, Matt. xxiv. 32; *narr-ow*, A. S. *near-u*; *sall-ow*, A. S. *sal-u*; *yell-ow*, A. S. *geol-u*. See Sievers,

[1] Spenser has 'treën mould,' i.e. shape of trees; F. Q. i. 7. 26.

O. E. Gram. § 300. Here also belong the following. *Few*, A. S. pl. *féa-we*. *Nigh*, M. E. *neh*, A. S. *néh*, *néah*, allied to Goth. *neh-wa*, adv., nigh. *Raw*, A. S. *hréaw*, pl. *hréa-we*. *Slow*, A. S. *sláw*, pl. *slá-we*. *True*, A. S. *tréo-we*, Teut. TREWA (F. iii. 124). *Yare*, ready, used by Shakespeare, A. S. *gear-u* (stem *gear-wo-* < *gar-wo-*); whence probably the sb. *yarr-ow*, milfoil, with the sense of 'dressing' for wounds, for which it was a famous remedy. Its Lat. name is *Achillea*, because Achilles healed with it the wound of Telephos; Cockayne, A. S. Leechdoms, i. 195.

§ **249. Aryan** -MO-. A clear example of this occurs in E. *war-m*, A. S. *wear-m*, Teut. WAR-MA (F. iii. 292); probably from a root WAR, to boil, and not allied to Gk. *θερ-μός*. Cf. Russ. *var-ile*, to boil. The *m* is a suffix in A. S. *rú-m*, spacious, whence E. *roomy*.

§ **250. Teutonic** -MA-N. This is only found in old superlatives, such as A. S. *for-ma* (stem *for-man*), first, the superlative from *for-e*, fore; cognate with Lat. *pri-mu-s*, first. To this superlative *-ma* it was not uncommon to add the additional suffix *-est* (Goth. *-ist-s*)[1]; this produced the suffix *-m-est*, which was afterwards supposed to stand for *most*, and was accordingly so re-spelt. This is the history of our *fore-m-ost*, A. S. *for-m-est*, also more correctly *fyr-m-est*, with *i*-mutation of *o* to *y*. So also *hind-m-ost*, Goth. *hindu-m-ist-s*; *in-m-ost*, from A. S. *inne-m-est*, most inward; *out-m-ost*, from A. S. *úte-m-est*, most outward. With the suffix *-er* for *-est*, we get the curious word *for-m-er*, where the *-m-* marks a superlative, and the *-er* a comparative form.

§ **251. Aryan** -RO and -LO. There are not many traces of the former. The clearest example is *bitt-er*, M. E. *bit-er*, A. S. *bit-er*, *bit-or* < ‖ *bit-en*, pp. of *bít-an*, to bite; cf. Goth. *bait-r-s* (stem BAIT-RA), bitter < ‖ *bait*, pt. t. of Goth. *beit-an*, to bite. *Fai-r*, A. S. *fæg-r*, *fæg-er*; Goth. *fag-r-s*

[1] Aryan suffix -IS-TO, weakened form of -YOS-TO, -YONS-TO, where YONS is the (Aryan) comparative suffix; Gk. -ισ-το-ς.

(stem FAG-RA), fit, suitable; from √PAK, to fasten, fit. *Slipp-er-y* is formed by adding *-y* to A. S. *slip-or*, slippery; from the verb to *slip*.

-LO. There was a rather numerous class of A. S. adjectives in *-ol*, *-el*, of which few survive. Sweet, in his A. S. Reader, instances *het-ol*, violent, from *het-e*, hate; and *þanc-ol*, thoughtful, from *þanc*, thought. *Britt-le*, M. E. *brit-el*, *brot-el*, *brut-el* < ‖ *brot-en*, pp. of A. S. *bréot-an*, to break. Spenser uses *brick-le*, F. Q. iv. 10. 39, with a like sense; from A. S. *brec-an*, to break. *Ev-il*, A. S. *yf-el*; Goth. *ub-i-l-s* (stem UB-I-LA); root unknown. *Fick-le*, A. S. *fic-ol*, deceitful; from *fic*, s., fraud; cf. *fác-n*, deceit. *Id-le*, A. S. *íd-el*, empty, vain; cf. G. *eit-el*, vain. *Litt-le*, A. S. *lyt-el*, connected with *lyt*, adv., little; here *lyt* = **luti-*, and there is a connection with Goth. *liut-s*, deceitful; see Fick, iii. 276. *Mick-le*, great, A. S. *myc-el*, *mic-el*; Goth. *mik-i-l-s*, allied to Gk. base μεγ-ά-λο-, great. But the most extraordinary word with this suffix is the M. E. *rak-el*, rash, wild, a word of Scand. origin, answering to Icel. *reik-all*, adj., vagabond, from *reik-a*, to wander about. This word was strangely transformed into *rake-hell* in the 16th century (see Trench and Nares), and has since been politely shortened so as to produce the mod. E. sb. a *rake*, i. e. a dissolute man. The verb to *ail*, A. S. *eg-l-an*, to trouble, to pain, is derived from A. S. *eg-le*, troublesome, allied to Goth. *ag-lu-s*, difficult, hard; so that the final *l* is really an adjectival suffix; from √AGH, to choke, pain. So also in the case of *fou-l*, A. S. *fú-l*; from √PU, to stink.

§ **252. Aryan** -NO. E. *brow-n*, A. S. *brú-n*; cognate with G. *brau-n*, Lithuanian *bru-na-s*, brown; and allied to Skt. *ba-bhru*, tawny[1]; see Fick, iii. 218. *Ev-en*, A. S. *ef-n*, Goth. *ib-n-s* (stem IB-NA); probably related to Goth. *ib-uks*, backwards. *Fai-n*, A. S. *fæg-en*; cf. Icel. *feg-inn*, glad,

[1] Not to be connected with the verb to *burn*, as suggested in my Dictionary.

joyful. We may here notice that the Icel. *-inn* is the usual suffix of the pp. of strong verbs, as in *gef-inn*, E. *giv-en*, Goth. *gib-an-s* (stem *gib-a-na-*); so that the adj. suffix is here of the same form as that of the strong pp. The Teut. form of *fain* is FAG-I-NA (Fick, iii. 169), as if it were a pp. from the Teut. base FAH, to fit, suit; √PAK, to fit. The same pp. suffix occurs in *op-en*, A. S. *op-en*, Icel. *op-inn*; and in *rott-en*, borrowed from the Icel. *rot-inn*, the pp. of a lost verb. Cf. § 260. *Heath-en*, orig. one who dwelt on a *heath*, but extended (like the Lat. *paganus*, a villager, afterwards a *pagan*) to denote one who is uninstructed in the Christian religion; A. S. *hæð-en*, from *hæð*, a heath. Cf. Goth. *haith-no*, a heathen woman; *haith-i*, heath.

Gree-n, A. S. *gré-n-e* (=**grô-n-jo-*), cognate with Icel. *grœnn*, G. *grün*, answers to Teut. GRÔ-N-YA (Fick, iii. 112); so that the suffix is really double. It is closely allied to the verb to *grow*. *Lea-n*, slender, A. S. *hlæ-ne* (=**hlâ-n-jo*), slender, frail; orig. 'leaning,' as if wanting support; allied to *hlænan*, to lean. *Ster-n*, severe, A. S. *styr-ne* (=**sturn-jo*?).

With regard to the words *east-ern*, *west-ern*, *north-ern*, *south-ern*, we must compare the O. H. G. forms, such as *norda-rôni*, north-ern. Fick (iii. 251) supposes that the O. H. G. suffix *-rôni* is a derivative from *rann*, the 2nd stem of G. *renn-en*, Goth. *rinn-an* (pt. t. *rann*), to run. If so, *north-ern* means 'running from the north,' i. e. coming from the north, said of the wind. Otherwise, we should have to suppose that it is a compound suffix. This point still remains unsettled.

§ 253. Aryan -TO. This is the usual suffix of the Lat. pp., as in *strā-tus*, pp. of *ster-n-ere*, to lay; and, as already said in § 223, it occurs as *-d* in E. *lai-d*, pp. of *lay*, and as *-th-* in Goth. *lag-i-th-s*, laid, pp. of *lag-j-an*, to lay. It is very familiar in the form *-ed*, used as the pp. suffix of numerous weak verbs, as *lov-ed*, pp. of *love*; also as *-t*, as in *burn-t*, pp. of *burn*. It deserves to be particularly noticed

that the presence of the *-e-* in *-ed* (= *-e-d*) is really due, for the most part, to the causal verb-suffix which appears in Gothic as *-j-*, and occasionally in A. S. as *-i-*; thus E. *hate*, inf. = A. S. *hat-i-an*, Goth. *hat-j-an*; and the pp. *hat-e-d* = A. S. *hat-o-d*, Goth. *hat-i-th-s*. It will thus be seen that the pp. suffix (when written *-ed*) is properly *-d* only; the preceding *-e* belongs to the verbal stem, just like the *-i-* in the case of E. *tac-i-t*, borrowed from Lat. *tac-i-tus*, pp. of *tac-e-re*.

The Aryan -TO appears in E. as *-th*, *-t*, and *-d*.

(*a*). **The form** *-th*. This is rare, but occurs in *un-cou-th*, orig. unknown, strange; from A. S. *cú-ð*, known, Goth. *kun-th-s*, pp. of *kunn-an*, to know. *Bo-th* is a Scand. form, from Icel. *bá-ðir*, both; the A. S. form drops the suffix, appearing as *bá* in the feminine and neuter, but as *beg-en* in the masculine. Gothic has both *bai*, the shorter form, and *baj-o-th-s*, the longer one; cf. G. *bei-de*. *Nor-th*, A. S. *nor-ð*, may be allied to Gk. *νέρ-τε-ρος*, lower, as suggested by Kluge, who also cites the Umbrian *ner-tro*, on the left hand. The connection, in the latter case at least, is the more probable, because the Skt. *dakshina* means 'on the right,' also 'on the south,' to a man looking *eastward*. *Sou-th*, A. S. *sú-ð* (= **sun-ð*); cf. O. H. G. *sun-d*, south; allied to E. *sun*, as being the sunny quarter.

The suffix *-th* also occurs in most of the mod. E. ordinal numbers, as *four-th*, *fif-th*, *six-th*, *seven-th*, &c.; but note A. S. *fif-ta*, *six-ta*, where the *-t* is due to the preceding *f* or *x*. Hence the Lowl. Sc. *fift*, *sixt*; cf. Lat. *sex-tu-s*.

(*b*). **The form** *-t*. We may particularly note this in past participles, chiefly when preceded by *f*, *gh*, *l*, *n*, *p*, *s*; as in *clef-t* (from *cleave*), *ref-t* (from *reave*); *bough-t*, *brough-t*, *sough-t*, *taugh-t*, *wrough-t*; *fel-t*, *spil-t*; *burn-t*, *mean-t*, *pen-t*; *kep-t*, *slep-t*, *swep-t*, *wep-t*; *bles-t*, *los-t*, *wis-t*. When the verb ends in *t* or in *d* preceded by another consonant, the pp. is often contracted; as in *set*, *hurt*, *cast*, *built* (for *builded*), *lent*, *sent*, *spent*. In adjectives, it appears after *f*,

gh, *l* (in *salt*), *r*, and *s*. *Def-t*, M.E. *def-t*, fitting, becoming, mild, *daf-t*, innocent (whence prov. E. *daf-t*, foolish); allied to A.S. *ge-daf-en*, fit, *ge-déf-e*, suitable, Goth. *ga-dof-s*, *ga-dob-s*, fitting, *ga-dab-an*, to happen, befit. *Lef-t*, with reference to the hand, A.S. *lef-t*, as a gloss to Lat. *inanis* (Mone, Quellen, i. 443); the same MS. has *senne* for *synne*, so that *left* is for **lyft* (= **lup-ti*), Mid. Du. *luf-t*, from the √RUP, to break, whence also E. *lop* and *lib*[1]. *Sóft*, A.S. *sóf-te*, adv., softly; allied to G. *sanf-t*, soft, O.H.G. *samf-to*, adv., softly. *Swif-t*, A.S. *swif-t*, orig. turning quickly, allied to E. *swiv-el*. *Brigh-t*, A.S. *beorh-t*, Goth. *bairh-t-s* (Teut. BERH-TA), lit. lighted up; from √BHARK, to shine. *Ligh-t*, as opposed to heavy, O. Mercian *lih-t* (see § 33), A.S. *léoh-t*; allied to Gk. *ἐ-λαχ-ύς*, Skt. *lagh-u*, light. *Righ-t*, A.S. *rih-t*, Goth. *raih-t-s* (stem *raih-ta-*), Teut. REH-TA (F. iii. 248); cognate with Lat. *rec-tu-s*. *Sligh-t*, not found in A.S., but of Frisian origin; O. Fris. *sliuch-t*, Mid. Du. *slich-t*, even, flat, Du. *slech-t*, slight, simple, vile; Teut. SLEH-TA, which perhaps originally meant 'smitten,' from SLAH, to slay, smite (F. iii. 358); but this is doubtful. *Straigh-t*, A.S. *streh-t*, stretched tight, pp. of *strecc-an*, to stretch. *Tigh-t*, prov. E. *thite* (more correctly), M.E. *tiȝ-t*, also *thyh-t* (more correctly); of Scand. origin, from Icel. *þétt-r* (= **þéht-r*), water-tight; allied to G. *dich-t*; perhaps also to Lat. *tec-tus*, covered. *Sal-t*, A.S. *seal-t*, lit. salted; cf. Lat. *sal-su-s*, salted, from *sal*, salt. *Swar-t*, A.S. *swear-t*, black, Goth. *swar-t-s* (stem SWAR-TA); orig. 'burnt'; from √SWER, to glow. *Tar-t*, acrid, A.S. *tear-t*; perhaps < ‖ *tær*, pt. t. of *ter-an*, to tear. *Eas-t*, A.S. *éas-t*; cf. Lat. *aur-ora* (= **aus-osa*), Skt. *ush-as*, dawn. *Wes-t*, A.S. *wes-t*; cf. Lat. *ues-per*, evening. See also *won-t* in my Dictionary.

The word *waste*, A.S. *wés-te* (=**wós-t-ja*), exhibits the

[1] This etymology was discovered by Mr. Sweet, who published it in Anglia, iii. 155 (1880).

double suffix -T-YA; it is related to Lat. *uas-tus*, vast, but is not borrowed from it.

(*c*). **The form -*d*.** We have already noticed the *-e-d* of the pp. A remarkable example appears in E. *bal-d*, of which the M. E. form was *ball-ed*, lit. 'marked with a white patch' (cf. *pie-bald*, *skew-bald*); the Welsh *bal* means 'having a white streak on the forehead,' said of a horse, and cf. Gk. φαλ-ακρός, bald-headed, φαλ-αρός, having a spot of white. *Bol-d*, A. S. *bal-d*, *beal-d*; cf. Goth. adv. *bal-tha-ba*, boldly. *Col-d*, O. Mercian *cal-d* (§ 33), A. S. *ceal-d*; cf. Lat. *gel-i-dus*, cold; the *-d* does not appear in A. S. *cól*, E. *cool*. *'Dea-d*, M. E. *dee-d*, A. S. *déa-d*; Goth. *dau-th-s* (stem DAU-THA), a weak pp. form due to the strong verb *diw-an* (pt. t. *dau*), to die. (The verb *die* is of Scand. origin, not A. S.; from Icel. *dey-ja*.) *Lou-d*, A. S. *hlú-d*; cognate with Gk. κλυ-τό-s, renowned, famed, Skt. *çru-ta*, heard, pp. of *çru*, to hear. The word *nak-ed* still preserves the full pp. form; A. S. *nac-od*, as if from a verb **nac-ian*, to make bare; Goth. *nakw-a-th-s*, naked; the Icelandic has not only *nak-t-r*, naked, but also a form *nak-inn*, with the characteristic pp. suffix of a strong verb; cf. also Lat. *nū-dus* (= **nug-dus*), Skt. *nag-na*, bare.

§ **254. Aryan** -TER. This occurs in E. *o-ther*, A. S. *ó-ðer*, Goth. *an-thar*, Lat. *al-ter*, Skt. *an-tar-a*. It is a comparative suffix, occurring also in *whe-ther*, which of two, Goth. *hwa-thar*, Gk. κό-τερ-ος, πό-τερ-ος, Skt. *ka-tar-a*; and in its derivatives *ei-ther*, *n-ei-ther*.

§ **255. Aryan** -ONT, -ENT. This suffix occurs in A. S. present participles, as already explained in § 229, which see.

§ **256. Aryan** -KO. As already explained in § 240, this suffix occurs as Goth. *-ha* in *staina-ha*, stem of *staina-h-s*, stony, from *staina-*, stem of *stain-s*, a stone; also as *-ga* in *handu-ga-*, stem of *handu-g-s*, wise, a word of doubtful etymology. So also Goth. *mahtei-g-s*, mighty, answering to A. S. *meahti-g*, mighty. In A. S. the suffix is practically =-I-KO, from the frequent use of -KO with *i*-stems. Hence the

invariable suffix is *-ig*, which is invariably reduced to *-y* in modern English. Thus Goth. *mana-g-s* (with *a*-stem) is A. S. *mæn-ig*, E. *man-y*; Goth. *mahtei-g-s* (with *i*-stem) is A. S. *meaht-ig*, E. *might-y*; and Goth. *handu-g-s* (with *u*-stem) signifies 'wise,' but its connection with E. *hand-y* is doubtful. In modern E. these adjectives in *-y* are very numerous; in fact, this suffix can be added to a large number of substantives; we can say 'a *hors-y* gent,' or 'an *ink-y* sky.' Amongst A. S. adjectives of this class we may enumerate *bys-ig*, bus-y; *cræft-ig*, craft-y (orig. experienced); *dys-ig*, dizz-y; *dyh-t-ig*, E. *dought-y* < .. *dug-an*, to avail, be worth, mod. E. *do* (as it occurs in the phrase 'that will *do*'); *dyst-ig*, dust-y; *fám-ig*, foam-y; *hef-ig*, E. *heav-y* < *hebb-an* (= **haf-ian*), to heave; *wér-ig*, wear-y, &c. So also *an-y*, A. S. *én-ig*, from *án*, one; cf. Lat. *un-icus*. The word *sill-y*, M. E. *sel-i*, A S. *sǽl-ig*, has remarkably changed its meaning; it is derived from A. S. *sǽl*, season, and orig. meant timely; then lucky, happy, blessed, innocent; and lastly, simple, foolish. In the expression '*silly* sheep,' it is used with a less contemptuous sense than when we speak of 'a *silly* man.'

§ 257. Aryan -ISKO or -SKO. This suffix is used in Greek to form diminutives, as in παιδ-ίσκος, a young boy, from παῖς (gen. παιδ-ός), a son. It occurs with an adjectival use in Lithuanian, Slavonic, and Teutonic. Cf. Lith. *tëwa-s*, father, whence *tëw-iszk-as*, fatherly; O. Slav. *žena*, Russ. *jena*, a woman, whence O. Slav. *žen-isku*, Russ. *jen-sk-ii*, womanly, feminine. So also Goth. *manna*, a man, *mann-isk-s*, human; A. S. *menn-isc* (with *i*-mutation), human, also used as a sb., meaning 'man'; G. *Men-sch*, orig. an adj., but now always used as a sb. This word is still preserved in Lowl. Sc. *mense*, but the sense has still further changed to that of 'manliness,' and thence to good manners, propriety of behaviour. 'Meat is good, but *mense* is better' is a Scottish proverb. The A. S. *-isc* is the mod E. *-ish*, which can be very freely added to

substantives, to denote similarity. Other examples occur in A. S. *hǽðen-isc*, E. *heathen-ish*; *út-lend-isc*, E. *out-land-ish*, &c. It is particularly used to signify relation to a country or tribe; as in E. *Engl-ish*, A. S. *Engl-isc*, formed with *i*-mutation from *Angel*, i.e. Angeln in Denmark, situate in the country between Flensburg in Sleswig and the Eyder. E. *Dan-ish*, A. S. *Den-isc*, from *Den-e*, pl., the Danes; cf. Icel. *Dan-skr*, Danish, from *Dan-ir*, pl. the Danes. E. *Fren-ch*, A. S. *Frenc-isc*, Frank-ish, from *Franc-an*, pl., the Franks. E. *Wel-sh*, A. S. *Wæl-isc*, from *Weal-as*, pl. of *wealh*, a foreigner. The words *French*, *Welsh* have already been instanced as exhibiting examples of concealed mutation; pp. 192, 202. Add to these *Brit-ish*, A.S. *Britt-isc*, from *Britt-as*, nom. pl., the Britons; cf. *Brit-en*, *Britt-en*, Lat. *Britannia*, the land of the Britons. E. *Scott-ish*, *Scot-ish*, *Scot-ch*, *Scot-s* (for it is written all four ways[1]), A. S. *Scytt-isc*, formed by *i*-mutation from *Scott-as*, nom. pl., Lat. *Scoti*, the Scots, orig. the Irish. Of common adjectives ending in *-ish* it may suffice to mention *churl-ish*, A. S. *cyrl-isc*, *cierl-isc*, formed by *i*-mutation (also spelt *ceorl-isc*, without mutation) from *ceorl*, a husbandman, a churl, a freeman of the lowest class. Some such adjectives are of quite modern formation, from substantives of French origin, as *agu-ish*, *mod-ish*, *prud-ish*, *rogu-ish*. We have already seen that it is shortened to *-ch* in *Fren-ch*, *Scot-ch*; and to *-sh* in *Wel-sh*. To these we may add the following: E. *fre-sh*, A. S. *fer-sc* (= **far-isc*), i.e. moving, from *far-an*, to go; *fresh* water being that which is kept from stagnation by constant motion. E. *mar-sh*, s., A. S. *mer-sc* (=**mer-isc*), orig. an adj.; lit. 'mere-ish,' i.e. adjoining a mere or lake; from *mer-e*, a lake. E. *ra-sh*, of Scand. origin; from Dan. and Swed. *rask*, quick, brisk, Icel. *rösk-r*, ripe, mature. In this word, as Kluge suggests, a *th* may have been lost; it would then stand, as it were, for *RATH-SK, i.e. quickly turning, from the Teut.

[1] *Scot-s* is short for the older *Scottis* (=*Scottish*, like *Inglis* for *English*); J. A. H. Murray, in N. and Q. 6 S. xi. 90.

RATH-A, a wheel, preserved in G. *Rad*, a wheel; cf. Lith. *rátas*, a wheel, Lat. *rota*, Skt. *ratha*[1]. Perhaps it is hardly necessary to add that this E. adjectival suffix *-ish* is wholly distinct from the verbal suffix of Romance origin which appears in *flour-ish*, *pol-ish*, *pun-ish*, &c.

Aryan -IS-TO, for -YONS-TO. The superlative suffix *-est* answers to Gk. *-ισ-το-*, and needs no illustration. See § 250.

ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES.

§ **258.** Some of the adverbial suffixes can be recognised as having been independent words. Such are *-ly*, *-meal*, *-ward*, *-wards*, *-way*, *-way-s*, *-wise*.

-ly, A. S. *-lic-e*, adverbial form from A. S. *-lic*, adj. suffix. See § 242. It was common in A. S. to form adverbs from adjectives by the addition of *-e*; as *beorht-e*, brightly, from *beorht*, bright. Cf. Goth. *sama-leik-o*, adv., equally, from *sama-leik-s*, adj., alike; *uhteig-o*, seasonably, from *uhteig-s*, seasonable. Thus the corresponding Goth. suffix is *-leik-o*.

-meal. Only now used in *piece-meal*, a hybrid compound. M. E. had also *flok-mel*, by companies, *pound-mele*, by pounds at a time, *stund-mele*, by hours, &c. Of these *flok-mel* answers to A. S. *floc-mǽl-um*, adv., by companies, in flocks; where *mǽl-um* is the dat. or instrumental plural of *mǽl*, a time, also a time for food, mod. E. *meal*, a repast.

-ward, -ward-s. As in *hither-ward*, *back-ward*, *back-wards*. See *-ward* as an adjectival suffix in § 242. It is common to find the same form of a word used both adjectivally and adverbially in modern English; as 'a *bright* sun,' 'the sun shines *bright*.' This is because the A. S. adverbial form was *beorht-e*, as explained above; and the loss of the *-e* reduced the adverb to the same form as the adjective. The *-s* in *-ward-s* is an old genitive; see further below, § 259.

-way, -way-s. A. S. in *al-way*, *al-way-s*, *Al-way-s* is a geni-

[1] Schade has a very different solution. He supposes that an initial *w* has been lost, and connects *rash* (for **wrash*) with Goth. *ga-wriskwan*, to produce fruit, to bring fruit to perfection (Luke viii. 14).

tival form, in later use, due to form-association with adverbs in *-s*. *Al-way* is an accusative form, as in A. S. *ealne weg* (acc.), lit. 'all way,' often used with the sense of mod. E. *always*.

-wise. As in *no-wise*, *like-wise*. The suffix is the acc. case of the common E. sb. *wise*, manner; A. S. *wís-e*, acc. *wís-an*. Cf. A. S. *on ǽnig-e wís-an* (acc.), on any wise; *on þá ylcan wís-an* (acc.), in the same way. The acc. *wís-an* became M. E. *wis-e*, and finally *wise*.

§ **259.** Other adverbial suffixes are due to case-endings, as in *-s*, *-se*, *-ce*, old genitives; *-er*, old dat. fem. or accusative; *-om*, old dat. plural. To these we may add the compound suffix *-l-ing*, *-l-ong*. See further in Morris, Hist. Outlines, p. 194.

-s, -se, -ce. The suffix *-es* is the characteristic ending of the genitive case of A. S. strong *masculine* and *neuter* substantives; and we find several instances in which the genitive case is used adverbially; as in *dæg-es*, by day. By association with this usage we find the adverb *níht-es*, by night, though *níht* is really *feminine*, and its genitive case is properly *niht-e*. Similarly we can explain E. *el-se*, A. S. *ell-es*, cognate with Goth. *alj-is*, genitive of *aljis*, other, another. The A. S. *néd*, *nýd*, need; is feminine, and has the gen. *néd-e*, *nýd-e*, which is used adverbially in Luke xxiii. 17. Hence the M. E. *ned-e*, also used adverbially; but the more common M. E. form is *ned-es*, preserved in mod. E. *need-s*. The A. S. *án-es*, E. *on-ce*, was originally the gen. of *án*, one. By association with this word, the A. S. *twí-wa* was altered to M. E. *twi-es*, E. *twi-ce*; and the A. S. *þrí-wa* to M. E. *thri-es*, E. *thri-ce*. The final *-ce*, so noticeable in these words, is intended to shew that the final sound is that of *s*, not of *z*, and is imitated from the French; cf. *preten-ce*, *violen-ce*.

-er. In E. *ev-er*, A. S. *éf-re*, the *-re* is the suffix of the dat. or gen. fem., as in A. S. *gód-re*, dat. (and gen.) fem. of *gód*, good. So also in *nev-er*, A. S. *néf-re*. But in *yest-er-day*, the suffix is the acc. masculine, A.S. *geost-ran-dæg*.

-om. In *whil-om*, the suffix denotes the dat. pl.; A. S. *hwíl-um*, at times, once on a time, dat. pl. of *hwíl*, while, time. E. *seld-om* answers to A. S. *seld-um*, dat. pl., or *seld-an*, dat. sing. (both are used) of *seld*, rare.

-l-ing, -l-ong. The gen. pl. of A.S. sbs. in *-ung* (later *-ing*) could be used adverbially, as *án-ung-a*, *án-ing-a*, altogether, gen. pl. of. *án-ung*, sb. formed from *án*, one. So also *eall-ung-a*, later *eall-ing-a*, wholly, from *eall*, all. Similarly, M.E. adverbs were formed ending in *-l-ing*, as *hed-l-ing*, headforemost, afterwards altered to *head-long*, probably by confusion with *long*. So also *dark-ling*, i.e. in the dark; *flat-ling* or *flat-long*, flat; *side-ling* or *side-long*, sideways.

Verbal Suffixes.

§ 260. The only verbal suffixes which still appear in modern English are *-en* (*-n*), *-k*, *-le* (*-l*), *-er*, *-se*; cf. Morris, Hist. Outlines, p. 221.

-en, -n. This suffix is remarkable for its complete change of meaning. It was formerly the mark of a reflexive or *passive* sense, but it now makes a verb *active* or causal. The Gothic *full-j-an*, to make full, from *full-s*, full, was causal; but the Goth. *full-n-an*, from the same adj., meant to be filled, or to become full. There is no doubt that the *-n-* here inserted is the same as the *-n* in *bor-n*, *tor-n*, i.e. is the sign of the pp. passive; so that *full-n-* is, in fact, 'filled[1],' and *full-n-an* means 'to be filled,' hence, to become full. This use is still common in the Scand. tongues. Thus Icel. *sof-na* is 'to fall asleep'; Icel. *vak-na*, Dan. *vaag-ne*, Swed. *vack-na*, is 'to become awake[2].' So also A. S. *áwæc-n-an* was

[1] The *-n-* in *full-n-* is, in fact, the Aryan suffix -NO (§ 252); cf. Lat. *ple-nus*, Skt. *púr-na*, full.

[2] The passive use of the Goth. suffix *-nan* is controverted in an excellent paper by A. E. Egge, on 'Inchoative or *n*-verbs in Gothic, &c.,' in the American Journal of Philology, vii. 38. The author says these verbs are *inchoative*, and he may be right, practically. But it makes no difference in the development of the *forms*. The suffix -NO was originally adjectival, and the derived verb could easily take either an inchoative or a passive sense.

intransitive, though it was used both with strong and weak past tenses; but after 1500, it was often used transitively, and is so used still; see *Awaken* in Murray's Dictionary. The old causal verbs in *-ian* ceased to have any distinctive mark; and this loss was supplied in a most curious way, viz. by using the old suffix *-n-* with a causal sense, as being so frequently required. This usage, which is not early, is now thoroughly established; so that to *fatt-en* is 'to make fat'; *length-en* is 'to increase in length,' to 'make longer,' &c. Most of these are formed from adjectives, as: *black-en, bright-en, broad-en, cheap-en, dark-en, deaf-en, deep-en, fresh-en, gladd-en, hard-en, less-en, lik-en, madd-en, moist-en, op-en, quick-en, redd-en, rip-en, rough-en, sadd-en, sharp-en, short-en, sick-en, slack-en, soft-en, stiff-en, straight-en, sweet-en, thick-en, tight-en, tough-en, weak-en, whit-en*; some of which are used indifferently as transitive or intransitive; so that there is, after all, no sure rule. Very few are formed from sbs.; as *fright-en, heart-en, height-en, length-en, strength-en.* The most important, philologically, are those which are found most early; these are, I think, *fast-en, glist-en, lik-en, list-en, op-en, wak-en.* Perhaps *glist-en*, A. S. *glis-n-ian*, and *list-en*, a later formation from A. S. *hlyst-an*, are the only ones which retain the true sense, and can never be (correctly) used except *intransitively.* The word *op-en* is very remarkable. As a verb, it answers to A. S. *open-ian*, causal verb from *op-en*, adjective; whilst the adj. *op-en*, cognate with Icel. *op-inn*, exhibits the characteristic ending of a strong pp. This pp. is probably formed from the prep. *up*; so that *op-en* is, as it were, 'upped,' i. e. lifted, with reference to the lifting of the lid of a box or the curtain forming the door of a tent. Shakespeare has *dup* (= *do up*) in the sense 'to open.'

-n. The same suffix appears as *-n* in *daw-n, drow-n, faw-n, lear-n, ow-n*; in some of which the true pp. origin of the suffix can be clearly traced. E. *daw-n* is M. E. *daw-n-en*, to become day, formed with inserted *-n-* from *daw-en*, to be-

come day, A. S. *dag-ian*; from *dæg* (stem DAG-A), day. E. *drow-n* is A. S. *drunc-n-ian*, whence M. E. *drunc-n-ien*, *drunk-n-en*, and (by loss of *k*) *drou-n-en*, *drow-n-e*, *drow-n*. The A. S. *drunc-n-ian* is 'to become drunken,' to be drenched, from A. S. *drunc-en*, pp. of *drinc-an*, to drink. E. *faw-n* is A. S. *fæg-n-ian*[1], to rejoice, be pleased, from the adj. *fæg-n*, E. *fai-n*, i. e. pleased; cf. Icel. *feg-inn*, fain, with the suffix *-inn* characteristic of a pp. of a strong verb. E. *lear-n*, A. S. *leor-n-ian*, to learn, i. e. to be taught, to experience, answers to a Goth. form **liz-n-an*, formed from **lis-an-s*, pp. of the defective verb appearing in the Goth. pt. t. *lais*, I have experienced. E. *ow-n*, to possess, A. S. *ág-n-ian*, to possess; formed from *ág-en*, adj., one's own, orig. pp. of the strong verb *ág-an*, to possess, which produced the verb *owe*, in the same sense, as used by Shakespeare, Temp. i. 2. 407, &c. Perhaps *mour-n* also belongs here; see my Etym. Dict.

§ 261. -k. This suffix, of obscure origin, appears to give a verb a frequentative force. The clearest example occurs in *har-k*, *hear-k-en*, A. S. *heor-c-n-ian*, *her-c-n-ian*, evidently allied to *hýr-an* (= **héar-ian*, **héaz-ian*), Goth. *haus-jan*, to hear. E. *lur-k*, of Scand. origin; cf. Dan. *lur-e*, to listen, lie in wait, G. *lauer-n*. E. *scul-k*, *skul-k*, of Scand. origin; Dan. *skul-k-e*, to sculk; cf. Icel. *skoll-a*, to sculk away. E. *smir-k*, A. S. *smer-c-ian*, to smile; the shorter form appears in M. H. G. *schmier-en*, also *schmiel-en*, to smile, cognate with E. *smile*, of Scand. origin. E. *stal-k*, A. S. *steal-c-ian*[2], allied to E. *stal-k*, sb., A. S. *steal-c*, adj., lofty, and to A. S. *stæl*, prov. E. *stele*, a handle. E. *wal-k*, A. S. *weal-c-ian*, orig. to roll about, go from side to side; allied to Aryan √ WAL, to roll, as in Russ. *val-iate*, to roll, Skt. *val*, to move to and fro; cf. Fick, iii. 298[3].

[1] It is easier to explain the vowel-sound from Icel. *fagna*, instead of from A. S. *fægnian*; so this verb may be Scandinavian, though the adj. *fain* is not so.

[2] In the compound *be-stealcian*, in Sweet's A. S. Primer, vi. 37.

[3] E. *talk* is often referred to here, and compared with E. *tell*. But I doubt the connection; see *Talk* in my Etym. Dict. and in the Supp. to the 2nd edition.

§ **262.** **-le (-l), -er.** These are equivalent suffixes, the letters *l* and *r* being interchangeable. They are used to express iteration, and so to form frequentative verbs. They are especially noticeable in words of imitative origin, such as *babb-le, rumb-le, warb-le, cack-le, crack-le, gagg-le, gigg-le, gugg-le, chuck-le, jing-le, jang-le, tink-le, rust-le, whist-le, ratt-le, pratt-le, tatt-le*; and *jabb-er, gibb-er, chatt-er, clatt-er, patt-er, titt-er, twitt-er, mutt-er, whisp-er.* Similarly *dragg-le*, to keep on dragging, is the frequentative of *drag*; *dazz-le*, of *daze*; *dribb-le*, of *drip*; *hobb-le*, of *hop*; *hurt-le*, to clash, of *hurt* (F. *heurt-er*, O.F. *hurt-er*, to push); *just-le, jost-le*, of *joust*; *jogg-le*, of *jog*; *nibb-le*, of *nip*; *snuff-le*, of *snuff*; *tramp-le*, of *tramp*; *wadd-le*, of *wade*; *wagg-le*, of *wag*; *wrest-le*, of *wrest*. Similarly, we have *draw-l*, from *draw*; *mew-l*, from *mew*; *wau-l* (as in *cater-waul*) from M.E. *waw-en*, to cry like a cat[1]. So also *glimm-er* may be considered as a frequentative of *gleam*; *flutt-er*, A.S. *flot-er-ian*, to fluctuate, of A.S. *flot-ian*, to *float*; *glitt-er*, is from the base *glit-*, seen in Goth. *glit-mun-jan*, to shine; *welt-er*, formerly *walt-er*, to wallow, roll about, from A.S. *wealt-an*, to turn about. But in many cases the frequentative sense is not apparent, and the verb is sometimes intransitive, or expresses continuance, or else is causal; as in *crumb-le*, to reduce to crumbs, from *crumb*, sb.; *curd-le*, from *curd*, sb.; *spark-le*, from *spark*, sb. Cf. *knee-l*, from *knee*. Or the suffix merely extends the word without making much difference, as in *tumb-le*, with the same sense as A.S. *tumb-ian*, to turn heels over head, to dance violently; *dwin-d-le*, formed (with excrescent *d*) from A.S. *dwín-an*, to pine away. Verbs with the suffix *-le* and *-er* are numerous, and it is needless to consider them further. We must remember, however, not to

[1] The *-er* in *cat-er-wau-l* is due to the Scand. form; cf. Icel. *kött-r*, a cat, gen. *katt-ar*; whence the compounds *kattar-auga*, cat's eye, forget-me-not; *kattar-skinn*, a cat-skin. Similarly the M.E. *nighter-tale* (Chaucer) corresponds to Icel. *náttartal*.

confuse the *verbal* suffixes with *substantival* ones; thus the verb *to gird-le* is merely due to the sb. *gird-le*, from *gird*; so that *gird-le* is *not* a frequentative of the verb *to gird*. Similarly, the verb *to fett-er* is merely due to the sb. *fett-er*, A. S. *fet-or*, allied to Lat. *ped-ica*. And it may be taken as a general rule that, before any sound etymology of a pair of related substantives and verbs can be attempted, we must ascertain, historically, whether it is the sb. that is derived from the verb, or conversely the verb from the sb.

§ 263. -se. This suffix is remarkably clear in the verb *clean-se*, A. S. *clén-s-ian*, to make clean, from the adj. *clean*, A. S. *clén-e*. Also in E. *rin-se*, borrowed from F. *rin-se-r*, which is borrowed, in its turn, from Scandinavian; cf. Icel. *hrein-sa*, to cleanse, from *hrein*, clean; Dan. *ren-se*, from *reen*; Swed. *ren-sa*, from *ren*. It also occurs in *clasp*, *grasp*, put, respectively, for *clap-s*, **grap-s*; we actually find M. E. *clap-s-en* (Chaucer, C. T. 275), and **grap-s* can be inferred from comparison with *grap-ple*. Dr. Morris instances *lisp*; but nothing is known of this verb beyond the fact that it is derived from an adjective signifying 'imperfect of utterance,' which is spelt indifferently *wlips* and *wlisp*. We find: 'balbus, *uulisp*,' and 'balbutus, *stom-wlisp*' in the Corpus Glossary (O. E. Texts, p. 45); and 'balbus, *wlips*' in Wright's Glossaries, ed. Wülcker, col. 192.

As to the origin of this suffix, we find that the A. S. *-sian* answers to Goth. *-ison* or *-izon*, as seen in *walw-ison*, to wallow, *hat-izon*, to feel hate, to be angry. *Hat-iz-on* is obviously formed from *hat-is*, hate (stem *hat-is-a*); and *-ōn* answers to A. S. *-ian*, a causal suffix which is to be compared with the Skt. *-aya*, as in *bodh-aya*, to cause to know, inform, from *budh*, to understand. Hence the E. *-se* corresponds to a compound suffix arising from these suffixes used in combination. Cf. § 230 (*a*), p. 252.

CHAPTER XV.

Derivation from Roots.

§ 264. The root of a given word in any Aryan language may be defined as the original monosyllabic element which remains after the word has been stripped of everything of the nature of prefixes and formative suffixes. For a general discussion of roots, I beg leave to refer the reader to Whitney's Language and the Study of Language, 2nd ed., 1868, pp. 254–276. Whitney takes the case of the word *irrevocable*, and shews that *ir-* (=*in*, not), and *re-*, again, are prefixes, whilst *-able* (Lat. *-a-bi-li-s*) is made up of formative suffixes; so that the root of the word, in its Latin form, is *voc-* or *uoc-*[1]. It is found that all words of Aryan origin which admit of a complete analysis can be reduced to ultimate monosyllabic elements of this character, and a comparison of different languages enables us to determine, at any rate approximately, the Aryan form of the root. All such roots are either of a verbal or a pronominal character.

§ 265. The following passage from Whitney is of special importance:—'Elements like *voc*, each composing a single syllable, and containing no traceable sign of a formative element, resisting all our attempts at reduction to a simpler form, are what we arrive at as the final results of our analysis of the Indo-European vocabulary; every word, of

[1] Latin words are better spelt with *u* than *v*, because this reminds the student that the pronunciation of the consonant was not like that of the E. *v*, but rather like the E. *w*. The Aryan root is WEQ (Gk. *fεπ*).

which this is made up—save those whose history is obscure, and cannot be read far back toward its beginning—is found to contain a monosyllabic root as its central significant portion, along with certain other accessory portions, syllables or remnants of syllables, whose office it is to define and direct the radical idea. The roots are never found in practical use in their naked form; they are (or, as has been repeatedly explained, have once been) always clothed with suffixes, or with suffixes and prefixes; yet they are no mere abstractions, dissected out by the grammarian's knife from the midst of organisms of which they were ultimate and integral portions; they are rather the nuclei of gradual accretions, parts about which other parts gathered to compose orderly and membered wholes; germs, we may call them, out of which has developed the intricate structure of later speech. And the recognition of them is an acknowledgment that Indo-European language, with all its fulness and inflective suppleness, is descended from an original monosyllabic tongue; that our ancestors talked with one another in single syllables, indicative of the ideas of prime importance, but wanting all designation of their relations; and that out of these, by processes not differing in nature from those which are still in operation in our own tongue, was elaborated the marvellous and varied structure of all the Indo-European dialects.'

§ 266. Analysis further teaches us that many prefixes and suffixes were likewise once independent words, or made up of several such words compounded together; and we cannot resist the conclusion that the same must be true of *all* such affixes. Hence we conclude that all affixes arose from roots similar to the primary ones, though they are often so worn down that neither their original forms nor senses can be discovered. The Aryan polysyllabic word was simply compounded of various roots strung together. The oldest and commonest of these sank first to the condition of 'obsolete'

roots, and secondly to the condition of mere suffixes; whilst others retained sufficient form and sense to remain distinctly recognisable, and are still regarded as 'efficient' roots, possessing a special interest from the fact that their value is known. The words 'efficient' and 'obsolete' are here used merely for convenience. By 'efficient' I mean such as are still used in the root-syllable; and by 'obsolete' such as are *now* only used as an affix or as forming part of an affix. The form and sense of 'efficient' roots can be determined by analysis; those of the 'obsolete' roots are quite uncertain.

§ 267. A list of known Aryan roots is given in my Etymological Dictionary, with numerous examples; and in my Concise Dictionary, without examples. This list includes nearly all that are of importance to the student of English, Latin, and Greek. A few of the most useful of these may be here mentioned. (It must, however, be first explained that the roots, as cited in my Dictionary from Vaniček and Fick, are there given in the *Sanskrit* form, which is no longer, as formerly, supposed to be *always* the oldest. Thus the root signifying 'eat' is there given as AD, but should rather be ED. The Sanskrit form, indeed, is *ad*, but it is not the *general* form; on the contrary, we find Gk. ἔδ-ειν, Lat. *ed-ere*, A. S. *et-an*, to eat, and the Lithuan. *ĕd-mi*, I eat. The vowels E and O can no longer be regarded, as formerly, as being unoriginal. I therefore now substitute E and O, where requisite, for the vowel given as A in my former list of Roots.)

The following roots, then, are common. AG conveyed the idea of driving; AN, breathing or blowing; AR, ploughing; ED, eating; ES, breathing (hence, being); EI, going or moving; EUS, burning; KAP, seizing or holding; QER, making; KEL, covering; QI (rather than KI)[1], lying down;

[1] The forms thus noticed within a parenthesis are those given in my Dictionary.

KLI, leaning against; KLEU, hearing; GwEM (rather than GA), going; GEN (rather than GAN), producing; GER, grinding; GEUS (rather than GUS), tasting, choosing; GHER, glowing, shining; GHEU (rather than GHU), pouring; TEN, stretching; TEU, swelling, growing strong; DÔ, giving; DEK, taking; DEIK (rather than DIK), pointing out; DHÊ, putting, placing; DHEIGH, smearing, moulding with the fingers; DHU, shaking; PÂ, feeding; PET, flying; PED, walking; PLEU, flowing, floating; BHÂ, speaking; BHER, carrying; BHEU, growing; MÈ, measuring; MER, dying[1]; MU, muttering; YEUG, joining; RUP, breaking, spoiling; WEQ (rather than WAK), calling; WES, dwelling, staying; WEID (rather than WID), observing, knowing; SED, sitting; SAR or SAL, hurrying, springing; SERP, gliding; SEK, cutting; SKID, cleaving; STÂ, standing; STER, spreading; SREU, or STREU, flowing. The number of words that can be formed from these fifty roots is very large.

§ 268. I shall now take the case of a common English word, and shew how the form of its root may be discovered. In doing this, we shall often have to take into account Grimm's and Verner's Laws, and to use the hints concerning gradation, vowel-mutation and affixes, which have been given in preceding chapters. The word selected shall be the verb *to listen*. We must begin by tracing it in Middle English and Anglo-Saxon. The Middle English has the forms *lustn-en*, *listn-en*, and the shorter forms *lust-en*, *list-en*, in all of which the final *-en* is merely the infinitival suffix. In the forms *lust-n-en*, *list-n-en*, the *-n-* is plainly an insertion or addition, and has already been discussed above (§ 260). We thus get a base *lust-* or *list-*. The variation of the vowel is due to the difficulty of representing the A. S. *y* (which had the sound of G. *ü*). Hence the A. S. base

[1] See a full discussion of the root MAR, to grind, in Max Müller, Lectures on the Science of Language, 2nd Series, lect. vii.

may be expected to be *lyst-*. There is, however, no such word; the fact being that there has been a loss of a prefixed *h*; this we at once perceive by comparing the A. S. *hlyst-an*, to list, listen, hearken to; a weak verb formed from the sb. *hlyst*, expressive of the sense of hearing. But *-st* is a substantival suffix; see § 234; so that we may divide the word as *hly-st*. Moreover, *y* is an unoriginal vowel, due to *i*-mutation of *u*; so that *hly-st* presupposes a form **hlu-st-i* (§ 185). We now resort to comparison with other languages, and we find Icel. *hlu-st-a*, to listen, from *hlust*, the ear; and the shorter form (without *st*) in the Goth. *hliu-ma*, hearing, where *-ma* is a mere suffix; see § 214. The Gothic form of the base is *hliu-*, answering to Teut. HLEU; which again, by Grimm's Law, answers to an Aryan KLEU, denoting the idea of 'hearing.' This root is clearly vouched for by the Skt. *çru* (with *ç* for *k*, and *r* for *l*), to hear; Gk. κλύ-ειν, O. Lat. *clu-ere*, to hear; Welsh *clu-st*, hearing, &c. We have thus traced the E. *listen*, by known processes, to the Aryan root KLEU or KLU.

§ 269. It is interesting to enquire what other English words can be derived from this root. It is evident that one derivative is the Gk. κλυ-τός, renowned, cognate with Skt. *çru-ta*, heard (§ 253 *c*). The idea of 'renowned' comes from that of being much heard of, or loudly spoken about. By Verner's Law, the Gk. κλυ-τός, accented on the *latter* syllable, answers[1] to A. S. *hlú-d* (not *hlú-ð*), meaning 'loud' (§ 129); and this A. S. word became M. E. *lūd* or *loud* (pronounced with *ou* as in *soup*), and finally mod. E. *loud*, by the common change of A. S. *ū* to mod. E. *ou* (§ 46). Hence we see that E. *loud* is another derivative from the above root. We may certainly also refer hither, not only the Goth. *hliu-ma*, hearing (as above), but the Swed. dialectal words *lju-mm*, a noise, *lju-mma*, to resound, *lom-ra*, to resound (frequentative);

[1] Except in the length of the vowel. This variation (which is common) may perhaps be due to a difference in stress.

see Rietz, p. 410. This Swed. dial. *lom-ra* is evidently the E. *lum-b-er*, in the sense of making a noise, as in 'The *lumbering* of the wheels' in Cowper's John Gilpin, st. 6 from the end; see *Lumber* (2) in my Dictionary. Moreover, the O. Lat. *clu-ere*, to hear, had the pres. pt. *clu-ens*, later form *cli-ens*, one who hears, one who obeys, a dependant; and from the acc. *cli-ent-em* came the F. *cli-ent* and E. *cli-ent*, which is thus seen to be not a native word, but borrowed from Latin through the French. Similarly, E. *glory* is borrowed from the O. F. *glorie*, Lat. *glo-ria*, which is certainly a weakened form of an older **clo-ria*, allied to Gk. κλέ-ος (for *κλεϝ-ος), glory, from the same root KLEU; cf. Gk. κλυ-τός, renowned (above)[1]. A still more extraordinary result is that the very same root has yielded the mod. E. *slave*, derived, through the F. *esclave* and G. *sklave*, M. H. G. *slave*, from the O. Russ. *Slovéne*, the Slavonians; for the orig. sense of *slave* was a captive *Slave*, or one of the Slavonic race. The literal sense of *Slovéne* was 'the intelligible' people; for, like other races, they regarded their neighbours as 'dumb,' or speaking unintelligibly; so that *Slovéne* is a derivative from the Old Slavonic *slo-vo*, a word; allied to Old Slav. *slu-ti*, to be named, to be illustrious. This verb *slu-ti*, like the Russ. *slu-sh-ate*, to hear, is from the same root KLEU as before. The peculiarity by which the initial κ has been changed into *s* is found not only in Slavonic, but in the Skt. *çru*, to hear; where the symbol *ç* denotes a sound that is pronounced nearly as *s*, though etymologically derived from an original κ. In precisely the same way, the Lat. *cent-um*, Welsh *cant* (our *hund-* in *hund-red*) answers to Skt. *çata*, Pers. *sad*, and Russ. *sto*.

§ **270.** Summing up the results of the §§ 268, 269, we find that the Aryan root KLEU, to hear, is the root of the mod. E.

[1] '*Gloria* vient d'un ancien substantif neutre **clovos*, **clous*, **clōs* = κλέος (pour *κλέϝος), &c. Cf. le rapport de *gracilis* et de *cracens*'; Bréal, Dict. Etym. Latin.

native words *listen*, *loud*, and *lumber* (to make a noise), with their derivatives, such as *listen-er*, *listen-ing*, *loud-ly*, *loud-ness*, *lumber-ing*; as well as of the borrowed words *client*, *glory*, *slave*, with their derivatives, such as *client-ship*, *glori-ous*, *glori-ous-ly*, *glori-ous-ness*, *in-glori-ous*, *in-glori-ous-ly*, *in-glor-ious-ness*, *vain-glory*, *slav-ish*, *slav-ish-ly*, *slav-ish-ness*. We thus obtain two important results. The first is, that the Aryan roots can be exceedingly fertile, since from the single root KLEU we have obtained more than a score of modern English words, without counting the numerous derivatives in other languages, such as κλύ-ειν, κλυ-τός, κλέ-ος in Greek, *cli-ens*, *in-cli-tus*, *glo-ria* in Latin, &c. The other result, not less important, is that an analysis thus regularly conducted enables us to associate words which at first sight are so utterly dissimilar as *loud*, *listen*, *glory*, *client*, and *slave*, in which the sole letter of the root that still remains common to all is L. A moment's reflection will shew how utterly unlike modern scientific etymology is to the old system of guesswork, the effect of which was, on the one hand, to associate words which were in fact wholly unconnected, whilst, on the other, it wholly failed to perceive innumerable real connections.

§ 271. By way of further illustration, I will consider the interesting root GHEU, to pour, which also appears in the fuller forms GHEUD and GHEUS. This root appears in Gk. χέ-ω (for χέϝ-ω), fut. χεύ-σω, perf. pass. κέ-χυ-μαι, to pour, χύ-μος, χύ-λος, juice. From these sbs. the words *chyme* and *chyle* have been imported into mod. English. The same root is most likely the source of *al-che-my*, of which Dr. Murray says, in the New E. Dict., that it is 'adopted from the O. Fr. *alquimie*, *alquemie*, *alkemie*, an adaptation of Mid. Latin *alchimia* (Prov. *alkimia*, Span. *alquimia*, Ital. *alchimia*), adopted from the Arab. *al-kīmīā*, i.e. *al*, the, *kīmīā*, apparently adopted from the Gk. χημία, χημεία, found (circa 300) in the Decree of Diocletian against "the old writings of the

Egyptians, which treat of the χημία (transmutation) of gold and silver"; hence the word is explained by most as "Egyptian art," and identified with χημία, Gk. form (in Plutarch) of the native name of Egypt (land of *Khem* or *Khamè*, hieroglyphic *Khmi*, "black earth," in contrast to the desert sand). If so, it was afterwards etymologically confused with the like-sounding Gk. χῡμεία, pouring, infusion, from χυ-, perfect stem of χέ-ειν, to pour (cf. χῡ-μός, juice, sap), which seemed to explain its meaning; hence the Renascence spelling *alchymia* and *chymistry*. Mahn (Etymol. Untersuchungen, 69) however concludes, after an elaborate investigation, that Gk. χυμεία was probably the original, being first applied to pharmaceutical chemistry, which was chiefly concerned with juices or infusions of plants; that the pursuits of the Alexandrian alchemists were a subsequent development of chemical study, and that the notoriety of these may have caused the name of the art to be popularly associated with the ancient name of Egypt[1], and spelt χημεία, χημία, as in Diocletian's decree. From the Alexandrians the art and name were adopted by the Arabs, whence they returned to Europe by the way of Spain.' If then we assign *alchemy* to this root, we must of course also refer hither the words *alchemist*, *alchymist*, *chemist*, and *chymist*. In Latin we have the extended root GHEUD in the verb *fundere*, to pour, pt. t. *fūd-i*, pp. *fu-sum* (for **fud-sum*); hence numerous *borrowed* E. words, such as *fuse*, *con-fuse*, *dif-fuse*, *ef-fuse*, *in-fuse*, *re-fuse*, *fus-ion*, *suf-fus-ion*, *trans-fuse* (from the supine); *con-found*, *re-fund* (from the infinitive); *fut-ile*, *con-fute*, *re-fute* (cf. the O. Lat. pp. *fū-tus* = **fud-tus* as well as *fu-sus*); also *fusil*, in the sense of easily molten; *foison*, plenty, O. F. *foison*, abundance, from Lat. acc. *fusionem*, pouring out, profusion. See Concise Etym. Dict. p. 166,

[1] I have little doubt that Mahn is right. Medieval etymologists delighted in startling and far-fetched associations, which had all the air of profound learning. The derivation from Gk. was too simple to please them; but the association of the word with Egypt was just what they desired.

col. 2. The Lat. *fundere* also appears as F. *fondre*, whence E. *found*, in the sense 'to cast metals,' and the derived sb. *font*, *fount*, an assortment of types, as well as *found-ry*. This Lat. root GHEUD answers to Teut. GEUT, appearing in Goth. *giut-an*, A. S. *géot-an*, to pour, a verb of the *choose*-conjugation, with the 3rd stem *gut-* and the 4th stem *got-*. A derivative of the 3rd stem is *gut*, and of the 4th stem *in-got*, as already shewn (§ 177). The root GHEUS occurs in the Icel. *gjós-a*, to pour, having for its 2nd stem *gaus*, its 3rd stem *gus-*, and its 4th *gos-*. From the 2nd stem is formed, by the usual *i*-mutation of Icel. *au* to *ey*, the weak verb *geys-a*, to gush, and the sb. *geys-ir*, a 'gusher,' a hot spring. From the 3rd stem is formed the Icel. weak verb *gus-a*, to gush, borrowed by us in the form *gush*. It deserves to be added that the A. S. *géot-an*, to pour, became M. E. *yet-en*, to pour, to fuse metals; whence the sb. *yet-ere*, a fuser of metals, used by Wyclif in Jerem. vi. 29, where the A. V. has *founder* (actually from the same root). 'From this word *yeter* was formed the compound *belle-yeter*, i.e. bell-founder, a word duly recorded in the Promptorium Parvulorum, written A. D. 1440, and edited by Mr. Way for the Camden Society. At p. 538 of this edition, Mr. Way has duly noted that the term *belle-yeter* still survives in *Billiter* Lane, London, as being the locality where foundries were anciently established. In this case the *ye* has become *i*, and we note, as a final result, that nothing is now left but this short vowel *i* of the root GHEU from which we started[1].' If we now collect all the results, we see that the root GHEU has given us, through the Greek, the words *chyme*, *chyle*, and probably *alchemy*, *chemist* or *chymist*, *chemistry*, and *chemical*; that the root GHEUD has given us, through the Latin and

[1] On the Study of Anglo-Saxon, by W. W. Skeat; in Macmillan's Magazine, Feb. 1879, p. 308. Stowe derives *Billiter* from a Mr. *Bell-zetar*, who once resided there. It comes to the same thing, as he was named from his trade; *zetar* = *yetar*, founder.

French, *fuse* with its derivatives; also *found* with its derivatives; *confound*, *refund*, *futile*, *confute*, *refute*, *fusil*, *foison*; that the Teut. root GEUT has given us E. *gut* and *ingot*, and even the *-it-er* in *Billiter* Lane; and that the root GHEUS has given us the Scand. words *gush* and *geysir*. As before, we should particularly notice the extraordinary variation in form in the case of such words as *chyme*, *fuse*, and *gut*, though the student who knows Grimm's Law can at once see that they begin with equivalent letters. Cf. § 105, p. 123.

§ **272.** The above examples must suffice to exemplify the manner in which words can be traced back to roots, or derived from them. I shall conclude this chapter with some remarks on the prolific root SEK, to cut, as well as upon several other roots which seem to have a similar meaning, viz. the roots SKAD, SKID, SKAP, SKER, SKARP, SKALP, SKUR, and SKRU. The root SEK, to cut, is well seen in the Lat. *sec-are*, to cut, *sec-uris*, an axe, *sec-ula*, a sickle, *seg-mentum* (for **sec-mentum*), a segment, a piece cut off; perhaps also *ser-ra*, a saw (if put for **sec-era*), may be from this root. The following words of Latin origin, and containing this root, have been imported into English: *sec-ant*, *co-sec-ant*, *sec-tor*, *seg-ment*, *bi-sect*, *dis-sect*, *inter-sect*, *tri-sect*; and, through the medium of French, *in-sect*, *sci-on* (a cutting, slip of a plant), *sect-ion*. The word *sickle*, though found in A. S. as *sic-ol*, is merely borrowed from the Lat *sec-ula*; see Concise Etym. Dict., p. 421. The word *serrated* (from Lat. *serra*) may also belong here. Some explain *sax-um* (=**sac-sum*) as a sharp stone (cf. A. S. *seax*, a knife); if so, we may add the words *saxifrage*, a French form, and *sass-afras*, which is Spanish. The root SEK is not confined to Latin; it occurs also in Russ. *siek-ira*, an axe, Lith. *syk-is*, a blow; whilst in Teutonic it takes the form SEG, whence O. H. G. *seg-ansa*, M. H. G. *seg-ense*, now contracted to G. *Sense*, a scythe; as well as the following (which are of especial interest),

viz. A. S. *sag-u*, E. *saw*; A. S. *síðe*, older form *sig-ðe*[1], a sithe, now absurdly spelt *scythe*; and A. S. *secg* (=**sag-já*), a sword, hence sword-grass, E. *sedge*.

§ 273. The root SKAD, to cut, cleave, scatter (Teut. SKAT) appears in Skt. *skhad* (for **skad*), to cut, Gk. σκάζειν (=*σκάδ-γειν), to slit, cut open, or lance a vein; σχέδ-η, a slice, hence a tablet, whence was borrowed Lat. *sched-a*, with its dimin. *sched-ula*, O. F. *schedule*, *cedule*, E. *schedule*; also Lat. *scand-ula* (with inserted *n*), a thin piece of wood, afterwards weakened to *scindula*, and borrowed by E. in the corrupt form *shingle*, meaning a wooden tile. The Teut. SKAT appears in the E. frequentative verb *scatt-er*, to disperse, with its variant *shatt-er*.

§ 274. The root SKID, to cut, divide, occurs in the Gk. σχίζειν (= *σχίδγειν), Lat. *scind-ere*; whence (from Greek) the borrowed words *schism*, *schist*, *zest* (F. *zest*, *zeste* = Lat. *schistus*), *squill* (Gk. σκίλλα, Lat. *scilla*, *squilla*, F. *squille*); and (from Latin) *ab-scind*, *re-scind*, *ab-scissa*. In close connection with these we have the native E. words *shed*, *shide*, *sheath*, *sheathe*, and the Scand. word *skid*; but it is difficult to tell whether we are to refer these to an Aryan base SKIDH (Fick, i. 815) or to an Aryan SKIT, which may be regarded as a variant of SKID (see Kluge). Either from SKID or SKIDH we have Lat *cæd-ere*, to cut, with loss of initial *s*.[2]; *cæs-ura*, *circum-cise*, and (through the French) *de-cide*, *con-cise*, *in-cise*, *pre-cise*, *ex-cis-ion*, and the suffix *-cide* in *homi-cide*, *parri-cide*, &c.; also *chis-el* and *sciss-ors* (for *cis-ors*, M. E. *cis-oures*), the last word being misspelt owing to a false etymology from Lat. *scindere*.

§ 275. The root SKAP, shortened in Greek to KAP or

[1] The form *sigðe* is vouched for by the still earlier spelling *sigdi* (= *sigði*), which is found in the Epinal Gloss. ed. Sweet, p. 9, col. 29, where the Lat. *falces* (*sic*) is glossed by *uudubil*, *sigdi*, *riftr*, i.e. a wood-bill, scythe, or sickle.

[2] Latin and Greek often drop an initial *s* in such compounds as *sk* and *sp*, whereas Teutonic commonly retains it.

KOP, to cut, appears in Gk. κόπ-τειν, to cut, whence the Greek words *apo-cope*, *syn-cope*, *comma*, and (through Latin) *cap-on*. Also perhaps in A. S. *sceap-an*, *scap-an*, E. *shape*, which seems to keep the Aryan P, if such a result be possible. Also (with irregular weakening of P to Teut. B), E. *shave*, *shaf-t*, *scab*, *shabb-y*. And lastly, perhaps (with loss of *s*), E. *chop*, *chap* (to split open), *chip*, and the Scand. *chump*.

§ **276**. The root SKER, to cut, shear, clip, appears in A. S. *scer-an* (pt. t. *scær*), E. *shear*, with the allied words *share*, *shire*, *shore*, *shor-t*, *shir-t*, *shar-d*, *sher-d*, *score*, and the Scand. words *scar* or *scaur*, *skerr-y*, *skir-t*. The phrase *sheer off* is borrowed from Dutch; cf. E. 'cut away.' Our *scarify* (F. *scarifier*) is from the Lat. *scarificare*; but this is only a loan-word from Gk. σκαρ-ιφάομαι, I scarify, scratch. It is also possible that *character* (from Gk. χαρ-άσσειν, to furrow, scratch) may be from this root; perhaps also *cuir-ass*, O. F. *cuirace*, Low Lat. *coratia*, from Lat. *cor-ium* (for **skor-ium*, cf. Lith. *skur-à*, hide, skin, leather); as well as *scourge*.

§ **277**. The root SKER appears also as SKEL, to cleave, with the common change of R to L; cf. Lith. *skél-ti*, to cleave, Icel. *skil-ja*, to divide. Hence the native E. words *scale*, *shell*, the Scand. words *scall*, *skull*, *skill*, and the mod. E. *shale*, borrowed from G. *Schale*, a shell, husk, hence a thin stratum.

§ **278**. The root SKARP also seems to have borne the sense of to cut, or pierce. Hence we may perhaps derive the Gk. σκορπ-ίος, a scorpion, stinging insect, whence E. *scorp-ion* (through French and Latin); also the A. S. *sceard*, E. *sharp*. *Scarp*, *counter-scarp*, and *e-scarp-ment* are F. words of Teutonic origin. From the same root are E. *scarf* and Scand. *skarf*; also, with shifting of *r*, E. *scrape*, and the Scand. *scrap*, a small portion, and *scrip*, a wallet.

The initial *s* is lost in Lat. *carp-ere*, to pluck, Lith. *kerp-u*, I shear (infin. *kirp-ti*); hence E. *ex-cerp-t*, and

(through the French) *s-car-ce.* The root KARP (which thus results from the loss of *s*) appears as HARF in Teutonic; whence A. S. *hærf-est*, E. *harv-est*, that which is cut or cropped.

§ 279. The root SKARP also appears as SKALP, with change of R to L, as in Lat. *scalp-ere*, to cut, whence the borrowed Lat. word *scalp-el*; closely allied is the Lat. *sculp-ere*, to carve, cut out, whence (through French) E. *sculp-ture*[1]. Moreover, just as from the root SKEL, in the sense to divide, to split, we have the words *shell* and *skull*, so from SKALP we have the words *scallop* and *scalp*. The spelling *scallop* is due to the O. F. *escalope*, a F. adaptation of Middle Du. *schelpe*, a shell. The E. *shelf*, a thin board, also belongs here.

§ 280. Another root with a like sense appears in the form SKUR, as seen in Skt. *kshur* (for **skur*), to cut, Gk. *σκῦρ-ον*, chippings of stone, *ξυρ-όν*, a razor; here perhaps belongs Lat. *cur-tus* (for **skur-tus*?), cut short, whence E. *curt*. We also find a root which takes the form SKRU, as in Lat. *scru-pulus*, a small sharp stone, whence (through the French) the E. *scru-ple*; also in Lat. *scru-ta*, pl., broken pieces, whence *scrut-ari*, to search minutely (as if amongst broken pieces), and E. *scru-tiny*. The same root SKRU, to cut, has given us the E. words *shrou-d*, orig. a strip, shred of cloth, *shre-d*, *scree-d*; and finally, the word *scro-ll*, signifying 'small shred,' a French diminutive from the Middle Dutch spelling of *shred*.

§ 281. A review of the preceding sections (272–280) will shew how prolific in derivatives has been the root SEK, to cut, with the somewhat similar roots bearing a like signification. Further information concerning such of the words as are not fully explained here is given in my Etymological Dictionary. I hope that sufficient examples have

[1] The Gk. *γλύφ-ειν*, to cut, is generally supposed to be cognate with Lat. *sculp-ere*. Hence E. *hiero-glyph-ic*.

been given to illustrate the method of tracing modern E. words to their roots. The general process may be described as follows:—Trace the word back to its oldest spelling; strip off the affixes, whether prefixed or suffixed; examine the vowel-sound and see whether it has been, or could be, affected by mutation or gradation or both; compare the parallel forms in other Teutonic languages, which should also be stripped of affixes. Hence the Teutonic base or root-form can usually be at once perceived, and by the assistance of Grimm's Law (and of Verner's Law, if necessary) the corresponding Aryan root-form can be inferred, and should be compared with the known Aryan roots as given in the Supplement to my Dictionary, or by Fick, Vaniček, and others; though it must be remembered that the vowel-sounds in these lists are frequently incorrectly given, and should be corrected by comparison with such works as Brugmann's Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen, in which the latest results of a closer investigation of the vowel-sounds are accurately given. A complete list of the Roots and Verb-forms of the Sanskrit Language, by Professor Whitney, has lately been published.

CHAPTER XVI.

Modern English Spelling.

§ 282. The subject of modern English spelling has been to some extent considered in Lect. VIII. of Archbishop Trench's well-known and, in the main, excellent work entitled 'English Past and Present.' But a perusal of that chapter will shew that it merely discusses certain spellings from a supposed 'etymological' point of view, and does not at all attempt to deal with the only question of real importance, viz. what is the true *history* of our spelling, and how came we to spell words as we do. I make particular reference to this chapter, because I believe that it has unfortunately done more harm than good, as it is altogether founded on a false principle, such as no scientific etymologist would endorse, in the present state of our knowledge. This false principle is, that our spelling ought to be such as to guide the ordinary reader to the *etymology* of the word, because there is 'a multitude of persons, neither accomplished scholars on the one side, nor yet wholly without the knowledge of all languages save their own[1] on the other; and it is of great value that these should have all helps enabling them to recognise the words which they are using, whence they came, to what words in other languages they are nearly related, and what is their properest and

[1] But this is just what Englishmen commonly do *not* know; they know the original forms of the foreign elements of English far better than they know those of the native core of it.

strictest meaning.' This specious argument has imposed upon many, and will no doubt long continue to do so; but if it be at all carefully examined, it will be found to amount to no more than this, that we ought to spell words derived from Latin and Greek as nearly as possible like the Latin and Greek words from which they are borrowed; and it will be found that most of the examples of the words discussed are taken from those languages. No doubt Latin and Greek form an important element in the English language; but it may be replied that these are commonly the words which are least altered by pronunciation, and would be least affected by phonetic spelling. However, the real point is this, that the most important elements of our language are neither Latin nor Greek, but English, Scandinavian, and French. The English and Scandinavian elements are very carefully kept out of sight by Trench, except in a very few instances; and the French element is treated very briefly and unsatisfactorily; indeed, a careful treatment of it would have told the other way. Now, if we are to spell modern English words so as to insinuate their derivation from Latin and Greek, much more ought we to spell them so as to point out their descent from native English, Scandinavian, and Old French. Yet this is a matter quite ignored by the general public, for the simple reason that they are commonly very ignorant of Early English, Icelandic, and Anglo-French, and so care absolutely nothing about the matter so far as these languages are concerned. Even Latin and Greek they know only by *sight*, not by *sound*; and there are probably many worthy people who believe that the modern English pronunciation of Latin accurately reproduces the sounds used by Vergil and Horace. Yet if the argument for 'etymological' spelling is to be used at all, it must apply with far greater force to the words which form the backbone of the language than to such as have merely been borrowed in order to augment its vocabulary.

§ 283. But the truth is, that no one can possibly be in a position to judge as to the extent to which our spelling ought to be conformed (if at all) to that of Greek and Latin—for this is what the supporters of the (so-called) etymological[1] spelling really mean—until he has first made himself acquainted with the *history* of our spelling and of our language. The plain question is simply this—how came we to spell as we do, and how is it that the written symbol so frequently gives a totally false impression of the true sound of the spoken word? Until this question has been more or less considered, it is impossible to concede that a student can know what he is talking about, or can have any right to be heard. It is surely a national disgrace to us, to find that the wildest arguments concerning English spelling and etymology are constantly being used even by well-educated persons, whose ignorance of Early English pronunciation and of modern English phonetics is so complete, that they have no suspicion whatever of the amazing worthlessness of their ludicrous utterances. If a slight popular account, such as is here offered, may tend to modify some of the common current errors, this chapter will serve a useful purpose. I cannot find that any writers have handled this question generally, excepting Mr. Ellis and Mr. Sweet[2]; and excellent as their books are, they are intended rather for the more advanced student than for the beginner. For this reason, I here attempt to give a general idea of this difficult subject, though conscious that the details are so numerous

[1] It is really a gross misnomer to call that spelling 'etymological' which merely imitates the spelling of a dead language. Every student is (or should be) aware that the only true 'etymological' spelling is one which is *phonetic*. It is the sound of the spoken word which has to be accounted for; and all symbols which disguise this sound are faulty and worthless. If our old writers had not used a phonetic system, we should have no true data to go by.

[2] On Early English Pronunciation, by A. J. Ellis; Trübner and Co. The History of English Sounds, by H. Sweet; Trübner and Co. A Handbook of Phonetics, by H. Sweet; Clarendon Press.

and important that any mere sketch must be more or less a failure. It will, however, be easy to shew that, as a matter of history, the notion of so-called 'etymological' spelling is a purely *modern* one, a thing never dreamt of in the earlier periods, but the fond invention of meddling pedants who frequently made ludicrous mistakes in their needless zeal.

§ **284.** To understand our modern spelling, we must begin at the very beginning, and shortly consider the history of the *symbols* which have been used in English from time to time. The characters employed by the ancient Britons were those of the Roman alphabet. There may have been more than one school of writing, and some at least of the British scribes modified a few of the Roman characters in a way peculiarly their own. These modified characters have continued in use, in writing and printing Irish, to the present day; such books as O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary or any modern Irish Grammar will shew what this modified alphabet is like. When the English conquerors of Britain took to writing, they naturally adopted, in the main, the same alphabet, which may be described as a Roman alphabet with certain Celtic and English modifications. In the time of Elizabeth, an Anglo-Saxon sermon by Ælfric was printed by John Daye in 1567, in types imitating the characters used in Anglo-Saxon MSS., and I here give the modern Irish alphabet and the Anglo-Saxon alphabet as usually represented by such printed types; they are near enough to the manuscript forms to give a sufficient notion of the manner in which the Roman alphabet was treated.

IRISH PRINTED ALPHABET.—A b C d e f g h i . l m n o p . R S t u . . . a b c d e f g h i . l m n o p . r s t u . . .

ANGLO-SAXON ALPHABET.—A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P . R S T U X Y Z (*also*) Þ Ð Ƿ Æ. a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p . r s (*also written* ſ) t u x ẏ z (*also*) þ ð ƿ æ.

The only noticeable points in the Irish alphabet are: the absence of *k*, *q*, *w*, *x*, *y*, and *z*; the peculiar forms of the capitals, especially *G* and *T*; and the peculiar forms of the small

letters *d*, *f*, *g*, and especially *r*, *s*, and *t*. The Roman *r* is exaggerated, and the *s* much disguised[1]. In the A. S. alphabet, the capitals *C* and *G* are squared; and the peculiar Celtic modifications of the small letters are clearly seen. There are also three additional consonantal symbols, viz. Þ and Ð (þ and ð), both used to denote *th*; and Ƿ (ƿ), used to denote *w*[2]. The letter þ, as shewn by its ruder form on Runic monuments, is merely a Roman D with the straight side-stroke prolonged both upwards and downwards. It was formerly called *thorn*, by association with the initial sound of that word, and is still conveniently called 'the thorn-letter.' The letter Ð (ð), sometimes named *eth*, is merely 'a crossed D,' i. e. a modification of D made by adding a cross-stroke. The MSS. use these symbols for the sounds of *th* in *thin* and *th* in *thine* indifferently, though it would have been a considerable gain if they had been used regularly. The symbol Æ (æ) was used in Anglo-Saxon to denote the peculiar sound of *a* as heard in the mod. E. *cat, apple*. It may be observed that the *i* was not dotted in either alphabet; but, on the other hand, a dot is commonly added over the A. S. *y*. The numerous vowel-sounds in A. S. were provided for by the use of accents for marking long vowels[3], and by combining vowel-symbols to represent diphthongs. In most modern editions of A.S. MSS., the old modified forms of the Roman letters are very sensibly replaced by the Roman letters themselves, as represented by modern types; we are thus enabled to print Anglo-Saxon in the ordinary type, by merely adding to

[1] Nine additional symbols in the Irish alphabet are gained by placing a dot over each of the characters for *b*, *c*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *m*, *p*, *s*, *t*.

[2] I identify this letter, as every one else does, with the Runic letter called *wén*, which also denoted *w*. I further identify it, as some do, with the Gothic letter for *w*. And I believe, as perhaps no one else does, that it is merely a form of the Greek Υ (capital *υ*).

[3] In A. S. MSS. the accents are freely omitted wherever the length of the vowel is obvious to a person well acquainted with the language, which was the case with those for whom the early scribes wrote. The later MSS. insert them more frequently, to prevent ambiguity.

the alphabet the consonantal symbols þ and ð[1]. Some editors retain the A. S. ƿ in place of *w*, a practice altogether to be condemned. It only makes the words harder to read, and introduces innumerable misprints of ƿ for þ or *p*, and of þ for ƿ or *p*, without any advantage whatever. German editors replace *w* by *v*, a practice which no Englishman can well approve.

§ **285.** The values of the A. S. symbols may be briefly stated thus. The consonants *b*, *d*, *h*, *k*[2], *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *t*, *w*, *x*, had their present values, and are, in fact, the only really stable symbols in English spelling, excepting such groups of symbols as *bl*, *br*, *cl*, *cr*, *dr*, *fl*, *fr*, *gl*, *gr*, *pl*, *pr*, and the like, which denote combinations of sounds such as cannot easily alter. *C* was hard (like *k*) in all positions, but was liable to be followed by an intrusive short vowel, written *e*; hence such forms as *ceaf* (for **caf*), *sceán* (for *scán*), producing the mod. E. *chaff*, *shone*, instead of **kaff*, **skone*. Cf. Du. *kaf*, G. *Kaff*, chaff; Icel. *skein*, shone. Similarly, *g* was properly hard, but was also liable to be followed by the same intrusive sound, likewise written *e*; the resulting *ge*, at first sounded nearly as *gy* in the occasional old-fashioned London usage of *gyarden* for *garden*, soon passed into *y*; cf. A. S. *geard*, E. *yard*; Icel. *garðr*, prov. E. *garth*. In some words, as *geoc*, a *yoke*, the *ge* seems to have been sounded as *y* from the very first. *F* is assumed by Mr. Sweet (A. S. Reader, p. xxviii) to have been uniformly sounded as *v*[3]. This may have been true (as it still is) of the

[1] We also require the long vowels, viz. *á*, *é*, *í*, *ó*, *ú*, *ý*, *ǽ*. Many printing-presses pretend to be able to print Anglo-Saxon, because they have such useless types as the old-fashioned forms of *r*, *s*, *t*, &c.; but they lack such indispensable letters as *ý* and *ǽ*, and print *y* and *æ* instead, as if it made no sort of difference!

[2] *K* is not common; yet it is found occasionally in MSS. of very early date. After 1100 it is common enough in certain words. The sound is always hard, as now.

[3] At p. xiv we are told it was *f* before hard consonants, as in *oft*.

Wessex dialect commonly called Anglo-Saxon, but cannot have been universally the case in Mercian and Anglian, as numerous English words still have the sound of *f*, especially initially; yet there can be no doubt that the sound of *v* was common in all Old English, and that there was only the one symbol *f* to represent the sounds of both *f* and *v*. *F* between two vowels was probably sounded as *v*, even in Mercian; cf. A. S. (and Mercian) *líf* with E. *life*, and A. S. dat. *on lífe* (lit. in life) with E. *a-live*. The sound now denoted by *qu* was written *cw*, as in *cwén*, a queen. *R* differed very greatly from the mod. E. *r* in being fully trilled, not only in such words as *nearu*, E. *narrow*; *from*, E. *from*; *riht*, E. *right*, where it is still trilled, but in all other cases. In many words, such as *bern*, a barn, *earm*, an arm, the modern English has utterly lost the true trilled sound; though, strange to say, there are thousands who imagine that they pronounce this *r* when they only give the sound of the *aa* in *baa* to the preceding vowel, which is a very different matter[1]. *S* is assumed by Mr. Sweet (A. S. Reader, p. xv) to have had the sound of *z*, except in words like *strang*, strong, *fæst*, fast; here again I suppose that this statement refers only to the Wessex dialect (in which it is *z* still), and not to the Mercian and Anglian dialects, in which initial *s* was one of the commonest of sounds; yet even in these it must often have passed into the sound of *z* between two vowels and finally; cf. A. S. *fréosan* with mod. E. *freeze*, and A. S. *is* with mod. E. *iz* (as it is invariably pronounced). On the other hand, the Mercian (and A. S.) *ís* is the mod. E. *ice*, and I find it difficult to believe that, in this word, the *s* was ever pronounced like *z* even in the Wessex dialect. I suppose that the sound of *z* was common in all Old English, although there was, prac-

[1] An Englishman associates the sound of *barn* with the written appearance of the word, and calls it 'pronouncing the *r*' when he pronounces the word like the German *Bahn*. He should ask an Italian to pronounce the word, if he wants to hear the trill.

tically, but one symbol (*s*) to denote both *s* and *z*[1]. This is in some measure the case still; for, though we find that *ce* (as in *twice*) and *c* (as in *city*) are used to denote the true sound of *s*, the symbol *s* is itself still used with a double meaning (as in *sin, rise*). Unfortunately, the admission of *z* into our writing has been very grudgingly allowed; so that whilst *z* is one of the commonest of *sounds*, the eye sees the *symbol* but seldom. Shakespeare was for once mistaken in calling *z* an 'unnecessary' letter; for it might have been used very freely in our spelling with very great advantage.

§ 286. The A. S. vowel-system was fairly complete, the whole number of symbols being eighteen, viz. *a, e, i, o, u, y* (at first written *ie*), *á, é, í, ó, ú, ý* (at first written *íe*), *æ, ea, eo, ǽ, éa, éo*. For a full account of them, see Sweet's A. S. Reader. We may say that the A. S. alphabet was, on the whole, nearly sufficient for representing all the words of the language by purely phonetic methods. There was a guttural sound like that of the G. *ch*; but this was sufficiently provided for by using the symbol *h* with this power in every position except initially, where, not being wanted for this purpose, it could be used for the initial aspirate. The chief defects of the alphabet were the double use of *f* (for the sounds of *f* and *v*), the double use of *s* (for the sounds of *s* and *z*); and the ambiguous use of þ, ð for the sounds of *th* in *thin* and *th* in *thine*. Even these defects were much lessened in practice by the position of the symbols in the words. Briefly, we may fairly call the A. S. system a purely *phonetic* system, and may assign to most of the symbols their usual *Latin* values, so that the vowels *a, e, i, o, u* (all of which were lengthened when accented) had the same values as in modern Italian; whilst *y* had the sound of the G. *ü* in *übel*, and *ea, eo, éa, éo* were diphthongs whose component parts were pronounced as written. The most characteristic Old

[1] The A.S. symbol *z* is very rare, and was probably sounded as *ts*; it occurs in names such as *Nazareth, Zabulon*, &c.

English sounds are those of the diphthongs just mentioned; of *a* in *cat*, written *æ*; the guttural *h*, as in *riht*, mod. E. *right* (where the guttural is still preserved to the eye); the varying */h*, denoted uncertainly by þ and ð; and the familiar modern E. *w*[1]. One result of the A. S. phonetic spelling is, that it is not uniform, being found to vary from time to time and in different places, owing to varieties of pronunciation; but it is usually intelligible and faithful, and in the truest sense 'etymological,' precisely because it is phonetic. When a word like *episcopus* was borrowed from Latin, and popularly pronounced as *biscop*, it was spelt as pronounced; there was no thought of turning it into *piscop* or *episcop* merely to insinuate that it was borrowed from Latin, and that the scribe knew it to be so borrowed. There was then no attempt on the part of pedants to mark the supposed derivation of a word by conforming the spelling of a word to that of its presumed original.

§ 287. **A.D. 1150–1300.** As time wore on, some of the sounds slowly changed, but fortunately the spelling changed with them in many important particulars. We may notice the growing confusion, in the latest Anglo-Saxon, between the use of the symbols *i* and *y*, so that the word *him* is often badly spelt *hym*, whilst, on the other hand, we find *cining* for *cyning*, a king. The sounds denoted by those symbols were becoming difficult to distinguish. Sufficient examples of the spelling of the period from 1150 to 1300 may be found in Morris's Specimens of Early English, Part I, 2nd edition. The alphabet is discussed at p. xix of the Introduction, and the phonology at pp. xxv–xxxi. As regards the alphabet, we may notice (1) the increasing use of *k*, especially to denote

[1] This sound was common in early Latin, being written *u*, as in *uinum*, whence E. *wine*. But the Latin *u*-consonant had already become *v* before the earliest period of written English, and hence the use of the rune *wén* for the sound of *w*. Such Latin words as *wall*, *wine*, *wick* may have been learnt on the continent or from the Britons; the *w* shews their antiquity. See Chapter XXI.

the hard sound of *c* before *e* and *i*, where there might otherwise be some doubt as to the sound, because the French scribes understood *c* before *e* and *i* to have the sound of *s*; (2) the use of the symbol ȝ[1] to denote the sound of *y* at the beginning of a word (as in *ȝe=ye*) or of the guttural *h* (or *gh*) in the middle of a word (as in *liȝt=light*); (3) the use of *gh* for the A. S. *h* when guttural; and (4) the introduction of *u* as a *consonantal* symbol to denote *v*, this *u* being distinguished from the vowel *u* chiefly by its occurrence between two vowels, the latter of which is commonly *e*. The converse use of *v* for the vowel *u* (chiefly initially, as in *vp* for *up*) is also found, but was silly and needless[2]. By way of examples, we may note (1) the spellings *kene*, mod. E. *keen*, for A. S. *céne*, and *kin* for A. S. *cyn*; (2) *ȝe*, mod. E. *ye*, for A. S. *ge*, and *liȝt* for A. S. *liht*; (3) *light* as an alternative for *liȝt*, for A. S. *liht*, as before; (4) *eue*, *euere*, mod. E. *eve*, *ever*, for A. S. *æfen*, *æfre*. We must also particularly notice that the A. S. *c* and *sc* now become *ch* and *sch* (new symbols), especially before *e* and *i*; and that the symbol *y* begins to be used for the consonant *y*, though it is also a vowel. The A. S. *hl*, *hn*, *hr*, become merely *l*, *n*, *r*; *cw* is replaced by *kw* and *qu*, the latter being a French symbol which soon prevailed over *kw* entirely; *hw* is written *wh*; þ is preferred to ð initially; and the initial *ge-* (prefix) becomes *i-*. Examples of these changes may be seen in *cherl*, mod. E. *churl*, for A. S. *ceorl*, and *child* for A. S. *cild*; *scheden*, mod. E. *shed*, for A. S. *sceádan*, and *schinen*, E. *shine*, for A. S. *scínan*; *yonge*, E. *young*, for A. S. *geong*; *lauerd*, E. *lord*, for A. S. *hláford*; *note*, E. *nut*, for A. S. *hnut*; *renden*, E. *rend*, for A. S. *hrendan*; *kwene*, later *quene*, E. *queen*, for A. S. *cwén*; *whi*, E. *why*, for

[1] This symbol is merely a peculiar form of *g*, very like the A. S. *g*. A new (French) form of *g* was used for *g* itself.

[2] The symbol ƿ (A.S. *w*) disappears about A.D. 1280; it occurs about five times in Havelok the Dane. It was replaced at first by *uu*, but afterwards by *w* (a French symbol) as at present. This change in no way concerned the pronunciation.

A. S. *hwý*; *þah*, E. *though* (with initial þ), *wiđ*, E. *with* (with final ð); *i-boren*, E. *born*, for A.S. *geboren*. The vowel-scheme of this period is too complex to be discussed here; but we may particularly note the disappearance of *æ*, the place of which was supplied by *e* or *a*; the disappearance, in the thirteenth century, of *ea* and *eo*, whether long or short; and the sudden disappearance of accentual marks, so that it is not always easy to tell whether the vowel is long or short. We have also to remember that we have now to deal with *three* written dialects.

This is also the period when French words began to be introduced, with the same spelling and pronunciation as that which they had in the Anglo-French MSS. of the same time; and it must be particularly noticed that the sounds of the French vowels did not then differ materially from the sounds of the corresponding English vowels, so that the French words required no violent alteration to adapt them for English use. The spelling still remained fairly phonetic and therefore etymological; it is occasionally ambiguous, but not so to any great or important extent. For a careful discussion of the pronunciation of two important works of this period, viz. the Ancren Riwle and the Ormulum, see Sweet's First Middle English Primer. We must particularly remember that, in this thirteenth century and in the century succeeding it, the English language was practically *re-spelt according to the Anglo-French method* by scribes who were familiar with Anglo-French. This is clearly shewn by the use of *qu* for *cw*, as in *quene* (queen) for A. S. *cwén*; of *c* with the sound of *s* before *e* and *i*, as in *certain*, *cite* (city); of *u* and *y* as consonants, as in *euere* (ever), *ye* (ye); of *ay* and *ey* for *ai* and *ei* occasionally, as in *day* for *dai*, from A. S. *dæg*, *they* or *þey* for *þei*, from Icel. *þeir*, they; of the symbols *v*, *w*, and *ch*; of *i* with the sound of *j* (as in *ioie*, joy), &c. These scribes also replaced the 'Anglo-Saxon' or Celtic forms of *d*, *f*, *g*, *r*, *s*, and *t* by letters of a continental type; but they retained ſ (as a form of *s*) together with *s*. One vowel-change is too remarkable to

be passed over, viz. the disappearance of the A. S. *á*, i. e. long *a*, owing to the change of sound from *aa* in *baa* to that of *oa* in *broad*, which was denoted by changing the A. S. spelling *brâd* into the new spellings *broad*[1], *brood*. Consequently, as Mr. Sweet remarks, the true *ā* (long *a*) 'occurs only in French words, as in *dame*, lady, dame, *blam-en*, to blame'; which were of course pronounced with the French sound of *a*.

§ 288. We are now in a position to give some account of the symbols in use at the end of the thirteenth century. Omitting the capital letters, which are sufficiently familiar, the list of symbols is as follows: **a b c d e f g h**[2] **i · k l m n o p qu r s** (*also* f) **t u v w x y z** (*very rare*); *also* þ (=*th*)[3] and ȝ (=*y* initially, *gh* medially and finally, and sometimes *z* finally). The two last characters were inherited from the older period; the rest of the letters may be considered as Anglo-French forms of the Roman letters, and the whole system of spelling had become French rather than English. We shall not, however, have the complete list of sound-symbols till we add the compound symbols following, viz. **ch** (rarely written **hc**) **ng ph sch** (also **sh**) **th wh**. Of these, *ch* was pronounced as now, i. e. as *ch* in *choose*, and mostly represents an A. S. *c* (usually when followed by *e* or *i* or *y*), or else it represents an O. F. *ch* as in *change*; *sch* is the modern *sh* in *shall*; *th* was coming into use as an alternative for þ; and *wh* replaced the A. S. *hw*. There is no *j*, but the symbol *i* represented both *i* and *j*. We must also consider the long vowels and diphthongs. The former were at first not distinguished to the eye from the short ones; the latter were **ai** (or **ay**) **au** (or **aw**) **ea**

[1] This spelling did not last long, but soon gave way to *brood*; the modern *broad* is due to a subsequent revival of the symbol *oa*, which is almost, perhaps quite, unknown in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

[2] An aspirate *initially*; otherwise a guttural, later *gh*.

[3] The symbol ð disappears soon after A.D. 1250, except perhaps in rare instances.

ei (or **ey**) **eo ie oa oi** (or **oy**) **ou ui**, for the pronunciation of which see Sweet, First Middle Eng. Primer, p. 2. Sometimes we find **eu** (or **ew**). When the hard *c* is doubled, it is written *kk*; a double *ch* is written *cch*[1]; a double *s* is sometimes written *sc* (as in *blesced*), but the same symbol, viz. *sc*, could be used for *sk* or even for *sh*.

§ 289. **A. D. 1300–1400.** Passing on to the fourteenth century, the reader will find sufficient examples of the spelling in Specimens of English, ed. Morris and Skeat, Part II; or in the extracts from Chaucer published by the Clarendon Press[2]. I shall here describe the spelling found in my edition of the Man of Lawes Tale, which, though occasionally normalised, is strictly founded on that of the excellent Ellesmere MS., written about A.D. 1400. The consonants are much the same as in the thirteenth century. The symbol þ remains in occasional use, but *th* is very commonly used instead. A new symbol *gh*, still in use, is employed for the guttural sound written *h* in A. S. But the vowel-symbols are somewhat altered; the old *ea*[3] *oa*[4], disappear, *ui* is rare, and the system of *doubling* the vowels, to indicate length, begins to prevail, giving us *aa*, *ee*, *oo*; and sometimes *y* for the long *i*. *Eo* is hardly ever used, except in *peopel*, more commonly *pepel* (people), or even *poeple*. The reader is particularly referred to the description of Chaucer's pronunciation by Mr. Ellis, reprinted (by his kind permission) in the Introduction to my edition of Chaucer's Man of Lawes Tale, 2nd ed., 1879, p. x.

[1] An expressive symbol; for the sound is really that of a final or *implosive* sound, followed by the true *ch* or *explosive* sound; as in *fec-chen*, to fetch.

[2] In Morris's edition of the Prologue, the symbols *v* and *j* are introduced with their modern values; the MSS. have only *u* for *v* (also *v* for *u*) and *i*.

[3] *Ea* is sometimes written in *ease*, *please*, but *ese* (or *eese*) and *plese* are commoner. In the fifteenth century *ea* remained scarce, but was afterwards revived.

[4] *Oa* quite disappears, but was revived in the sixteenth century.

§ **290.** The preceding account may suffice to give some idea of the earlier modes of spelling; but now that we have reached the close of the fourteenth century, it is worth while to examine the symbols carefully, because we are fast approaching the period when modern English spelling was practically formed and fixed. The spelling of the Man of Lawes Tale does not *essentially* differ from that of the present day, in spite of the vast changes that have come over our pronunciation. The principal difference is, after all, due to the loss of the final *e* in the spoken word. Since the year 1400, the form of the words to the eye has not *greatly* changed, though the sounds intended are very different. This statement may seem a little startling at first[1], but a careful examination will shew that much of the apparent strangeness of Chaucer's language is due to changes in grammar and vocabulary rather than to any *sweeping* changes in the system of spelling then in vogue. I shall now give a *complete* list of all the symbols in use about A.D. 1400. A specimen of the spelling of this period will be found in the APPENDIX. See also pp. 24, 29, 34, 37.

§ **291.** The vowels are: **a e i o u** (also written **v**, initially) **y** (for *i*, especially when long) **w** (for **u**, rare) **aa** (rare) **ee oo**. Diphthongs: **ai**, or **ay au**, or **aw ea** (very rare) **ei**, or **ey eo** (rare) **eu**, or **ew ie oe** (very rare) **oi**, or **oy ou**, or **ow ue**[2] **ui**, or **uy**. Consonants: **b c d f g h i** (or capital **I**, for **j**)[3] **k l m n p qu r s** (or **f**) **t v** (or **u**, for **v**) **w x y** (or **ȝ**) **z**. Digraphs, &c.: **ch gh**, or **ȝ gu** (in *guerdon*, i. e. *gw*) **ng ph sch**, sometimes **sh th**, or **þ wh**. Doubled letters: **bb cc dd ff gg kk** (for

[1] Englishmen are so dependent upon the *look* of a word *to the eye*, that even a few comparatively slight changes in spelling fill them with amazement. However, we may notice the symbols *ea* and *oa* in particular, as belonging to Tudor-English, not to Chaucerian spelling.

[2] Mr. Ellis omits *ue* (as in *due*); also *ui*, *uy* (as in *fruit*, *fruyt*).

[3] Also *g*, if followed by *e* or *i*, is used to denote *j*. Indeed, when the sound of *j* ends a word, it always appears as *ge*.

cc or *kk*) rarely **ck ll mm nn pp rr ss** (or **ſs**) **tt**. Biform digraphs, &c.: **cch** (for *chch*) **ssh** (for *shsh* or simple *sh*) **þþ þth** or even **tth** or **thth**. Initial combinations: **bl br cl** (or **kl**) **cr** (or **kr**) **dr dw fl fn** (rare) **fr gl gn gr kn pl pr ps sc** (or **sk**) **sl** (also written **scl**) **sm sn sp squ st sw scr** (or **skr**) **schr** (or **shr**) **spl spr str tr tw thr** (or **þr**) **thw wl** (rare) **wr**. Final combinations[1]: **ct ds fs ft gn ght** (or **ȝt**) **lb ld lf lk lm ln lp ls lt lth lue** (= **lv**) **mb mp nce nch nd ngs ngth nk ns nt nth ps pt pth rb rc rce rch rd rf rk rl rld rm rn rnd rp rs rsch rst rt rth rue** (= **rv**) **sk sp st ts xt**. Also **ge** (for *ǰ*); **gge** (for *ǰǰ*); **nge** (for *nǰ*); **rgh**, in *thurgh*, through; **mpne**, in *solempne*, solemn.

§ **292.** The reader will at once recognise, in the above list, a large number of familiar symbols which are still in use. The French influence is by this time paramount, as may be seen by comparing the spelling of Middle-English of the fourteenth century with that of the Anglo-French[2] of the same period, as exhibited in the Liber Albus or the Liber Custumarum or the Statutes of the Realm. In order to complete the history of our written forms, all that remains is to notice the principal alterations that have been made in the above list of symbols since A.D. 1400, and to account for omissions from or additions to it. The first point to be noticed is the extraordinary loss (in pronunciation) of the final *-e*, which in so many cases denoted an inflexion of declension or of conjugation in the spoken language. This loss took place early in the fifteenth century in the Midland

[1] These combinations close a word or syllable, as *act(e)*, *act-ion*. Modern English has *bs*, in *slabs*, and other combinations not used in 1400. I omit *bn* in *Ab-ner*, and the like, where the symbols belong to different syllables.

[2] The term 'Anglo-French' is absolutely necessary; it denotes the later form of the Norman-French introduced at the Conquest; for this dialect, as adopted in England, had a different development from that of the French of Normandy.

dialect, but had already taken place in the Northern dialect in the fourteenth. The result was not a little remarkable, and is of supreme importance in explaining the spelling of modern English. I will therefore endeavour to explain it carefully.

§ **293.** Let us examine, for example, the history of the words *bone*, *stone*, *cone*; the last of which is not of English, but of Greek origin. The A. S. for *bone* is *bán* (pronounced *baan*), and for *stone* is *stán* (pronounced *staan*, with *aa* as in *baa*). But these forms were only used in the nominative and accusative singular; the genitives singular were *bán-ës*, *stán-ës*, and the datives *bán-ë*, *stán-ë*; all four forms being dissyllabic. The pl. nom. and acc. was *stán-as*. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the sound of *á* changed to that of *oa* in *broad*, denoted (imperfectly) by *oo*, thus giving the forms *boon*, *stoon* (pron. *bawn*, *stawn*). The gen. and dat. sing. should have been written *boones*, *stoones*, *boone*, *stoone*, but it was felt that it was sufficient to write but one *o*, because the reader would unconsciously dwell upon it, and mentally divide the words as *bo-nès*, *sto-nès*, *bo-nè*, *sto-nè* (all dissyllabic), and would thus preserve the length of the vowel. Moreover, in such familiar words, the scribes did not scruple to write *bon*, *ston*, with a single *o*, even in the nom. and acc., trusting that they would easily be recognised, and pronounced with a long vowel. Hence we find the following forms: Sing. nom. and acc. *boon*, *bon*, *stoon*, *ston*; gen. *bonës*, *stonës*[1]; dat. *bonë*, *stonë*; Pl. nom. and acc. *bonës*, *stonës*, forms which were early extended to include the gen. and dat. pl. also. The same forms continued in use in the fourteenth century, but there was a tendency to drop the *e* in the dat. sing. The dat. sing., be it remembered, was then of considerable importance, because it was almost invariably employed after

[1] The two dots over the *e* point out that *-ës* and *-ë* are distinct syllables. If this be forgotten, the whole of the account is ruined. Any one accustomed to mod. German will easily remember this.

certain prepositions, such as *at*, *be* (by), *for*, *from*, *in*, *of*, *on*, *to*. Amongst these, the prep. *of* was in very frequent use, because it was used to translate the French *de*; whence (in addition to *stones*) a new form sprang up to translate the French *de la pierre*, viz. *of the stonë*; and this phrase was possibly regarded even then, as it is always regarded now, as a form of the *genitive* case, though it is none the less, grammatically, a *dative*. It is now easy to see what happened. The nominatives *boon*, *stoon*, or *bon*, *ston*, were confused with the datives *bonë*, *stonë*, often pronounced *bon'*, *ston'*, by the loss of final *e*, and the scribes frequently wrote *bone*, *stone* even where the final *e* was dropped. This habit was particularly common in the North of England and Scotland, because the final *e* was there lost at a time when it was still sounded in the Midland and Southern dialects; and Northern scribes were peculiarly liable to add an idle (and therefore an ignorant) final *e* in places where the same letter was written in the South because it was really sounded[1]. Or even if the Northern scribe spelt correctly, the Midland or Southern scribe who wrote out a piece composed in the Northern dialect would be sure to insert a large number of final *-e*'s quite wrongly, simply because he was used to them. Moreover, the spelling of English *followed French models*, and the Old French abounded in words ending in *-e*, which was once always sounded, but afterwards became mute. Examples are abundant; it may suffice to notice the spelling *lyfe* for *lyf* (nom.) in l. 432 of the Northern poem by Hampole, called the Pricke of Conscience, written about A.D. 1340; see p. 34, line 25. Hence arose, as a matter of course and by mere accident, without any premeditation, the modern English device of writing *bone*, *stone*, where the final *e* is associated with the notion that the preceding vowel is long; so that we now actually regard this *e* as *a means for in-*

[1] The best MS. of Barbour's Bruce, written out by a Scotchman in 1487, abounds with examples of the mute final *-e*.

dicating the length of the preceding vowel[1]! The clumsiness of this device must have struck every one who has ever thought of it, and it certainly would never have been consciously invented by any sane being. It is the greatest stumbling-block in the way of reformed spelling. It is very remarkable, too, that a very similar, but not *exactly* equivalent, result has come about in French, a language which abounds with words ending in *-e*. The French final *e* was formerly always pronounced, but is now silent. It was from French that we borrowed the word *cone* (for which see Cotgrave's F. Dictionary); and, finding that its spelling was exactly in accordance with our own system of spelling *bone* and *stone*, we naturally adopted it *as it was*. The F. *cone* (now *cône*) represents an O. F. *con-ë* (dissyllabic), where the final *-e* represents the *-um* in the Lat. acc. *con-um* (nom. *con-us* = Gk. κῶν-ος), just as the same Lat. suffix is represented by *-o* in the Span. and Ital. *cono*. So also we write *alone*, *atone*, *tone*, *zone*, *crone*, *drone*, &c.; and we even still write *one*, *none*, *gone* (A. S. *án*, *nán*, *gán*), because the vowels in those words were *once long*, and they all once rimed with *bone*.

§ **294.** The loss of the final *-e* as an inflexion was universal, and took place not only in substantives, but in adjectives and verbs also. Thus the A. S. infinitive *ríd-an* became M. E. *rid-en*, or (by loss of *-n*) *rid-e*, and is now *ride*. The A. S. *hwít* (white) was also used in the *definite*[2] form *hwít-a*, whence the M. E. double form *whyt* and *whyt-ë*, the latter being preferred in the modern *white*. On the other hand, the A. S. infinitive *tell-an* became M. E. *tell-ën*, *tell-ë*,

[1] If the vowel is short, or if the length of the vowel is *otherwise* obvious, the *e* usually disappears in *modern* English, because its utter uselessness is then apparent. We find, in Shakespeare (First Folio) such spellings as *cheere*, *speake*, *bestirre*, *toppe*, *roome*, *keepe*, *marre*, *cabine*, *selfe* (Temp. Act I. Sc. 1). We also find *take*, *care*, *fate*, *rope*, &c., as now.

[2] The *definite* form of the adjective was always used when the definite article or a possessive pronoun preceded it.

but in the fifteenth century *telle* (with *e* mute); this mute *e* is now dropped, being completely useless, but the double *l* remains. The fate of the M. E. inflexional suffix *-en* was the same as that of the final *-e*, on account of the falling away of the *n* in nearly all cases. There is a trace of it still in a few words, viz. *ox-en, brether-en, childr-en, ki-ne* (with *e* added to denote long *i*)[1].

§ 295. It is necessary to discuss somewhat further the spelling of words borrowed from French. The word *cone*, mentioned above, was not borrowed at a very early time. But we find in Chaucer such words as *age, chance, charge, clause, cure, dame, grace, nice, ounce, place, table, temple*, all of which were originally dissyllabic. These are still spelt the same as ever, though they are now all monosyllabic except the two last. Indeed, it has become a rule in modern English that the sound of final *j* may not be denoted by *j*, but must be written *ge*! Similarly, *ce* is now the most acceptable way of representing the sound of a final *s*; so much so, indeed, that we have actually extended this French fashion to pure English words, and now write *mice, twice*, where the scribes of the fourteenth century wrote *mys, twyës* (dissyllabic); cf. § 297. Verbs such as the F. *grant-er, dress-er*, were conformed to E. grammar, and became *grant-en, grant-ë, dress-en, dress-ë*; later *grante, dresse* (monosyllabic); and finally *grant, dress*, as now.

§ 296. The M. E. pl. suffix *-es* (A. S. *-as*) is also deserving of attention. In Chaucer it forms a separate syllable, so that *bon-ës, ston-ës*, were dissyllabic; at the same time, the suffix had become less emphatic and distinct, so that the original A. S. suffix *-as* (originally pronounced with *s*) passed into M. E. *-es* (with dull *e*, and *s* as *z*). The forms *bones, stones*, were retained, even after the words had become mono-

[1] Englishmen find it difficult to realize that the old language was highly inflexional; yet it remains so, provincially, to this day, as in the Shropshire phrase—'I dar' say yo''getten more than yo' desarven.'

syllables, because some method had to be employed for pointing out the length of the vowels. So also we now write *cares, games*, which are of English origin, and *cures, flames, cones*, which are French. So also *cares, cures* are used in the third person singular of the verb. The plurals *ages, chances, charges, clauses, graces, ounces, places, tables, temples* are still dissyllabic, and unaltered save in the vowel-sounds. It is remarkable in how many of such plurals *s* has the sound of *z*. We find the *s*-sound in mod. E. *cake*, pl. *cakes*; also in *flock* (M.E. *flok*), pl. *flocks* (M.E. *flokkes*), where the *e* has been purposely cut out, lest the word should appear to be dissyllabic. All the above examples are characteristic of large classes of words. As to the suffix *-ed*, little need be said; it was long retained as a distinct syllable in numerous cases where the *e* is now silent.

§ 297. One consequence of the use of the *e* in *stones* to denote the long vowel was to disturb the spelling of many Middle-English words in which a *short* vowel was followed by a single consonant and *e*, such as *manere, matere, biter, toteren, coper, gotere* or *gutere*. The simplest expedient for remedying this defect was to double the consonant, according to the analogy of *mann-ës*, genitive of *man*. Hence the modern forms *manner, matter, bitter, totter, copper, gutter*. Such doubling was less necessary when the vowel was not *e*; so that the old forms *manage, matins*[1], *bigot, metal*[2], *colour, busy, canon*, are still in use. This new distinction caused much confusion, so that the rule was not consistently carried out. Thus the word *tolerate* (consistently with *folly, jolly*, for M.E. *folye, ioly*) was spelt *tollerate* by Sir Thomas More, Sir Thomas Elyot, and Udall (see the examples in Richardson's Dictionary); but when the mania for 'etymological' spelling set in, in the middle of the sixteenth century, the

[1] The spelling *mattins* is a comparatively modern innovation, by confusion with the Ital. *mattino*. Historically, the word is French; Cotgrave has: '*Matins*, Matins, Morning Praier.'

[2] Actually also spelt *mettle*, when used in a metaphorical sense.

spelling was altered back again to *tolerate*, lest readers should be too dense to detect the connection of *tollerate* with the Latin *tolerare*. And when once the attempt was thus made to supplant phonetic by 'etymological' spelling, all chance of consistency was at an end, and the phonetic system was doomed, except in so far as words of obscure etymology were allowed to be conformed to phonetic rules[1]. Whilst I am speaking of doubled letters, I may remark that modern English has a ridiculous prejudice against writing *jj* and *vv*, the reason for which I shall give presently. *Jj* has been provided for by writing *dge* (!), which arose out of the final M. E. *gge* (see end of § 291); but we have no way of shewing that *lever* does not rime to *sever*. As to *r*, it is often doubled in modern English where it was once single. Thus M. E. *Marie* is now *Mary*, but M. E. *marien* is *marry*. M. E. *mery* is now *merry*, though we retain M. E. *very*. M. E. *mirour* is now *mirror*, and M. E. *morwe* is *morrow*. M. E. *sorwe* is *sorrow*; and, by confusion with this word, the A. S. *sár-ig* is now *sorry*, though closely allied to the adj. *sár*, sore, and therefore an altered form of *sor-y*.

A final *s* is now doubled when it is desired to shew that it is not sounded as *z*; hence M. E. *glas*, *blis*, *dros* are now *glass*, *bliss*, *dross*, and all words that once ended in *-les* and *-nes* now end in *-less* and *-ness*. Another common device[2] for shewing that *s* is not sounded as *z*, is to write *ce*, as in *mice*, *twice*, &c., already alluded to. So also *peace* for M. E. *pees*. In fact, English abounds with such 'phonetic' devices; no one objects to them as long as they are allowed to remain sporadic, irregular, and inconsistent.

[1] This is what most people mean by 'etymological' spelling, viz. to spell a word in a Latin or Greek fashion where the etymology is easy enough, and needs no pointing out; and to spell it as it happens to be spelt in Tudor-English where the etymology is hard.

[2] Yet a third (!) method is to write *se*, as in *horse* (M. E. *hors*), *goose* (M. E. *goos*), *house* (M. E. *hous*). But *nose* is the true M. E. form; therefore the *s* in it means *z*.

§ 298. **A.D. 1400–1500.** The most weighty points in the history of spelling in the fifteenth century were the total loss of the inflectional *-e* and the partial loss of *-en*, the frequent reduction of the inflectional *-es* to the simple sound of *s* (or *z*), and the occasional doubling of letters to denote the shortness of the preceding vowel. We have now to examine in detail the changes made in the *symbols* employed, a list of which has been given in § 291. To limit the enquiry, I confine my remarks chiefly to the spellings found in a book of the highest importance for our purpose, viz. Caxton's translation of 'Le Recueil des Histoires de Troye,' a sufficient extract from which is given in my Specimens of English, Part III, pp. 89–95; or the reader may turn to the sample of it given in the APPENDIX to the present volume. The date is A.D. 1471. We may first of all remark the retention of the old inflectional *-e* in places where it was required by the grammar of the preceding century, though it was no longer sounded in the fifteenth. Examples are: *wente*, 3rd p. s. pt. t.; *kynge*, dat.; *alle*, pl.; *come*, gerund; *paye*, infinitive; *whele*, dat., &c. On the other hand, we find *said*, 3rd p. s. pt. t. (not *saide*); *shold* (not *sholde*); *gold*, dat. (not *golde*); and so on. Further confusion appears in the use of final *-e* in wholly impossible places, as in *ranne* (l. 29) for *ran*; *foule* (l. 33) for *foul*; *sette*, pp. (l. 42) for *set*, &c. This error is found at a still earlier date in Northern writings. Final *-e* is used to denote a long vowel, as in *fere*, fear (l. 19), *drede*, dread (l. 19), better spelt *feer*, *dreed*; also in *blame* (l. 21), a French spelling of a French word. We still find *-es* as a plural ending, as in *Grekes*, *wordes*, &c.; and such a spelling as *meruayllis* (marvels, 43) shews that this suffix still lingered as a separate syllable; indeed we even find '*wound-ës* wyde' in Spenser, F.Q. i. 5. 17, though this form was then archaic.

§ 299. Recurring to the symbols in § 291, we may remark the following principal variations.

Vowels. The use of *y* for *i* has, at this date, become common, as in *kynge, sayd, counceyll, certayn, wythout*, &c.; in many instances, mod. E. has returned to the use of *i*. *W* (for *u*) disappears. *Aa, ee, oo* remain; as in *maad, preest, oost* (host).

Diphthongs. We find *said, sayd*; *frawde* (10)[1], *demaunded* (64); *peas* (5, but *ea* is rare); *counceill* (15), *parceyue* (73); *slewe* (155, M. E. *slew-ē*); *ioye* (128, M. E. *ioy-ē*); *foule* (33), *fowle* (85); *yssue* (73); *conduyte* (172). The symbol *ie* is rare, but is found even in Chaucer (C. T., Group B, 300) in the word *fiers*, which has lasted down to modern times as *fierce*. The modern *field* is *feld*, both in Caxton (93) and in Chaucer. The symbol *eo* is found in the fourteenth century in the word *people*, which was also sometimes written *poeple*, and we needlessly retain the former spelling to this day. The original intention of the symbol was, probably, to express the F. *eu* in *peuple*, as the word was written *people* in Anglo-French[2]; but the M. E. form is commonly *peple*, and the modern form ought to be *peeple*. Caxton has *peple* (29). Finally, the F. *eu* appears in *fureur*, fury (184).

Consonants. We still find *joy* written *Ioye* or *ioye* (128). But in the course of the fifteenth century, the symbol *j* was invented, though it was not employed as at present till much later[3]. It simply arose from the habit of writing a long down-stroke to the last *i* in such numbers as *ii, iii, vii, viii*, which were commonly written *ij, iij, vij, viij*, so that the tail of the letter was at first a mere flourish. It was a happy thought to employ the new symbol thus formed for an old sound that had no special symbol allotted to it. Returning to Caxton, we proceed to note that *v* begins to be used as

[1] The numbers refer to the lines in the extract from Caxton.

[2] Statutes of the Realm, i. 197; Liber Custumarum, pp. 81, 84, 687. We also find M.E. *peuple*, P. Plowman, C. xii. 21.

[3] It is not employed in the 1623 edition of Shakespeare. It came into use about 1630, and was extremely common in 1660.

at present, not only initially, as in Chaucer, but even in the middle of a word, as in *mynerve* (Minerva, 38), *proverbe* (100), *resseyve* (139), *evyllys* (141). It is remarkable that the great advantage of this plan was not more quickly perceived; but the restriction of *v* to the sound of the consonant was much delayed by the habit of using *v* initially with the double value, as in *vp* (= up), *vyce* (= *vice*)[1]. The symbol ȝ went out of use in the fifteenth century, because its form had become indistinguishable from that of *z*. Indeed, we still write *capercailzie* for *capercailȝe* (= *capercailye*); and the proper names *Dalziel*, *Menzies*, for *Dalȝiel*, *Menȝies*[2]. The place of ȝ was supplied by *y* initially, and by *gh* medially, as in *ye*, *light*, formerly ȝe, *liȝt*.

Digraphs. *Gu* (= *gw*) remains in *guerdon*; the *gu* in *guess*, *guest*, is of later date. *Sch* becomes *sh* in the South, though *sch* was still used in Scotland, and occurs in the

[1] Great awkwardness was caused by the persistent use of *u* for the consonant-sound, because the practice was always to take care that it was used *between two vowels*, as in *euel* or *euil* (evil); and, as the latter of these vowels was usually an *e*, every word that ended with the simple sound of *v* was spelt so as to end with the compound symbol *ue*. Even when *v* came into regular use for the sound of the consonant, the final *v* (by an intensely stupid conservatism) was still written *ve*, a practice which has lasted even to this day; so that there is a law in modern English that the symbol *v* must not end a word, and we all have to write *have*, *give*, *serve*, &c., instead of *hav*, *giv*, *serv*; which leaves us powerless to distinguish between the short *i* in the verb *to live* and the long *i* in *alive*. By writing the former as *liv*, the distinction might have been made. Hence also another absurd rule in modern English, viz. that *v* must never be doubled. We write *lever*, with a long *e*, rightly, but we must not dare to write *evver*. The reason, of course, is this; that if the old *u* or *ue* had been doubled, the word would have been written *euuer* or *eueuer*, which was felt to be a little too clumsy. No reform in modern spelling is so much needed as the use of the simple *v* for *hav*, *liv*, *giv*, and the power either to double the *v* in *evver*, *sevver*, *clevver*, &c., or else to double the *e* in *leever*, which would be a great deal better. I recommend this change very strongly.

[2] Bp. Percy prints an old Ballad with *z* throughout. 'Quhy dois zour brand sae drop wi' bluid, Edward, Edward?' It shews great stupidity, as *your* would have been quite correct.

MSS. of Dunbar and Gawain Douglas. The symbol þ fell into disuse, because its form had gradually become identical with that of *y*; but printers long continued to print *y*ᵉ, *y*ᵗ (=þᵉ, þᵗ) instead of *the* and *that*, whenever they found that there was insufficient space for the words in full. Some modern 'comic' writers seem to fancy that *the* was actually *pronounced* as *ye*, and *that* as *yat*!

Doubled letters. For *cc* or *kk*, the symbol *ck*, which is somewhat rare in the fourteenth century [1], was increasingly used, so that at the present day it has completely superseded *kk*. It may be noticed here that, even in early MSS., a capital *F* was written like *ff*, a fact which has been so ill understood that we actually find, at the present day, such names as *Ffinch*, *Ffoulkes*, and *Ffrench* (all in the Clergy List), where it is obvious that the *ff* has been mistaken for *Ff*, which is absurd [2].

Biform digraphs, &c. The origin of the modern E. *tch* for *cch* (= *chch*) is curious. It is due to the constant confusion in MSS. of the fifteenth century between the letters *c* and *t*, which are frequently indistinguishable; so that *cch* came to be misread as *tch*. Tyrwhitt actually prints *wretche*, *fetche* in his edition of the Cant. Tales, ll. 7645–6; yet all the Six-text MSS. have either *wrecche*, *fecche*, or *wreche*, *feche*. It is just this manipulation of MSS. which makes it so difficult for a reader to form just ideas. Everything has to be tested, when (as in many old, and some modern editions) editors cannot be trusted, and frequently conceive it to be their first duty to misrepresent the spellings of their MS. authorities. However, the result is, that *tch* is now the accepted way of writing *cch* (= *chch*), and this fact is of considerable importance in etymology. In words containing *tch*, the *t* is unoriginal, and as the *cch* is due to an older *cc*, we shall expect to find that the A. S. forms

[1] 'Myne faire *lockes*'; P. Plowman, C. xvi. 8.
[2] Initial *ff* = *F*; therefore *Ff* = *fff* (!).

are *wrecca, feccan*[1], as is the case. As to *ssh*, Caxton has *abasshid* (= *abashshid*, l. 52), but both *sch* and *ssh* finally gave way to *sh*, which is now never doubled. So also, when þ was disused, the compound forms *tth* and *thth* soon gave way to *th*, which is now never doubled[2].

Initial combinations. These are little altered; for examples, see the Glossary to Specimens of Eng., pt. iii. But, as the initial *k* was less used, except before *e*, *i*, *n*, and *y*, the combinations *kl*, *kr* and *skr* gave way to *cl*, *cr*, and *scr*; also *sk* gave way to *sc*, except before *e*, *i*, and *y*. *Scl* disappears, though we still find the archaic spelling *sclender* in Spenser, F. Q. iii. 1. 47, which was probably copied from Chaucer. *Schr* occurs in Gawain Douglas, but soon gave way to *shr*. *Fn* disappears. *Wl* disappears entirely, having always been rare; yet we may remember that the modern E. *lap*, in the sense to wrap or enfold, is the M.E. *wlappen*, and that it is this form *wlap* (= older *wrap*) which explains the words *envelop*, *de-velop*, i.e. to *en-wlap*, *de-wlap*.

Final combinations. These will be discussed when we come to the next century.

§ 300. Even from the above slight sketch, which does not include all the details, we can begin to understand how the modern system of spelling grew up. We had, first of all, an Anglo-Saxon system of spelling, largely phonetic and intended to be wholly so, founded upon a Latin model, and free from etymological crazes. Next, an Early English system, also phonetic, as far as the imperfect symbols would allow; but some confusion was introduced by the fact that, whilst slight changes were going on in the pronunciation, very material changes were being made in the symbols employed. Early English was written out by scribes who had

[1] This *feccan* may itself be for *fetian*; see *Fetch* in the Supplement to the second edition of my Dictionary; but this is another matter. I still have my doubts about it.

[2] We still write *Matthew* (Gk. Ματθαῖος), though *Mathew* and *Mathews* occur as surnames.

been previously trained to write out Anglo-French; and thus the French (or Franco-Latin) system of symbols gradually took the place of the older Celto-Latin system. Two defects of the Early English system may be especially pointed out, viz. the confusion, in writing, between the close and open *o*, and between the close and open *e*. Thus the A. S. *brád* (pron. *braad*) came to be pronounced as mod. E. *broad*, whilst it was spelt *brood* or *brod*[1]; and the A. S. *gós* (pron. *goas*, riming with *dose*) came to be spelt *goos* or *gos*, though its pronunciation was not altered. Once more, the A. S. *sæ*, sea, came to be spelt *see*, without much change in the pronunciation, the E. E. *see* being pronounced with the open *e*, i.e. like the *e* in *ere*. At the same time the A. S. *spéd*, speed, became E. E. *speed*, with the close sound of *e*, i. e. the sound of F. *é* in *été*, or not unlike the mod. E. *spade*, in which the apparent *a* is really a diphthong, composed of F. *é* followed by short *i*. Thus both the long *o* and long *e* in E. E. had (at least) two distinct values; a confusion which lasted throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Middle-English period introduced other changes and uncertainties; above all, the loss of the final *e* in the fifteenth century caused great confusion, and even gave rise, as has been shewn, to the mod. E. device of denoting a long vowel by employing a final *e* after a consonant. Still, the great *aim* of the spelling was, as before, to represent the *sounds* of the words. Numerous Anglo-French words (i. e. words current in the Norman dialect as it was developed in England) had been introduced into English at various times; at first slowly, but from the time of Edward I. the stream set in steadily, and continued long. These words were introduced with the Anglo-French spelling, to which the English spelling of the time had been assimilated. Accordingly, they came in at

[1] The loss of the A. S. accents (used to mark long vowels) took away the means of distinguishing length; we find *brod*, broad (with *o* long), and *god*, god (with *o* short). This was another source of trouble.

first in an unaltered and phonetic form, but in course of time the spelling of such words indicated their sound with less accuracy. It would be difficult to say at what period we again began to borrow French words from France itself, but it is most likely that when the home-supply of French words began to fail, the foreign supply began to be drawn upon, perhaps in the fifteenth century; and I suppose that we have never ceased to borrow French words from abroad ever since. It makes a material difference, because the Anglo-French had ways of its own, and exhibits curious points of difference from the French of Paris[1]. By way of example, take the word *adage*, of which there is no trace earlier than 1548, according to Murray's Dictionary. This is, of course, a French word, but will hardly be found in Anglo-French.

§ **301.** Just at the time when our spelling was already becoming very faulty, the invention of printing came in, and surely, but not immediately, retarded all further emendation; so that, in the sixteenth century, we find that the power of making any material improvement was practically gone. Nevertheless, the writers of that period had the courage to invent at least two considerable improvements, or at any rate, to shew how they might have been made, if the system had been carried out with perfect accuracy. They became dissatisfied with the confusion, just above mentioned, between the close and open *o* and the close and open *e*, and endeavoured to employ the symbols *oa* (or *oe*, if final) as distinct from *oo*, and *ea* as distinct from *ee*, in order to remedy it. The symbol *oa* was, practically, a new one, though it is found occasionally in the thirteenth century[2]. It was now used

[1] Thus *convey* is from Anglo-French *conveier*, but *convoy* from F. *convoyer* (as it is spelt in Cotgrave). The M. E. adj. *vein*, from Anglo-French *vein*, has been altered to *vain*, in order to insinuate, falsely, that it was borrowed from Parisian *vain*.

[2] 'Heo lei ine prisune uour þusend ȝer and *moare*,' i. e. She lay in prison 4000 years and more; Ancren Riwle, p. 54, l. 9. Examples are somewhat rare.

for the open *o*, as in mod. E. *broad*, the only word now left with the old sound of *oa*. As our *broad* is from A.S. *brād*, this spelling *oa* is properly found in words which have *ā* in A. S.; see the examples in § 42[1]. The symbol *ea* is hardly ever found (if at all) in the fourteenth century; but we have seen, in § 299, that Caxton has *peas*, i.e. peace, in place of the M.E. *pees*, from the Anglo-French *pees*. This symbol was now used to express the open *e*, as in *sea* for M.E. *see*. It will be found that mod. E. words containing *ea* commonly answer to A. S. words containing *æ* or *ēa* (see §§ 48, 49); whilst *ee* commonly answers to A. S. *ē* or *ēo* (see §§ 43, 50). Another improvement, towards the end of the sixteenth century, was the getting rid of the excessive use of *y* for *i*, so common in Caxton; so that the word *his* was no longer *hys*, but returned to the early A. S. form. We may also remark that the use of *ie* became more common. As regards consonants, the symbols ȝ and þ have quite disappeared; *sch* and *ssh* are now always *sh*; *kk* is commonly *ck*; *cch* is always *tch*, and *dge* is used for *gge* or the sound of final *jj*, as *ge* is for the final *j*. Initial *gh* is needlessly written for *g* in *ghastly*, *ghost*, *gherkin*[2]; also in *a-ghast*. See further in § 299 above, and in § 302 below.

§ 302. The loss of the final *e* occasioned several additions to the number of final combinations of letters. Thus the M.E. *barrë*, a bar, was dissyllabic; but after it became a monosyllable, it dropped not only the final *e*, but the *r* preceding it; the word is no longer *bar-rè*, but *bar*. Hence the plural is no longer *barres*, but *bars*. Similarly *tubbes* became *tubs*, and we have a new combination **bs**, not found in M.E. Similarly *arkes*, the pl. of *ark*, became *arks*; *arc*, a late form, has the pl. *arcs*; *beddes*, the pl. of *bed*, became *beds*;

[1] The final *oe* occurs for *oa* (A.S. *ā*) in *doe*, *foe*, *roe*, *sloe*, *toe*, *throe*, *woe*, *mistletoe*. But in *shoe* (better *shoo*) it answers to A. S. *ō*.

[2] Here the *gh* is of some use, viz. to shew that the *g* is hard. *Aghast* is found in Scottish as early as 1425, but did not become general till after 1700. *Ghoul* is from Pers. *ghōl*, a demon.

dogges, the pl. of *dog*, became *dogs*; *formes*, pl. of *form*, became *forms*; *innes*, pl. of *inn*, became *inns*; and the M. E. *galwes* became *gallows*. The insertion of *b* into the M. E. *dette*, *doute*, brought about the false forms *debt*, *doubt*; a matter which is explained in the next section. I believe it will be found that none of the following final combinations are used in the M. E. period: **bs bt cs gs ks ms nns ws**. Further, final *ds*, *fs*, *ngs*, are only found, in M. E., in unaccented syllables, such as *ribauds*, pl. of *ribaud*, a ribald, *caitifs*, pl. of *caitif* (P. Plowman, C. 21. 97), *lordings*, pl. of *lording*, a gentleman. Other modern endings are the *ze* in *maze* (M. E. *mase*), the *dze* in *adze*, the *gue* in *tongue*, *catalogue*, the *h* in *rajah*, *shah*, &c.

§ **303.** So far we have dealt only with the spelling from a phonetic point of view. The old spelling was, in the main, very strictly etymological, because it was so *unconsciously*[1]. In striving to be phonetic, our ancestors kept up the history of words, and recorded, more or less exactly, the changes that took place in them from time to time. But in the sixteenth century[2] an entirely new idea was for the first time started, and probably took its rise from the revival of learning, which introduced the study of Greek, and brought classical words, and with them a classical mode of spelling, to the front; a movement which was assisted by the fact that the spelling was all the while becoming less phonetic. This new idea involved the attempt to be *consciously* etymological, i. e. to reduce the spelling of English words, as far as possible, to an exact conformity *in outward appearance* with the Latin and Greek words from which they were borrowed. But it was only possible to do this with a *portion* of the language.

[1] Conscious attempts at etymology sometimes produced rather queer results. Thus the M. E. *femele* was turned into *female*, obviously because men fancied it must have some connection with *male*.

[2] See Max Müller's Lectures on Language, Ser. II. lect. 6. He instances the works of Perion (1557), Guichard (1606), and H. Estienne (1566).

It was easy to do this where words were actually borrowed from those languages, as, for example, in the case of such a verb as *to tolerate*, which was now spelt with one *l* in order to conform it in outward appearance to the Lat. *tolerare*. But the words of native English or Scandinavian origin were less tractable, for which reason our writers, wisely enough, commonly let them alone. There remained words of French origin, and these suffered considerably at the hands of the pedants, who were anything but scholars as regarded Old French. For example, the Lat. *debita* had become the O.F. and M.E. *dette*, by assimilation of the *b* to *t* in the contracted form *deb'ta*, precisely as it became *detta* in Italian. The mod. F. and the Italian have the forms *dette* and *detta* still. But in the sixteenth century the disease of so-called 'etymological' spelling had attacked the French language as well as the English, and there was a craze for rendering such etymology *evident to the eye*. Consequently, the O.F. *dette* was recast in the form *debte*, and the M.E. *dette* was respelt *debte* or *debt* in the same way. Hence we actually find in Cotgrave's F. Dict. the entry: '*Debte*, a debt.' Another word similarly treated was the O.F. and M.E. *doute*; and accordingly Cotgrave gives '*Doubte*, a doubt.' The mod. F. has gone back to the original O.F. spellings *dette*, *doute*; but we, in our ignorance, have retained the *b* in *doubt*, in spite of the fact that we do not dare to sound it. The rackers of our orthography[1] no doubt trusted, and with some reason, to the popular ignorance of the older and truer spelling, and the event has justified their expectation; for we have continued to insert the *b* in *doubt* and *debt* (properly *dout* and *det*) to the present day, and there is doubtless a large majority among us who believe such spellings to be correct! So easy is it

[1] 'Such rackers of our orthography, as to speak *dout* fine, when he should say *doubt*; *det*, when he should pronounce *debt*'; L. L. L. v. 1. Such was the opinion of the pedant Holofernes; most people imagine it was the opinion of Shakespeare!

for writers to be misled by paying too great a regard to Latin spelling, and so few there are who are likely to take the trouble of ascertaining all the historical facts.

Most curious of all is the fate of the word *fault*. In O. F. and M. E. it is always *faute*, but the sixteenth century turned it into F. *faulte*, E. *fault*, by the insertion of *l*. For all that, the *l* often remained mute, so that even as late as the time of Pope it was still mute for him, as is shewn by his riming it with *ought* (Eloisa to Abelard, 185, Essay on Man, i. 69); with *thought* (Essay on Criticism, 422, Moral Essays, Ep. ii. 73); and with *taught* (Moral Essays, Ep. ii. 212). But the persistent presentation of the letter *l* to the eye has prevailed at last, and we now invariably sound it in English, whilst in French it has become *faute* once more. The object no doubt was to inform us that the F. *faute* is ultimately derived from Latin *fallere*; but this does not seem so far beyond the scope of human intelligence that so much pains need have been taken to record the discovery[1]. Another curious falsification is that of the M. E. *vitailles*, O. F. *vitailles*, from Lat. *victualia*. The not very difficult discovery of the etymology of this word was hailed with such delight that it was at once transformed into F. *victuailles* and E. *victuals*; see Cotgrave. For all that, the M. E. *vitailles* was duly shortened, in the pronunciation, to *vittles*, precisely as M. E. *batailles* was shortened to *battles*; and *vittles* it still remains, for all practical purposes. Swift, in his Polite Conversation, has dared to spell it so; and our comic writers are glad to do the same.

The form of the word *advance* records a ludicrous error in etymology. The older form was *avance*, in which the prefix *a-* is derived from the F. *a* which arose from the Latin *ab*. Unfortunately, it was supposed to represent the French *a* which arose from the Latin *ad*, and this Latin *ad* was

[1] Similarly, the O. F. and M. E. *voute* became F. *voulte* in the sixteenth century; hence E. *vault*. But in *falcon*, M.E. *faucon*, the *l* is commonly ignored; we say *faucon*, and ought to spell it so.

actually introduced into the written form, after which the *d* came to be sounded. If then the prefix *ad-* in *ad-vance* can be said to represent anything, it must be taken to represent a Latin prefix *abd-*! It would be an endless task to make a list of all the similar vagaries of the Tudor remodellers of our spelling, who were doubtless proud of their work and convinced that they were displaying great erudition. Yet their method was extremely incomplete, as it was wholly inconsistent with itself. After reducing the word *tollerate* to *tolerate*, they ought to have altered *follie* to *folie*, as the latter is the French form; but this they never did. They should likewise have altered *matter* to *mater*, since there is only one *t* in the Lat. *materia*; but this they never did. *They had got hold of a false principle, and did not attempt to carry it out consistently.* So much the better, or our spelling would have been even worse than it is now, which is saying a great deal.

§ 304. I believe that the stupidity of the pedantic method which I have just described is very little understood; and that, on the contrary, most Englishmen, owing to an excessive study of the classics as compared with English (the history of which is neglected to an almost incredible and wholly shameless extent), actually sympathise with the pedants. But the error of their attempt will be apparent to any who will take the pains to think over the matter with a little care. Their object was, irrespectively of the sound, to render the etymology obvious, not to the *ear*, but to the *eye*; and hence the modern system of judging of the spelling of words by the eye *only*[1]. There is now only one rule, a rule which is often carefully but foolishly concealed from learners, viz. to go entirely by the *look* of a word, and to spell it as we have *seen* it spelt in books. If we do this, we hug ourselves in the belief that we are spelling 'correctly,' a belief which even good scholars entertain. Certainly the pedants put several

[1] This fact is, in itself, a bitter satire on the whole system.

words right, as they thought; but their knowledge was slight. They let the pure English and Scandinavian words alone; and as we have seen, they mended (as they thought) the spellings of French words, not by comparison with old French, which might have been justified, but by comparison with Latin and Greek only; and they were frequently misled by the fancy that Latin was derived, in its entirety, from Greek. Thus they fancied that the Lat. *silva* was derived from the Greek ὕλη, and accordingly altered its spelling to *sylva*. Hence, even in English, we have to commemorate and immortalise this blunder by writing *sylvan*. They seem to have had a notion that the Lat. *stilus* was derived, of all things, from the Greek στῦλος, a pillar, which would be extremely convenient, we must suppose, as a writing implement; the fact being that *stilus* and στῦλος have no etymological connection. This blunder we commemorate by writing *style*. We display our knowledge of Latin by often writing *tyro* (for Lat. *tiro*); and of Greek by often writing *Syren* (for Gk. σειρήν). The notion of Græcising words extended even to the old verbs in *-ise*. Forgetting that the majority of these were borrowed from French verbs in *-iser*, our printers have substituted the ending *-ize*, merely because the F. suffix *-iser* represented a Lat. suffix *-izare*, imitated from the Gk. *-ιζειν*. Nine Englishmen out of ten still believe in the excellence of the use of this *-ize*[1], as a mark of erudition and scholarship. It is all of a piece with *victuals* and *debt* and *doubt* and *fault*, already noticed; and shews how hastily false notions can be caught up, and how tenaciously they are held. It is extremely amusing to see that the mending of spelling only extends to words *of easy derivation*. Thus we write *paroxysm* because it is ultimately from the Gk. παροξυσμός, though *paroxism* would be really better,

[1] From a *phonetic* point of view, *-ize* has much to commend it. This makes its adoption all the more extraordinary, for modern English abhors any belief in the *ear*.

because, as a fact, we borrowed it rather from the F. *paroxisme* than directly. But we ought, by the same rule, to write *aneurysm*, if we are to point back to the Gk. ἀνευρυσμός. Yet the usual spelling is *aneurism*, simply because the etymology is less obvious, and the eye remains, accordingly, unshocked. We write *science* because of its connection with the Latin *scientia*; and for this reason some writers of the seventeenth century, struck with the beauty to the eye of the silent *c* after *s*, admiringly copied it in such words as *scite*[1], *scituation*[2], and *scent*. The etymology of the two former was, however, so obvious that the habit fell into disuse; but the etymology of *scent* was less obvious, and so we write *scent* still! What, again, can be more absurd than the final *ue* in the word *tongue*, as if it must needs be conformed to the F. *langue*? But when once introduced, it of course remained, because none but scholars of Anglo-Saxon could know its etymology. It is impossible to enumerate all the numerous anomalies which the disastrous attempt to make etymology *visible* has introduced. Yet this is the valueless system which is so much lauded by all who have made no adequate study of the true history of our language. But before recapitulating all the facts of the case, it remains to say a few words upon the changes in our spelling since the time of Elizabeth.

§ 305. Broadly stated, the changes in our spelling since the time of Shakespeare are remarkably few and unimportant, especially if considered with reference to the numerous changes that had taken place previously. A specimen of Shakespearian spelling has already been given at p. 1, and an

[1] '*Site*, or *Scite*,' &c.; Phillips, World of Words (1706).

[2] 'I might also note many false spellings in particular words, as *tongue* for *tung*, *she* for *shee*, *scituate* for *situate*, which is but lately come up, and hath no appearance with reason, the *Latine* word being *situs*, without any *c*. *Scent* for *sent*, signifying a smell or savour, which writing is also but lately introduced, and hath no more ground than the former, the Latin word from which it comes being *sentio*.'—1691; J. RAY, Collection of English Words, &c., p. 168.

analysis of the alterations made in the spelling of that passage will suffice.

(*a*) We have wisely discarded the long *s* (ſ), and substituted *v* for *u* in *Doue*, and *u* for *v* in *vp*. These are manifest improvements. So also is the modern use of *i* and *j*.

(*b*) We do not think it necessary to mark substantives, such as 'Lambe' or 'Doue' or 'Prieſt,' by the use of a capital letter. This enables us to mark proper names, such as 'Lucentio' or 'Katherine,' by using a capital letter, and to dispense with the necessity for marking them by the use of italics.

(*c*) We have cut off the idle final *e* in very many words, such as *lambe*, *foole*, *shoulde*, *aske*, *booke*, *againe*, *tooke*, *cuffe*, *downe*; but we retain the final *e* in *wife* and *take*, to shew the length of the vowels.

Such improvements are sensible, but they have been made from time to time by the printers, merely as a matter of convenience, to avoid varying forms. In doing this, they have made at least two mistakes. In the first place, the final *e* should have been dropped in *have*, *give*, *dove*, *shove*, and all words in which *ve* follows a *short* vowel; or, in other words, *v* should have been allowed, like any other consonant, to stand as a final letter; see p. 317, note 1. In the second place, a double *f*, when final, should have been reduced to a single *f*. There was no reason for treating *f* differently from other letters. If we write *cab*, *bad*, *bag*, &c., we ought to write *slif*, *cuf*, *tif*, &c. The present rule is that *f* final must always be doubled except in *if* and *of*; the latter being sounded as *ov*. However, the printers have succeeded in reducing the forms of words to a nearly uniform standard; and it is surprising to find how long it took them to do so. It will not be easy to find a book in which the spelling is perfectly uniform throughout much earlier than about 1690[1]. Practi-

[1] I have a copy of the History of Britain, by John Milton, printed in 1695, in which the spelling is sometimes variable. *Hee* and *he* occur on the same page (p. 43).

cally, the present spelling is identical, in all important particulars, with that of the seventeenth century, and, in all that is most essential, with that of the sixteenth century. The retarding and petrifying influence of printing upon the representative forms of words soon became supreme, and prevented any great alteration.

Meanwhile, the changes in our ever-shifting pronunciation became still more marked, and we now constantly spell with one vowel and pronounce another. *Abate* is no longer sounded with long *a*, i.e. with the *a* in *father*, but with long *e*, viz. the sound of the *ee* in G. *Beet*. *Beet* is no longer sounded with the long *e* of the G. *Beet*, but with the long *i* of Ital. *bigio* or G. *Biene*; and so on. We still retain much of the Elizabethan spelling, which even at that period was retrospective, with a Victorian pronunciation. From all this it follows that all our spelling is extremely archaic, and refers to pronunciations of many centuries ago, some forms being more archaic than others. If then we want to know why any word is spelt as it is, we can only tell this by knowing *its whole history*. *When* we know this, *when* we have ascertained all its changes of form and sound, and the reasons for all its changes of form, we can then tell exactly what has happened. The labour of doing this for every word in the language is of course enormous, but even a general acquaintance with the leading facts, such as may easily be acquired, will explain the forms of many thousand words, and enable the student to detect such exceptional forms as have been produced by intentional meddling. The chief points to remember are: (1) that our present spelling is archaic; (2) that spelling was at first purely phonetic, and afterwards partially so, down to A.D. 1500 or 1550; (3) that, after this, the new principle set in, of rendering the etymology visible to the eye in the case of Latin and Greek words, and of respelling easy French words according to their Latin originals; and (4) that the changes which have taken place in our pronunciation,

since the time when the spelling became practically fixed, are more violent than those of earlier periods.

§ 306. As the story has inevitably been a long one, and abounds with minute details (many of which I have been compelled, by a sense of proportion, to omit), I now briefly recapitulate the chief points in it, so that the reader may the more easily grasp some of the main principles.

(1) The Celtic alphabet was borrowed from the Roman; and the Anglo-Saxon from the Celtic, but with a few additions.

(2) The A.S. pronunciation agreed with that of the continent, and of the Romans, in many important particulars, especially in the sounds of *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*. The spelling was meant to be purely phonetic, and was fairly correct. Accents were employed to denote vowel-length.

(3) In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, some sounds altered, but the spelling was still to a great extent phonetic, as it was meant to be. At the same time, Anglo-French words were introduced in ever-increasing numbers, and the Anglo-Saxon symbols were gradually replaced by French ones. The language was, in fact, re-spelt by Anglo-French scribes, who employed a modified form of the Roman alphabet. The accents employed to mark long vowels disappear, and the vowels *a*, *e*, and *o* are sometimes doubled.

(4) In the fourteenth century, further changes were introduced, and phonetic accuracy of representation was still further impaired. A list of the symbols then in use is given in § 291, p. 307.

(5) About A.D. 1400, the sound of final *-e*, already lost in the North, was lost in the Midland dialect also. When it remains (as in *bone*), it no longer forms a distinct syllable, but is employed to denote the length of the preceding vowel. Final *-en* commonly became final *-e*, and followed its fortunes. Final *-ed* and *-es* lingered as distinct syllables. Consonants were doubled after a short vowel in many words, especially

if the old single consonant was followed by *e*, as in *bitter* for *biter*; but the rule was capriciously applied.

(6) The invention of printing began to petrify the forms of words, and retarded useful changes. The use of final *e* in the wrong place, as in *ranne* for *ran*, became extremely common; and the use of *y* for *i* was carried to excess.

(7) After A.D. 1500, a new system of so-called 'etymological' spelling arose, which was only applied to a *portion* of the language. French words were often ignorantly altered, in order to render their Latin origin more obvious to the eye. The open and close sounds of long *o* were distinguished by writing *oa* (or *oe*, if final) and *oo*; the open and close sounds of long *e* were distinguished by writing *ea* and *ee*. New final combinations are found, of which *bs*, *cs*, *ds*, *fs*[1], *gs*, *ms*, and *bt* are the most remarkable.

(8) English spelling, after 1500, was governed by two conflicting principles, viz. the *phonetic*, which chiefly concerned *popular* words (i.e. the oldest and commonest words in popular use), and the so-called '*etymological*,' which chiefly concerned *learned* words (i.e. words derived from Greek and Latin). The former appealed to the ear, the latter to the eye. Neither of these principles was consistently carried out, and the ignorant meddlesomeness of the latter introduced many false forms.

(9) The changes in spelling since 1600 are comparatively trifling, and are chiefly due to the printers, who aimed at producing a complete uniformity of spelling, which was practically accomplished shortly before 1700. The modern use of *i* and *u* as vowels, and that of *j* and *v* as consonants, are real improvements.

(10) The changes in pronunciation since 1600 are great, especially in the vowel-sounds; as shewn by Mr. Ellis and Mr. Sweet. Practically, we retain a Tudor system of symbols with a Victorian prŏnunciation, for which it is ill fitted.

[1] *Ds*, *fs*, though found in M.E., were by no means common; see p. 323.

(11) The net result is that, in order to understand modern English spelling, every word must be examined separately, and its whole history traced. We must know all its changes, both in form and sound, before we can fully explain it. The commonest mistake is that of supposing Latin and Greek words to have been introduced into the language *directly*, in cases where history tells us that they really came to us through the Old French, and should be allowed, even upon 'etymological' grounds, to retain their Old French spelling.

(12) **The shortest description of modern spelling is to say that, speaking generally, it represents a Victorian pronunciation of 'popular' words by means of symbols imperfectly adapted to an Elizabethan pronunciation; the symbols themselves being mainly due to the Anglo-French scribes of the Plantagenet period, whose system was meant to be phonetic. It also aims at suggesting to the eye the original forms of 'learned' words. It is thus governed by two conflicting principles, neither of which, even in its own domain, is consistently carried out.**

CHAPTER XVII.

Phonetic Spelling.

§ 307. The preceding investigation shews that modern English spelling is, from a purely phonetic point of view, extremely unsatisfactory. Whether a phonetic spelling should be adopted for ordinary use, is simply a question of convenience, and should be so regarded. Those who cannot deny that our spelling is phonetically bad, usually take up the position that it is 'etymological.' A sufficient investigation of the facts will enable an unbiassed mind to see that it is, even from this point of view, almost equally unsatisfactory. Many spellings, such as *scythe*, *tongue*, *sieve*, *rhyme*, *scent* are simply indefensible; the more nearly phonetic spellings *sithe*, *tung*, *sive*, *rime*, *sent* are at the same time truer to the original form, which is what is meant by 'etymological,' as the epithet is commonly used. The only argument of any weight and force is that the introduction of a new system will, at the outset, be attended with grave inconvenience; which no one denies. For all that, the experiment must some day be made in good earnest.

§ 308. Meanwhile, it is daily becoming more impossible to explain pronunciation on paper without having recourse to some well-devised system of phonetic spelling. The 'glossic' system of Mr. Ellis has the advantage—if it be one—of appealing to the eye. It uses symbols as we are accustomed to use them; and it has actually been applied, with considerable success, to the description of the sounds used in

provincial English dialects. See, e.g., Miss Jackson's Shropshire Glossary, and many of the publications of the English Dialect Society. For English dialectal purposes, numerous symbols are required; but a small number suffice for representing the sounds of the ordinary literary dialect. I now quote p. 9 of Mr. Ellis's tract on Glossic entire. It can be learnt very quickly, and is quite sufficient to exemplify the author's principle.

§ 309.

'GLOSSIC,

A NEW SYSTEM OF SPELLING, INTENDED TO BE USED CONCURRENTLY WITH THE EXISTING ENGLISH ORTHOGRAPHY IN ORDER TO REMEDY SOME OF ITS DEFECTS, WITHOUT CHANGING ITS FORM, OR DETRACTING FROM ITS VALUE.

KEY TO ENGLISH GLOSSIC.

Always pronounce English Glossic characters as the LARGE CAPITAL letters are sounded in the following words, which are all in the usual spelling, except the three underlined, meant for foot, then, rouge.

	bEEt	bAIt	bAA	cAUl	cOAl	cOOl	
	knIt	nEt	gnAt	nOt	nUt	fUOt	
		hEIght	fOIl	fOUl	fEUd		
		Yea	Way	WHey	Hay		
Pea	Bee	Toe	Doe	CHest	Jest	Keep	Gape
Fie	Vie	THin	DHen	Seal	Zeal	ruSH	rouZHe
	• eaR	R'ing	eaRR'ing	Lay	May	Nay	siNG

R is vocal when no vowel follows, and modifies the preceding vowel forming diphthongs, as in pEER, pAIR, bOAR, bOOR, hERb.

Use R for R' and RR for RR', when a vowel follows, except in elementary books, where *r'* is retained.

Separate *th, dh, sh, zh, ng* by a hyphen (-) when necessary.

Read a stress on the first syllable when not otherwise directed.

Mark stress by (') after a long vowel or *ei, oi, ou, eu,* and after the first consonant following a short vowel.

Mark emphasis by (•) before a word.

Pronounce *el, em, en, er, ej, a,* obscurely, after the stress syllable.

When three or more letters come together of which the two *first* may form a digraph, read them as such.

Letters retain their usual names, and alphabetical arrangement.

Words in customary or NOMIC spelling occurring among GLOSSIC, and conversely, should be underlined with a wavy line ~~~, and printed with spaist leterz, or else in a *diferent teip*, as in these instances.

Spesimen ov Ingglish Glosik.

Dhi eer rikwei'rz much training, bifoa'r it iz aibl too apree'shiait mineu't shaidz ov sound, dhoa it redili diskrim'inaits braud diferensez. Too meet dhis difikelti Glosik haz been diveided intoo 'too paarts, Ingglish and Euniver'sel. Dhi ferst iz adap'ted faur reiting our risee'vd moad ov speech az wel az dhi autherz ov proanoun'sing diksheneriz euzheueli kontemplait. Dhus, dhi foar difthongz *ei, oi, ou, eu,* aar striktli konven'shenel seinz, and pai noa heed too dhi grait varei'iti ov waiz in which at leest sum ov dhem

aar habit·eueli proanou·nst. Agai·n, *eer, air, oar, oor,* aar stil ritn widh *ee, ai, oa, oo,* auldhoa· an aten·tiv lisner wil redili rekogneiz a mineu·t aulte-rai·shen in dheir soundz. Too fasil·itait reiting wee mai euz *el, em, en, ej, a,* when not under dhi stres, faur dhoaz obskeu·r soundz which aar soa preva-lent in speech, dhoa reprobaited bei aurthoa·ipists, and singk dhi disting·k-shen bitwee·n *i,* and *ee,* under dhi saim serkemstensez. Aulsoa dhi sounds in defer, occur, deferring, occur-ring may bee aulwaiz ritn with *er,* dhus *difer·, oker·, difer·ring, oker·ring,* dhi dubling ov dhi *r* in dhi ·too laast werdz sikeu·rring dhi voakel karakter ov dhi ferst *r,* and dhi tril ov dhi sekend, and dhus disting·gwishing dheez soundz from dhoaz herd in *her·-ing, okur·ens.* Konsid·erabl ekspee·r-riens sujes·ts dhiz az a konvee·nient praktikel aurthoa·ipi. But faur dhi reprizentai·shen ov deialekts, wee re-kwei·r a much strikter noatai·shen, and faur aurthoaep·ikel diskrip·shen, aur seientif·ik foanet·ik diskush·en, sum-thing stil moar painfuoli mineu·t. Too fernish dhis iz dhi aim ov Euniver·sel Glosik.'

§ 310. This system is open to one grave objection. The symbols are only intelligible to Englishmen living at the close of the nineteenth century. The sounds indicated are slowly but surely shifting, and some of them may be considerably changed in the course of another fifty years. On this account, it is far better to allow the symbols *a, e, i, o, u* to have their ordinary continental values, because the sounds so denoted are of a much more stable character. This is the principle adopted by Mr. Ellis in his 'palæotype,' and by Mr. Sweet in his 'romic' system. Believing the latter to be the best suited for common purposes, I now give Mr. Sweet's scheme, from his Handbook of Phonetics, p. 109.

'The following list shews the correspondence of the Broad-Romic[1] letters, with examples :—

aa	*as in*	f*a*ther.
æ	,,	m*a*n.
ae	,,	h*ai*r.
ai	,,	fly.
ao	,,	f*a*ll.
au	,,	n*ow*.
e	,,	h*ea*d, read*y*.
ei	,,	f*ai*l.
ə	,,	b*u*d, bet*t*er.
əə	,,	b*ir*d.
i	,,	f*i*ll.
ii, iy	,,	f*ee*l.

[1] By 'Broad-Romic' is meant a system for common use; another system, much more minute in character, is called 'Narrow-Romic.'

o	*as in*	f*o*lly.
oi	„	b*oy*.
ou	„	n*o*.
u	„	f*u*ll.
uu, uw	„	f*oo*l.'

The reader should observe the descriptive character of the symbols. The *a, e, i, o, u* have the continental values; *aa* is used for the *a* in *father*, because it is really long. The *y* in *fly*, or *i* in *flight*, is really a diphthong, compounded of (continental) *a* and *i*; by sounding *a, i*, in rapid succession, this will be perceived[1]. So also the *ow* in *now* or *ou* in *house* is really a diphthong, compounded of *a* and *u*, as is well shewn in the German *Haus*. The sound of *ai* in *fail* is just that of (continental) close *e* followed by *i*; by pronouncing it slowly, the glide from *e* to *i* will be detected. Our *o* in *no* is really *ou*, i.e. an *o* with an after-sound of *u*. In order to detect this after-sound, we should allow the *no* to be emphatic, and to end a sentence. Thus, in reply to the question—'are phonetics valueless?' the answer is—'*no*.' The symbol *æ* is probably the best for the peculiar sound of *a* in *man, apple, hat*; and is adopted also by Mr. Ellis in his 'palæotype.' *Ao, ae* are more arbitrary, but are convenient as representing the 'open' *o* and *e* with tolerable exactness; and *ae* comes very near the sound of long *æ*, i.e. of the *a* in *man* when lengthened. But the most difficult vowel-sound to represent is, unfortunately, one that is *extremely* common in spoken English, viz. the quite obscure sound heard in 'b*u*d,' 'bett*er*,' unemphatic 'th*e*,' unemphatic '*a*nd,' unemphatic '*a*,' '*a*bout,' &c. This is denoted by a *turned e* (ə). Owing to the absence of trill in the English *r*, we actually use the sound of this obscure vowel instead of a final *r* in such words as *hair, rare, tear*, &c. (unless the next word begins with a vowel); hence these words must be denoted by—haeə, raeə, tiiə. We also actually use the *lengthened*

[1] Compare G. *Hain*, a grove.

sound of this obscure vowel in *bird, turn*, &c., which must be written—bəəd, təən.

§ 311. As to the consonants, Mr. Sweet uses *b, d, f, g* (hard), *j, k, l, m, n, p, r* (if really trilled), *s, t, v, w, x, y, z*, with their usual values. Also *sh* with its usual value, and *zh* (as in glossic) for the sound of *z* in *azure* or of *ge* in *rouge*. Also *th* for the *th* in *thin*; and *dh* for the *th* in *thine*, just as in glossic. Of *wh* in *what*, Mr. Sweet says: 'I may note that my *wh* is an artificial sound for the natural *w* of South English'[1]. *Qu* is denoted by *kw*, as in glossic. All these can be very easily remembered, and cause no difficulty.

The following are peculiar:—

c denotes the *ch* in *change*.

H denotes the aspirate, but at the *beginning* of a word 'h' can be used instead, and is more convenient.

q denotes the *ng* in *sing*.

§ 312. The use of *c* for *ch*, and of *q* for *ng* are refinements that perplex the beginner, and I therefore beg leave, for the present, to neglect these two symbols, which I believe to be unnecessary; Mr. Sweet also joins words together, or separates syllables, just as we do in rapid speech. This also is a most perplexing (and, in my experience, a most disheartening) refinement, because it needlessly destroys all hope of rendering his system intelligible to the inexperienced[2]. I shall therefore take upon myself to write out the well-known poem by Campbell, entitled 'Hohenlinden,' in a way of my own, closely agreeing with the above system, but simplified, as far as possible, in accordance with more common methods. I write it as I pronounce it myself *colloquially*, that is, suppressing the *d* in *and* in unaccented positions (unless a vowel follows), and the like. I omit the marking

[1] This use of *w* for *wh* in *what, when, why* is usual in London; and the more is the pity.

[2] It is also needless, because hyphens can be used instead. For 'come up at once,' Mr. Sweet writes 'kəmə·pət ·wəns'; but 'kəm-ə·p-ət ·wəns' is much clearer.

of the accents, pauses, and the like, because the poem is very familiar, and my chief object is really to shew the vowel-sounds.

on Lindən, wen dhə sən wəz lou,
aol blədles lei dh'əntrodn snou,
ən' daak əz wintə woz dhə flou
əv Aisə, rouling ræpidli.

bət Lindən sao ənədhə sait
wen dhə drəm biit, ət ded əv nait,
kəmaanding faiəəz əv deth tə lait
dhə daaknes əv (h)əə[1] siinəri.

bai taoch ən' trəmpit faast əreid,
iich hoaəsmən druu (h)iz bætl-bleid,
ən' fyuuriəs evri chaajə neid
tə join dhə dredfəl[2] revəlri.

dhen shuk dhə hilz, wi' thəndə rivn,
dhen rəsht dhə stiid, tə bætl drivn,
ən' laudə dhən dhə boults əv hevn
faa flæsht dhə red aatiləri.

bət redə yet dhæt lait shəl glou
on Lindənz hilz əv steined snou
ən' blədiə yet dhə torənt[3] flou
əv Aisə, rouling ræpidli.

tiz maon, bət skaeəs yon levəl sən
kən piiəs dhə wao-klaudz, rouling dən,
waeə fyuuriəs Frænk ən' faiəri Hən
shaut in dhaeə səlfərəs kænəpi.

dhe kombæt[4] diipnz. on yii breiv,
(h)uu rəsh tu glaori aoə dhə greiv,
weiv, Myuunik, aol dhai bænəəz weiv,
ən' chaaj widh aol dhai chivəlri.

fyuu, fyuu shəl paat waeə meni miit;
dhə snou shəl bii dhaeə wainding-shiit;
ənd evre təəf bəniith dhaeə fiit
shəl bii ə souljəəz sepəlkə.

[1] I am afraid I hardly sound the *h* here.

[2] I believe I really say 'dretfəl,' because *df* is unpronounceable, if said *rapidly*.

[3] Very nearly 'taorənt.'

[4] Perhaps I ought to say 'kəmbæt'; but I do not.

§ 313. My chief object in introducing the above specimen, is to enable me to give the results of the investigations of the preceding chapter, so as to shew the extraordinary changes that have taken place in the pronunciation of our vowels. I here mainly follow Mr. Sweet's History of English Sounds, p. 66. The 'Old-English' are the usual A. S. forms and sounds; the 'Middle-English' are Chaucerian. The reader is particularly requested to take notice that the words in *italics* represent actual spellings, i. e. the *forms*; whilst the words in *Roman letters* represent the pronunciations according to the above scheme, i. e. the *sounds*.

OLD ENGLISH.	MIDDLE ENGLISH.	MODERN ENGLISH.
mann (man).	*man* (man).	*man* (mæn).
sæt (sæt).	*sat* (sat).	*sat* (sæt).
heard (heard)[1].	*hard* (hard).	*hard* (haəd, haad).
nama (nama).	*name* (naamə)[2].	*name* (neim).
ende (ende).	*ende* (endə).	*end* (end).
helpan (helpan).	*helpen* (helpən).	*help* (help).
seofon (seovon).	*seven* (sevən).	*seven* (sevn).
mete (mete).	*mete* (maetə).	*meat* (miit).
stelan (stelan).	*stelen* (staelən).	*steal* (stiil).
sǽ (sae).	*see* (sae).	*sea* (sii).
dǽd (daed)[3].	*deed* (deed).	*deed* (diid).
drèam (dreeam).	*dreem* (draem).	*dream* (driim).
grène (greene).	*green* (green).	*green* (griin).
séo (seeo).	*see* (see).	*see* (sii).
witan (witan).	*witen* (witən).	*wit* (wit).
hyll (hyll)[4].	*hil* (hil).	*hill* (hil).
wìn (wiin).	*wyn* (wiin).	*wine* (wain).
fŷr (fyyr).	*fyr* (fiir).	*fire* (faiə).
oft (oft).	*oft* (aoft).	*oft* (aoft)[5].
on (aon).	*on* (aon).	*on* (on)[5].
hól (hool).	*hool* (hool, haol).	*hole* (houl).
tá (taa).	*too, to* (tao).	*toe* (too).

[1] But mod. E. *hard* is derived from a Mercian form *hard*, with simple *a*.

[2] Mr. Sweet omits the suffixes in *name*, *ende*, *helpen*, *mete*, &c.

[3] Mod. E. *deed* is really from a variant form *dèd* (deed).

[4] Here *y* represents the sound of G. *ü* in *übel*.

[5] The slight difference in the vowels is due to the consonants following.

OLD ENGLISH.	MIDDLE ENGLISH.	MODERN ENGLISH.
tó (too).	*to* (too).	*to, too* (tuu).
sunu (sunu).	*sone* (sunə).	*son* (sən).
hús (huus).	*hous* (huus).	*house* (haus).
dæg (dæg).	*day* (dai).	*day* (dei).
secgan (seggan).	*seyen* (seiən *or* saiən).	*say* (sei).
lagu (lagu).	*lawe* (lauə̯?).	*law* (lao).

§ **314.** In several of the above words, the difference between the Middle and Modern English pronunciations is so great, that intermediate forms can be assigned which we may roughly allot to the sixteenth century or later. The most remarkable of such forms are *name* (naem), *dream* (dreem), *wine* (wein), *fire* (feir). In the sixteenth century, the distinction between the close and open *e* and *o* was still kept up; whence the distinction in spelling between *sea* (sae) and *see* (see), and between *toe* (tao) and *too* (too). This has been already explained in § 301.

§ **315.** It will be readily understood that the short sketch given in this chapter is merely a preliminary introduction to the subject, of the most meagre kind. It is simply intended to point out what are the results which the reader may expect to find, if he will take the trouble to examine for himself the works by Mr. Ellis and Mr. Sweet. The table in § 313 is of great value, as it will usually enable the student to understand the changes in the vowel-sounds of nearly all the most ordinary words of native origin. A large number of examples have already been given in Chap. V. It may be remarked that the sounds which are known with the greatest certainty are those of the *earliest* (A. S.) and the *latest* (modern) period. As to the sounds of the Middle-English period, doubt may exist in the case of certain words; but the general results are admitted. The most difficult and uncertain period is that of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when great changes were taking place in the sounds, frequently without any corresponding change in the symbols employed to represent them.

NOTE.—I beg leave to say expressly that I do not advocate Mr. Sweet's 'romic' system as being the best solution of the question of spelling-reform in modern English. Yet even with respect to this much-disputed question, I think it unquestionable that for many of our modern sounds the above symbols cannot be improved upon; amongst which I would especially select the symbols *aa*, *æ*, *ai*, *au*, *e*, *ei*, *i*, *ii* (or *iy*), *o*, *oi*, *ou*, *uu* (or *uw*) as used in § 310, and *zh*, *dh*, *kw*, as used in § 311. The most objectionable symbol is obviously the turned *e* (ə), for which it has well been proposed to use *a*, with the sound which is familiar to us in the words *aroma* and *America*. One great reason for employing it is that it is already widely used for this weak vowel-sound by the Indian government. Another, of course, is, that it does not occur anywhere in Mr. Sweet's scheme (except as *aa* doubled); and it is a pity not to use so excellent and common a symbol, which would precisely denote the usual pronunciation of the most elementary word in the language, viz. the indefinite article[1]. Moreover we should notice that, though Mr. Sweet uses the same symbol (ə) for the sound in *come*, there is really some difference in the sound. The best method of denoting the *o* in *come* is the real *crux* in every system that has been proposed. As the sound is, after all, not very common, I agree with Mr. Lecky in proposing the use of *æ* to denote it. I beg leave to refer the reader to an excellent article by Mr. Lecky in the Phonetic Journal for August 28, 1886, where the proposal is made to employ the symbols *a* and *æ*, and to *retain* our difficult and variable symbol *r* in such words as *placard*, *tankard*, *byword*, *skyward*, *escort*, *effort*, which should be written *plækard*, *tænkerd*, *baiwœrd*, *skaiwerd*, *eskort*, *efert*. The effect in transliterating the poem of Hohenlinden would be to present it in the form following. It is sufficient to give three verses.

[1] The indefinite article is *never* pronounced like *ay* in *day* in practice (unless for the sake of emphasis), though children are often told that it is.

on Lindn[1], wen dha sœn waz lou,
aol[2] blœdles lei dh' œntrodn snou,
an' dark az winter waz dha[3] flou
av[3] Aiser, rouling ræpidli.

bœt Lindn sao anœdher sait
wen dha drœm biit, æt ded av nait,
kamaanding faierz av deth ta[3] lait
dha darknes av 'er siinari.

bai taorch an' trœmpit faast areid,
iich haorsman druu (h)iz bætl-bleid,
an' fyuurias evri charjer neid
ta join dha dredfal revalri.

The unprejudiced reader, who would rather learn than scoff, may finish the poem for himself with great advantage.

I have one more suggestion to make. If *œ* be objected to as being difficult to distinguish from *æ* in writing[4], I see no great objection to using *a* for the sound of *o* in *come* as well as for the obscure vowel. Thus *come* would appear as *cam*; whilst *Cam* would appear as *Cœm*. A very little practice would render this familiar and easy, and the whole problem would be solved. *Abundance* would appear as *abandans*, the second *a* being distinguished from the others by the accent falling upon it. I think this is preferable to the romic form 'əbəndəns.' The words *bloodless*, *untrodden*, *but*, *another*, *drum*, *trumpet*, would appear as 'bladles,' 'antrodn,' 'bat,' 'anadher,' 'dram,' 'trampet.' On the other hand, *bat* and *dram* would appear as 'bæt' and 'dræm.'

[1] Note that the E. *l*, *m*, *n* are often pure vowels, and really need *no* vowel to be written before them.

[2] Mr. Lecky writes *ohl*, i.e. *oh* for the *a* in *all*; also *eh* for the *a* in *bare*, which he spells *behr*.

[3] Remember that *a* is here a purely conventional symbol, as above defined. The dull sound of *e* in *the* is the same as that of *o* in unaccented *of* and *to*, in rapid speech.

[4] The *o* and *e* are best written apart; thus *come*, *cat*, *care* may be written *koem*, *kæt*, *kaer*.

CHAPTER XVIII.

English Consonants.

§ 316. Classification of Consonants. Considerable attention has been given in many of the preceding chapters to the laws which regulate vowel-change; it will now be convenient to consider the consonants. These have already been considered as far as they are affected by Grimm's Law and Verner's Law; and in Chapter XVI, which gives a sketch of the history of our spelling, some of the consonantal changes have been incidentally mentioned. The order of consonants in the Sanskrit alphabet is such as to classify those of a similar character; it arranges them as *gutturals*, *palatals*, *cerebrals*, *dentals*, *labials*, *semi-vowels*, and *sibilants*. English has no *cerebrals*, and it is convenient to take the *gutturals* and *palatals* together. Further, the English *h* takes the place of a Teutonic KH; and this has suggested, in Fick's Dictionary, the following order for the primitive Teutonic consonants, when used initially.

GUTTURALS: **k, kw, h** (for KH), **hw, g.**
DENTALS: **t, th, d**; **n** (dental liquid).
LABIALS: **p, f** (for PH, labio-dental), **b**; **m** (labial liquid).
OTHER LETTERS: **y, r, l, w, s.**

The consonants **ng** (guttural nasal), **v** (voiced *f*), and **z** (voiced *s*) also belong to the original Teutonic alphabet, but were (probably) not used initially. Besides these, English developed other sounds and employs other symbols, such

as *c*, *ch*, *tch*, *qu*, *gh*, *j*(*ge*), *dge*, *x*, *ph*, *wh*, *sh*; but these can be most conveniently considered under the primary symbols with which each is more immediately connected. I shall therefore adhere, in the main, to the above order, simply for convenience, without advocating its adoption.

§ 317. Voiceless and Voiced Consonants. Another important method of classifying the consonants is to contrast them in pairs; each 'voiceless' consonant has its corresponding 'voiced' one, where the terms 'voiceless' and 'voiced[1]' have real physiological meanings. When the precise sense of 'voice' in this connection is once caught, the student will have no difficulty in pairing off the consonants with ease. Let us take the case of the pair of letters *k*, *g*. *K* is a *voiceless* or *surd* letter, as can be easily proved. If we attempt to sound the syllable *kaa*, we shall find it perfectly easy to do so as soon as we pass on to the vowel-sound; but if we try to pronounce the *k* alone, or *kaa* without the *aa*, we can produce no sound audible to a bystander, though we are conscious of a feeling of tension at the point of the obstruction. If we now try the like experiment with *gaa*, we shall find that even *without* the assistance of the vowel *aa*, it is possible to produce a slight gurgle or vocal murmur which, with an effort, we can make audible. The difference is, perhaps, not very easily perceived in the case of this particular pair, because *k* and *g* are both momentary sounds or checks, and not continuous; but if we take the pair of continuous letters *s* and *z*, the difference is plain. We can pronounce and prolong the sound of *s*, so as to make an audible hissing sound; but this sound is wholly due to the escape of the breath through a narrow aperture. On repeating

[1] Otherwise called 'surd' and 'sonant,' which comes to the same thing. The older terms *sharp* and *flat*, *tenuis* and *media*, *hard* and *soft*, are somewhat fanciful, and therefore objectionable. I give in the text a very popular account. For a more scientific one, see Sweet's Handbook of Phonetics, p. 36.

the experiment with *z*, we find that, *in addition to* this hissing sound, we can produce a very audible buzz by means of the breath passing through the vocal chords, which are now open, whereas they were previously closed. In connection with this difference, see the remarks in Max Müller's Lectures on Language, vol. ii. Lect. 3, where it is stated that the terms 'surd and sonant are apt to mislead,' because 'some persons have been so entirely deceived by the term sonant, that they imagined all the so-called sonant letters to be actually produced with *tonic vibrations* of the chordæ vocales.' But this error is easily avoided, and if we grant that, strictly speaking, the letter *g* is a perfectly mute check, it is also true, to use Max Müller's own words, that 'in order to pronounce it, the breath must have been changed by the glottis into voice, which voice, whether loud or whispered, partly precedes partly follows the check[1].' And I suppose that in the case of a continuous buzz, as heard in pronouncing *z*, the tonic vibrations of the vocal chords are real enough. We may therefore define the 'voiced' consonants as those which are readily *accompanied* by sonorous voice or vocal murmur, the glottis being actually 'narrowed so as to be *ready* to sound, which is never the case with voiceless consonants.' The list of English consonants that can be thus paired off is as follows:—

VOICELESS.	VOICED.	VOICELESS.	VOICED.
k	g	f	v
ch	j	s	z
t	d	sh	zh (*z* in *azure*)
th (in *thin*)	th (in *thine*)	wh	w
p	b		

§ 318. The above table is of great importance, because (as Prof. Whitney tells us) the conversion of a voiceless consonant into its corresponding voiced consonant, or the reverse, 'is abundantly illustrated in the history of every language.' The common rule is, that voiceless consonants

[1] These words are used with reference to *b*, as compared with *p*; but they are equally applicable to *g*, as compared with *k*.

have a special affinity for other voiceless consonants, and voiced consonants for voiced. The plural of *cat* is *cats*, where *t* and *s* are voiceless; but the plural of *dog* is *dogs*, where the form presented to the eye is deceptive, the word being really pronounced *dogz*. The voiced *g* turns the voiceless *s* into the voiced *z*. We can thus at once see that the following final combinations are easy to pronounce, viz. *ks*, *ts*, *ths*, *ps*, *fs*, as in *locks*, *cats*, *breaths*, *caps*, *cuffs*; but the *s* turns into *z* in *dogs*, *beds*, *breathes*, *cabs*, *loaves*. In fact, we actually have a special symbol (*x*) for the combination *ks*, as in *ax*, *tax*. Precisely similar is the case of the suffix *-ed* of the past tense and past participle; we may write *looked*, but we pronounce *lookt*. Here also the easy combinations are *gd*, *thd* (with *th* as *dh*), *bd*, *vd*, *zd*, as in *bagged*, *breathed*, *grabbed*, *moved*, *roused*; but the *d* turns into *t* in *looked*, *frothed*, *wrapped*, *cuffed*, *hissed*. Whether we look to the final or to the initial sounds of words, we find that the combinations *sk*, *st*, *sp* are easy and common; whereas no true English word begins or ends with *sg*, *sd*, or *sb*. Initial *ts* is also easy, and although we do not use it initially in English, it is the sound given in German to the symbol *z*, which begins a large number of words in that language. As to initial *ps*, it is usual to pronounce it as a mere *s*, but there is no inherent difficulty about it. The same is true of the *pt* in *ptarmigan*, usually called *tarmigan*. In contrast with *pt*, we have *bd* in *bdellium*. Lastly, when we regard the collocation of letters *within* a word, i.e. in a position where they are neither initial nor final, the operation of the law can still be traced. Thus the difficult word *cupboard* is sounded as *cubboard*. We do not say *five-teen*, but *fifteen*. When we add the voiceless *th* to the word *twelve*, the *v* becomes *f*, and the result is *twelfth*. The Latin prefix *sub* remains unchanged in *sub-ject*, *sub-jugate*, but becomes a *p* in *sup-press*, *sup-plant*[1].

[1] Unless we consider *sup* as really the older form of *sub*, preserved in such words only. Compare *sup-er*.

It actually changes still further in *suc-cour*, *suf-fer*, *sug-gest*, *sum-mon*, all of which may be included in the principle of *assimilation*, to be spoken of more at length hereafter.

§ 319. It is also worth while to notice that the voiced consonants approach more nearly than the others to the nature of vowels, and are more easily combined with them. Hence it is that a *single* voiceless letter between two vowels is liable to become voiced; a peculiarity which is chiefly seen in the case of *s*, as in *busy* (A. S. *bysig*), *dizzy* (A. S. *dysig*), *freeze* (A. S. *freosan*), *rise* (A. S. *rísan*). Similarly we have *g* for *c* (=*k*) in *sugar*, from F. *sucre*, and in *flagon*, from O. F. *flacon*. Such a change is due to the assimilating effect of the adjoining voiced sounds, and may be called *voicing*.

§ 320. Another peculiarity is that a voiceless consonant may take the place of another voiceless consonant, or a voiced one of a voiced one. This is a case of actual *substitution*, and is usually due to imperfect imitation of the sound. A child learning to speak often uses *t* for *k*, saying *tat* for *cat*[1], or *f* for the voiceless *th*, saying *frough* for *through*. A foreigner who finds a difficulty in the E. *th*, is likely to put *s* for the voiceless sound, and *z* for the voiced one, saying *sank* for *thank*, and *zis* for *this*. Even *g* for *d* is not uncommon; children are very likely to say *goggie*, if you ask them to say *doggie*; and we find Shakespeare using *gogg's wouns* for *God's wounds*; see p. 1. We constantly meet with *b* for *v* in representations of a negro dialect, as in *lib*, *hab*, for *live*, *have*. I think it may be laid down as a general rule in most languages that a voiceless consonant is usually supplanted by another voiceless consonant, or by its *own* corresponding voiced sound. The chief exception is when complete assimilation comes into play, as in the case of *of-fer*, from the Latin *ob* and *ferre*; and I think such a change may fairly and easily be explained as due to a *double* change, viz. first from

[1] Captain Cook tells us that, in the South Seas, he was often called *Too-tè* (dissyllabic).

ob-ferre to **op-ferre*, and secondly from **op-ferre* to *of-ferre*. Both of these changes are perfectly natural; almost, in fact, inevitable. Similarly, the intermediate form between Lat. *ob-currere* and *oc-currere* may have been **op-currere*; whereas, on the other hand, the change from *ad-gredi* to *ag-gredi* could be made at once.

§ 321. Consonantal changes are mostly due to the effects upon the consonants of the sounds (whether consonantal or vocal) which either immediately precede or follow them. The general principle which regulates change is simply this—that certain combinations, being thought to be difficult or being disliked as harsh, are so altered as to be more easily uttered or to give a more pleasing effect to the ear. Some of the changes are arbitrary, in so far as certain peoples seem to have a peculiar liking for certain sounds and a dislike for others; but by far the greater number of changes are due to what has been called 'laziness,' or the desire to economise the effort of talking[1]. All such changes as involve economy of effort are strictly due to the action of the vocal organs, and are to be explained physiologically; and the result is that the laws which govern such changes are extremely regular in *all* languages, admitting of no variation, or at most of very little. Whenever any consonantal change seems to contradict natural laws, we may always suspect that it is due to *external influence*, the chief of which is a desire to conform the word to other words with which it is wrongly (or sometimes rightly) supposed to be connected. As an instance of *laziness* or *economy of effort*, we may observe that the superlative formed from the comparative *better* ought, of course, to be *bet-est*; but it was very soon shortened by dropping the second *e*. The resulting form *betst* was still so troublesome, that *best* was gladly accepted as a substitute for it. On the other

[1] The 'liking' and 'disliking' are not really distinct from the desire for economy of effort. In each case, the more troublesome sound (to the speaker) is 'disliked,' and (unconsciously) avoided.

hand, there was a Middle-English verb *to abye*, to atone for, as in the phrase—'They shall *aby* bitterly the coming of such a guest' (*Thersites*, in Dodsley's Old Plays, ed. Hazlitt, i. 406). This was confused with the verb *abide*, by a false association, and hence we find in Shakespeare's *Jul. Cæsar*, iii. 2. 119—'If it be found so, some will deere *abide* it.' In this case, we have no economy, but an increase of effort, caused by sounding a useless *d*; and the explanation is, of course, that the increase of effort is due to the external influence of an ideal association, which led the speaker to think that the *d* was essential. Nearly all changes can be explained by one or other of these two principles, which should never be lost sight of. The true student of etymology expects to be able to explain all changes in a word's form by help either of *economy of effort* or of *mental association*, the former cause being physiological, the latter psychological. I would merely add the caution that there are special cases that can be explained by neither of these; we must allow for the effect of *national habits*, which may cause us to prefer certain sounds to others; and for the influence of the eye upon the ear, which has caused us to pronounce the *l* in *fault*, inserted by pedants into the older form *faut*, as has been already explained. Hence, in applying the first principle of *economy of effort*, we must allow for the influence of *national habits*; and, in applying the second principle of *external influence*, we must extend it so as to include all kinds of mental association with respect to the forms of words.

§ 322. The following are the principal methods by which consonantal change is effected in English.

CHANGES IN SOUND, INDEPENDENT OF THE SYMBOLS.

1. Palatalisation.
2. Voicing of voiceless letters.
3. Vocalisation of voiced letters.

4. Assimilation, producing combinations of voiceless letters, voiced letters, or doubled letters.

5. Substitution of one voiceless consonant for another; or of one voiced consonant for another.

6. Metathesis; or change of place of adjacent consonants.

7. Abbreviation of various kinds; including aphæresis, aphesis, &c.

8. Change of voiced letters to voiceless.

9. Insertion of 'excrescent' letters, chiefly in accented syllables; and other additions.

CHANGES IN THE SYMBOLS EMPLOYED, OR DUE TO THEM.

10. Mere change of symbol, the sound meant being the same.

11. Symbol-change causing misapprehension; misuse of symbols.

12. Doubling of consonantal symbols; often due to accentual stress.

To these we must add, in connection with the subject:

13. Vowel-changes due to consonantal influence.

14. Confluence of forms, sometimes accidental, but sometimes caused by the influence of one word upon another like it, i. e. by form-association.

§ 323. It is absolutely necessary to give at least one example in each case, for clearness, before proceeding further.

1. *Palatalisation.* $k > ch$. The guttural *k*, as in A. S. *cild* (pron. *kild*) passes into the palatal *ch* in E. *child*.

2. *Voicing.* $k > g$; $t > d$. The voiceless *k* in A. S. *dic*, a *dike*, is voiced to *g* in the derived E. *dig*. A. S. *prút* > E. *proud*.

3. *Vocalisation.* $g > y$. The voiced *g* in A. S. *dæg* has been vocalised, and now forms a component of the diphthong in E. *day*.

4. *Assimilation.* *kd* > *kt*; *gs* > *gz*; *fm* > *mm*. The word *looked* is pronounced *lookt*, by assimilation of *kd* to *kt*, where *k* and *t* are both voiceless. *Dogs* is pronounced *dogz*, by assimilation of *gs* to *gz*, where *g* and *z* are both voiced. The A. S. *hláfmæsse* is now *Lammas*, with the double *m* for *fm*.

5. *Substitution.* *k* > *t*; *th* (*dh*) > *d*. The M. E. *bakke* is mod. E. *bat*, the winged mammal. We have the form *murder* as well as the older *murther* (= *murdher*).

6. *Metathesis.* *sk* > *ks*; *ps* > *sp*. As an example of *metathesis*, or change of place, take the familiar word *ax* (*aks*) for *ask*; also M. E. *clapsen* > E. *clasp*.

7. *Abbreviation.* The A. S. *fugol* has become E. *fowl*. The Lat. *episcopus* has become E. *bishop*. The Gk. ἐλεημοσύνη became A. S. *ælmesse*, and is now *alms*.

8. *Unvoicing.* *d* > *t*. The A. S. *cudele* is now *cuttle-fish*. Examples of this character are very rare.

9. *Addition.* Excrescent *p* after *m*, &c. A. S. *æmtig* is E. *em-p-ty*.

10. *Symbol-change.* A. S. *c* in *cyn* is now *k* in *kin*. A. S. *cw* is E. *qu*.

11. *Misapprehension.* ȝ > *z*. *Capercalȝe* is now *caper-cailzie*.

12. *Doubling.* A. S. *biter* is E. *bitter*; with no alteration in the sound of the *i*.

13. *Vowel-influence.* *er* > *ar*; very common. M. E. *heruest* is now *harvest*.

14. *Confluence.* A. S. *fugol* and A. S. *fúl* are now *fowl* and *foul*, sounded alike. A. S. *geard* and A. S. *gyrde* are now both *yard*.

324. From what has preceded, the following examples will be readily understood. I cite only words of English origin, or words of Latin origin found in A. S., though many of the above changes may be illustrated much more copiously by words of French or Latin origin.

Palatalisation. So called because it causes the formation of the 'palatal' letters *ch*, *j*, *sh*, *zh* (as in *azure*). The letters *k* and *g* are liable to be followed by what has been called a parasitic *y*, introduced between the *k* or *g* and the vowel-sound. Good examples are seen in the occasional vulgar English pronunciation of *kind* as *kyind*, and of *garden* as *gyarden*. This *ky* is intermediate between *k* and *ch*, and the result of the introduction of the *y* is the ultimate passage of *k* into *ch* altogether. Similarly *g* passes through *gy* into *y* or *j*. This is extremely common in Anglo-Saxon, in which dialect the parasitic vowel was *e*, which produced the same result. Thus the Latin *calc-em* was borrowed in the A. S. form *cealc*, whence E. *chalk*; and the A. S. *geard* (for **gard*) is now *yard*, whereas the cognate Icel. *garðr* is preserved provincially in the form *garth*. The A. S. *brycge* (pronounced *bryg-gə*, with *y* like G. *ü*) became M. E. *brigge* (pronounced *brij-jə* or *brij-ə*), mod. E. *bridge* (pron. *brijj* or *brij*).

It is worth notice that English abounds with palatalisation in other instances besides those arising from *ki*, *ke* and *gi*, *ge*. Thus the A. S. *sce* produces E. *sh*, as in A. S. *scac-an*, later form *sceac-an*, E. *shake*; to which we may add nearly all words that now begin with *sh*. Further, *ti* and *si* pass into *ch*, *sh*, so that the E. *question*, *nation*, *pension* are practically pronounced as romic *kweschən*, *neishən*, *penshən*. *Di*, *zi* pass into *j* and *zh* respectively; as in *modulation* (*modyulation*), often turned into *mojulation*; and A. S. *grasian*, E. *graze*, gives the sb. *grazier* (pronounced greizhə).

§ **325. History of K.** The following are examples: **k > ch**; only when followed by *e* or *i*. A. S. *ceaf* (Dutch *kaf*), E. *chaff*[1]. A. S. *cealc* (borrowed from Lat. *calc-em*), E. *chalk*. A. S. *cierr*, a turn; hence E. *chare*, a turn of work, and *char-woman*. A. S. *cerlic*; E. *charlock*. A. S.

[1] The A. S. *c*, copied from Lat. *c*, had the sound of *k*.

cear-ig, full of care, E. *chary*; but the substantive *care* preserves the *k*-sound. A. S. *céace*, or rather *céce*; E. *cheek*. A. S. *cése* (borrowed from Lat. *caseus*); E. *cheese*. A. S. *céowan*; E. *chew*. A. S. *cicen*; E. *chicken*. A. S. *cíd-an*; E. *chide*. A. S. *cild*; E. *child*. A. S. *ciele*, *cyle*; E. *chill*. A. S. *cin*; E. *chin*. A. S. *cín-an*, to split, pp. *cin-en*; whence E. *chin-k* and prov. E. *chine* (a small ravine). A. S. *céosan*, M. E. *chesen*; cf. E. *choose*[1]. A. S. *ceorl*; E. *churl*.

k > ch, at the end of a syllable; this sometimes takes place in verbs, even when *a* follows in the A. S. form, because the final *-an* passed into *-en*. A. S. *æc-e*, s., M. E. *ach-e*, later *ache*, which in mod. E. should have been pronounced as *eich* (*ei* as *ey* in *they*), but is always sounded as *eik*, by confusion with the verb, for which the pronunciation *eik* is correct. The hardening of the *ch* to *k* was also partly due, in my view, to a pedantic derivation of the sb. from the Gk. ἄχος, with which it has no connection whatever. See Murray's Dictionary, where the author observes that 'the "O. P." rioters, ignorant of the Shaksperian distinction of *ake* [verb] and *ache* [substantive], ridiculed the stage-pronunciation of the sb. by giving it to the vb. in "John Kemble's head *aitches*."' A. S. *béce*[2]; E. *beech*. A. S. *benc* (gen. *benc-e*, dat. *benc-e*)[3]; E. *bench*. A. S. *séc-an*, E. *seek*; with a by-form *séce-an*, whence (with prefix *be-*) E. *beseech*. A. S. *birce*; E. *birch*. A. S. *blécc-an*, later *blécc-en*; E. *bleach*. A. S. *blenc-an*, to deceive; M. E. *blench-en*, to turn aside; E. *blench*. A. S. *bróc*, pl. *bréc*, i. e. *breek-s*, properly a double plural; now *breech-es*. A. S. *díc*,

[1] The mod. E. *choose* answers to an A. S. *ceósan*, in which the accent has been shifted from the *e* to the *o*, because the *e* seemed to belong to the *c*.

[2] 'Fagus, *béce*'; see my Supplement.

[3] In Middle English, the forms of the nominative, dative, and accusative were all confused together. A large number of mod. E. (so-called) nominatives are due to old *genitives* or *datives*. Thus *bench* is gen. or dat.; the nom. form should be *benk*.

E. *dike*; gen. *dīc-es* or *dīc-e*, M. E. *diche*; E. *ditch*. Here the *i* is shortened, as in *līc*, *rīce*, below: it should be spelt *dich*. A. S. *finc* (gen. *finc-es*, dat. *finc-e*), E. *finch*. A. S. *lǽc-e*, E. *leech*. A. S. *līc*, a corpse (dat. *līc-e*); whence E. *lich-gate*. A. S. *mearc* (gen. *mearc-e*); E. *march*, a boundary, frontier. A. S. *cwenc-an*, later *cwenc-en*; E. *quench*. A. S. *rǽc-an*, also *rǽce-an*; E. *reach*. A. S. *rīce*; E. *rich*. A. S. *swilc*; M. E. *swilk*, *swulk*; whence *swich*, *such*; E. *such*. (Here the weakening is due to the frequent use of the pl. *swilc-e*, and the frequent occurrence of final *-e* in various oblique cases of the M. E. forms.) A. S. *tǽc-an*, *tǽce-an*; E. *teach*. A. S. *hwilc*; E. *which*; cf. *sùch* above. A. S. *wince*; E. *winch*. A. S. *wrence*, guile, deceit; M. E. *wrench*, guile; E. *wrench*, a side-pull, twist, sprain. Cf. also *reechy* for *reeky*; *starch*, from M. E. *stark*, A. S. *stearc*, strong; *church*, Northern *kirk*, from A. S. *cyrice*.

§ 326. kk > M. E. cch > E. tch.

Written *cc* in A. S. In some cases the *kk* is preserved, but written *ck*; e. g. *thick*, from A. S. *þicc-e*. But there are several examples of palatalisation. A. S. *bicc-e*; E. *bitch*. A. S. *flicc-e*; E. *flitch*. A. S. *gicc-an*, M. E. *ȝicch-en*, E. *itch* (for **yitch*); by loss of the initial ȝ = *y*. A. S. *læcc-an*, to seize, 1 p. s. pr. *læcc-e*, whence M. E. *lacch-en*, to seize, catch; E. *latch*, sb., a catch for a door. A. S. *mæcc-a*, later *mæccea*, E. *match*[1]. A. S. *þæc*, s., a covering; whence *þæcc-an*, v., E. *thatch*. A. S. *angel-twicc-a*, a hook-twitcher, the name of a worm used as a bait for fish; hence E. *twitch*. A. S. *wæcc-e*, s., E. *watch*, i. e. watchman. A. S. *wicc-a*, masc., a wizard; *wicc-e*, fem., E. *witch*; cf. E. *wick-ed*, orig. 'addicted to witchcraft.' A. S. *wræcc-a*, *wrecc-a*, an outcast; later *wrecc-e*, M. E. *wrecch-e*, E. *wretch*. Cf. also *batch*, a 'baking,' from A. S. *bac-an*, to bake; *ratch* for *rack*. The

[1] In Matt. i. 24, the earliest MS. of the A. S. gospels has the accusative *ge-mæccean*, a later spelling of *ge-mæccan*; in the latest MS., the same word is spelt *mæcchen*.

obsolete word *blatch*, blacking, is from M. E. *blacche*, ink[1]; derived from A. S. *blæc*, E. *black*.

§ 327. **Voicing. k > ch > j.** Sometimes, after *k* passed into *ch* (as above), it is further changed to *j*, which is the voiced sound corresponding to *ch* (§ 317). Thus the M. E. *knowleche* is due to adding the Scand. suffix *-leche* (Icel. *-leiki*) to E. *know*; this word is now pronounced *nolej* or *noulej* (§ 310). The M. E. *on char*, E. *a-jar*, means 'on the turn'; from A. S. *cierr*, *cyrr*, a turn. Hence we are enabled to explain some difficult words beginning with *j*. A. S. *ceaſl*, the jaw, became M. E. *chauel* (= *chavel*), contracted to *chaule*, *chowl*, later *jolle*; E. *jowl*, *jole*; indeed, we actually find the Norfolk *jig-by-jole* for *cheek-by-chowl* (Halliwell). So also *jing-le* seems to be the frequentative form of *chink*. See also *Jolt* in my Dictionary.

Sometimes *k* is weakened to *s* (written *ce*). Thus the Lat. acc. *princi-pem* becomes F. *prince*, by dropping the last syllable. In the same way we may explain E. *prance* as a weakened form from *prank*.

§ 328. **k > g.** This is simply a case of 'voicing'; yet examples are rare. *Flagon* and *sugar* have been noticed above; § 319. Hence we can explain E. *dig*, M.E. *digg-en* = *dikien*, from A.S. *dic-ian*, to make a dike; from *dic*, a dike. *Sprig* answers to an unauthorised A. S. **sprec*, Icel. *sprek*. So also the Du. word *trekker* was adopted into English as *tricker*, but is now *trigger*.

Final k lost. A.S. *sic-an* became M.E. *sigh-en*, whence E. *sigh*. It was probably first weakened to **sig-an*; see examples of *g* > *gh* below. The *gh* is now mute. This is a case of extreme weakening; *k* > *g* > *gh*, and then drops. So also A.S. *bær-lic* became *barli*ȝ in the Ormulum, and is now *barley*; here *y* represents ȝ to the eye, but is really

[1] In Wright's Vocab., ed. Wülcker, p. 628, we have the line—'Attramentorium [glossed *blacche-pot*], sunt attromenta [glossed *blacche*], sed atrum [glossed *blacke*].'

mute. I may observe that (as Dr. Murray shews) *bær-lic*= *bær-líc*, i.e. 'that which is like *bear*,' where *bear* is the Lowl. Sc. word representing A.S. *bere*, barley. [Not *-lic* for *léac*, a leek, plant, as in my Dictionary.] The final *c* (=*k*) is also lost in *I*, A.S. *ic*; in *every*, from A.S. *æfre*, ever, and *ælc*, each; and in all words ending in *-ly*, A.S. *-lic*, older *-líc*.

§ 329. **Substitution. k>t.** This substitution is seen in the common provincial form *ast* for *ask*. 'I *ast* your pardon, ma'am,' says Mrs. Gamp (Martin Chuzzlewit, ch. xxv). The Shakesperian word *apricock* (Rich. II. iii. 4. 29) is now *apricot*. Similarly, M.E. *bakke* is now *bat*, in the sense of a flying mammal. The A.S. *ge-mac-a* has become mod. E. *mate*; a result which is curiously confirmed by the fact that our modern *inmate* was formerly *inmake*[1]. *Milt*, the soft roe of fishes, is a substitution for *milk*, Swed. *mjölke*; this was probably due to association with *milt*, spleen (A.S. *milt*), which is quite a different word.

k>p. The Lat. *locusta* became A.S. *lopust*[2], later altered to *loppestre*; whence E. *lobster*.

§ 330. **sk>sh.** Precisely as *k* becomes *ch*, so *sk* becomes *sh*, formerly written *sch*; this result is really due to palatalisation (§ 324); and is commonly due to the occurrence of *e* in oblique cases (§ 325). Thus A.S. *asc-an*, pl., is mod. E. *ash-es*, by substituting the suffix *-es* for *-en* (=*-an*). So also A.S. *æsc*, M.E. *asch*, E. *ash* (tree). A.S. *disc*, borrowed from Lat. *discus*; E. *dish*. A.S. *fisc*; E. *fish*. A.S. *flǽsc*, M.E. *flesch*; E. *flesh*. A.S. *fersc*, M.E. *fersch*, and (by metathesis) *fresch*; E. *fresh*. So also A.S. *mersc*, *hnesce*, *perscan*, *wascan*, *wyscan*; E. *marsh*, *nesh*, *thresh*, *wash*, *wish*. The common A.S. suffix *-isc* is E. *-ish*. Initially, A.S. *sc* often became *sce*; thus *scac-an* is also *sceac-an*, whence E. *shake* (§ 324). Similarly *scamu*, *sceamu*; E. *shame*, &c.

[1] I have unfortunately lost the reference for this form; but I can guarantee its correctness.

[2] See *Lobster* in my amended Supplement to Etym. Dict.

The general rule is that the A.S. *sc* almost invariably becomes E. *sh*; and, consequently, that most E. words beginning with *sc* or *sċ* are not of A. S., but of Scandinavian origin. But *sk* is also liable to be affected by *substitution*, being interchangeable with *ks* or *x*; as in A. S. *ascian*, to ask, also spelt *axian*, whence prov. E. *ax*, in the same sense. Hence A. S. *miscan* became M. E. *mixen*, E. *mix*; A. S. *ȝiscian* became M. E. *ȝixen*, *ȝexen*, E. *yex*, to hiccough. *Ks* is spelt *x* in A. S., and generally remains so, as in *ax*, *fox*, *ox*, *six*, *wax* (to grow), *wax* (a substance); A. S *æx* (*eax*), *fox*, *ox*, *six*, *weaxan*[1], *weax*.

§ 331. **History of KW, KN, GN. cw > qu.** This is merely a graphic change; the pronunciation did not alter. Cf. A. S. *cwén*, E. *queen*, &c.

kn > gn or n. The A. S. *cn* remains as *kn* (but pronounced as *n*), in *cnafa*, *cnedan*, *cnéow*, *cnyllan*, *cníf*, *cniht*, *cnyttan*, *cnol*, *cnotta*, *cnáwan*; E. *knave*, *knead*, *knee*, *knell*, *knife*, *knight*, *knit*, *knoll*, *knot*, *know*. But the word *gnarled* stands for **knarled*, being related to M. E. *knarre*, a knot in wood; the Shakespearian word *gnarl*, to snarl, is for **knarl*, being allied to Du. *knorren*, G. *knurren*, to growl; and *gnash* is for **knash*, cf. Dan. *knaske*. In *gnat*, A. S. *gnæt*, the *gn* seems original; in *gnaw*, A. S. *gnagan*, it is merely the prefix *ge-*, which disappears in G. *nagen*. The difficulty of sounding *k* and *g* before *n* has led to their total suppression in mod. E.; they only appear to the eye, and might as well be dropped. In fact, this has happened in a few words; *nip* was formerly *knip*, and *nibble* is its frequentative. The *nap* on cloth was formerly *noppe*, and denoted the little knots or *knops* on the cloth, which were nipped off in the process which produced the *nap*. There is very little trace of this in A. S., but we find the gloss 'uellere, *hnoppiam* (sic)' in Wright's

[1] The forms *weaxan*, *weax* are A.S. (Wessex); we find Northumbrian *wæxas*, Mercian *wæxaþ*, they grow, Matt. vi. 28; and Mercian *wæx*, *wax*, Vespasian Psalter, 57. 9.

Vocab. ed. Wülcker, 480. 23. Here *hnoppiam* is of course a scribal error for *hnoppian* or *cnoppian*, to pluck off the knops on cloth.

§ 332. History of H. It will be convenient to consider the aspirate (*h*) next, because of its answering to the Aryan *k*. We find that it is generally retained, initially, in English words, as *hot*, *hill*, *him*, but dropped in words of F. origin, as *heir*, *honest*, *honour*, *hostler* (*ostler*), *hotel*, *humble*, *humour*. But the fact is that many F. words have been conformed to the native usage, and few *knowingly* say *'abit*, *'aughty*, *'earse*, *'erb*, *'eritage*, *'ideous*, *'omage*, *'orrible*, and the like; although some of these are not particularly uncommon. Even *'umble* is disliked, and some fairly sound the *h* (rather than *y*) in *humour*, *human*, *humid*. It is to be noted also, that the spelling (of some at least of these words) without initial *h* in Middle English is not at all common; *oneste* and *onoure* being rarely found[1]. The only words in which the spelling without *h* is really common in M.E. are *abit*, *eir*, *eritage*, *ost*, *ostel*, *osteler*; for *habit*, *heir*, &c., to which we must add the native word *it*, from A. S. *hit*. Still, we may certainly conclude that the F. *h* was weaker than the English, and was hardly sounded. It is notorious that Londoners often say *air* for *hair*, and conversely *hair* for *air*; and it has often been a source of wonder why those who can readily sound *h* should so frequently do so in the wrong place. The habit is very old; for, in the Romance of Havelok (temp. Edward I), we find *is* for *his*, *epen* for *hepen*, i.e. hence; and conversely *hende* for *ende* (end), and *herles* for *erles* (earls); see the Glossary. As I have nowhere seen an explanation of this phenomenon, I venture to offer one. My theory is that, the English *h* being strong, and the French *h* weak, the lower

[1] Probably we have come to sound the *h* in many of these words from seeing it so commonly written.

classes discovered that the letter *h* was not much patronised by their French-speaking masters. And, as 'Jack would be a gentleman, if he could speak French,' they attempted to imitate this peculiarity by suppressing the *h* where they were accustomed to sound it. But, nature being too strong for them, they were driven to preserve their *h* from destruction by sounding it in words which had no right to it; and hence the confused result. I am the more inclined to think this explanation correct, because it will also explain the confused use of *v* for *w*. Here also the *w* was one of the commonest of English sounds, whilst in French it was somewhat rare[1]. On the other hand, initial *v* was so common in French, that the E. word *wine-yard* (A. S. *wín-geard*) was actually turned into *vine-yard*, and so remains. The lower classes tried to supplant *w* by *v*, the result being that they also turned *v* into *w*. The chief wonder is that the conflict of tongues did not produce even greater confusion, especially when we consider that the French was mainly of Latin, not of Teutonic origin.

hl>l; hn>n; hr>r. In A.S. we frequently find initial *hl*, *hn*, and *hr*. The initial *h* is always lost in later M. E. and in mod. E.; but it is very necessary to know which words once had it, because the *h* will answer, etymologically, to an Aryan *k*. Thus A. S. *hlúd*, E. *loud*, is cognate with Gk. κλυτός, renowned, Skt. *çruta*, heard. The list of *hl*-words contains: *ladder*, *lade*, *ladle*, *lady*, *Lammas*, *lank*, *lapwing*, *last* (of herrings), *laugh*, *lean*, v. and adj., *leap*, *lid*, *link* (of a chain), *list* (to hearken), *listen*, *loaf*, *lord*, *lot*, *loud*[2]. The *hn*-words are: *nap* (to slumber), *nap* (of cloth), *neck*, *neigh*,

[1] Not quite unknown to the Anglo-French dialect, which had *warantir*, to warrant, &c., such words being mostly of Teutonic origin. *Wivern* is an exception to this rule, being from Lat. *uipera*.

[2] A. S. also has *wl*; as in *wlisp*, stammering, whence E. *lisp*. So also *wrap* is M. E. *wrappen*, also *wlappen*; whence E. *lap*, to wrap up. *Luke-warm* is difficult; it seems to be due to A. S. *hléo*, shelter, warmth, confused with *wlæc*, tepid.

nesh, *nettle* (*h* lost in A. S.), *nit*, *nod*, *nut*; to which may be added the Scand. words *neif*, *nigg-ard* (with F. suffix). The *hr*-words are: *rail* (a night-dress), *ramsons*, *rath*, *rather*, *rattle*, *raven*, *raw*, *reach* or *retch* (to try to vomit), *rear-mouse*, *reed*, *reel* (for yarn), *rend*, *rick*, *rid*, *riddle* (sieve), *ridge*, *rime* (hoarfrost), *rind*, *ring*, s., *ring* (a bell), v., *rink*, *ripple* (on water), *roof*, *rook* (bird), *roost*, *rue* (to be sorry for), *rumple*, *rung*; to which may be added the Scand. words *rap*, to seize hastily, *rape* (a division of Sussex), *rifle* (to plunder), *rouse*, *ruck* (a fold), *ruck* (a small heap), *rush*, v., *ruth*.

§ **333. Final h.** The A. S. final *h* had the sound of the G. final *ch*. This sound was written *gh* in M. E., and still remains in writing, though always either mute or sounded as *f*. The final *gh* is mute in *borough*, *bough*, *dough*, *plough*, *slough* (mire), *thorough*, *though*, *through*; *high*, *nigh*, *thigh*. It is sounded as *f* in *chough*, *cough*, *enough*, *hough*, *laugh*, *rough*, *tough*, *trough*. The puzzling combination *ough* is due to the merging into one of three distinct forms, viz. *-ugh* (descending from A. S. *-uh*), *-ogh* (A. S. *-áh*), *-oogh* (A. S. *-óh*), whilst at the same time the loss of the *gh* has affected the quality of the preceding vowel, by the principle of compensation. Regularly, we should have had *thrugh*, A. S. **þruh* (for *þurh*), but it has been lengthened to *through*, as if from A. S. **þrúh*; or else *thurgh*, A. S. *þurh*, but it has been altered to *thor(ou)gh*. Again, we should have had *dogh*, A. S. *dáh*; the spelling *dough* is simply absurd and unjustifiable; and the same remark applies to the mod. E. *though*, put for M. E. *thogh*, A. S. *þeáh*. Again, the A. S. *bóh*, *plóh*, *slóh*, should have become *boogh*, *ploogh*, *sloogh*, but the *oo* has been further changed to *ou*, so that these spellings are regular[1]. The A. S. *ú* in *rúh*, i. e. *rough*, answers to M. E. *ou* (long *u*),

[1] That is, they have come about regularly; but, as the *gh* is now lost, they have really come to be *bou*, *plou*, *slou*, pronounced as romic *bau*, *plau*, *slau*.

but the *u* has been shortened, though the spelling has been retained. Each word must, in fact, be investigated separately. *Hiccough* is a spelling due to popular etymology; it should rather be *hickup*, as pronounced. *Clough* is an error for *clouf*, or rather *cluf*; from Icel. *klófi*. For *neigh*, *weigh*, see § 338.

§ 334. **Final ht.** The A. S. *ht* final answers to Aryan *kt*; cf. A. S. *riht* with Lat. *rectus*. It is now written *ght*, and is common; as in *light*, *might*, *night*, A. S. *léoht* (Mercian *liht*), *miht*, *niht*. In the combination *-ought* there is the same confusion as that noticed above (§ 333). Thus A. S. *sóhte* should have become *sooght*, but the vowel-sound has been altered, and the symbol *ou* is a very bad representative of the modern sound. On the other hand, in the A. S. *poht*, the *o* is short; which should have given E. *thoght*. Two sounds have been merged in one, and the symbol which represents both is not correct for either of them. We may also note that *delight*, *sprightly*, are miswritten for *delite*, *spritely*; both words being of French origin.

§ 335. **Loss of h.** In some cases; *h* disappears from sight altogether; whether finally, as in *fee*, A. S. *feoh*, *lea*, A. S. *léah*, *roe*, A. S. *rá̂h*; medially, as in *trout*, A. S. *truht*, borrowed from Lat. *tructa*, and *not*, short for *nought*, A. S. *náht*; or initially, as in *it*, A. S. *hit*, and in the combinations *hl*, *hn*, *hr* (see § 332). In some cases, the *h* has already disappeared even in A. S.; both finally, as in *shoe*, A. S. *sceó*, Goth. *skoh-s*; and medially, as in *ear* (of corn), A. S. *éar*, Northumbrian *eher* (Matt. xii. 1), Goth. *ahs*; *see*, A. S. *séon*, Goth. *saihw-an*; *slay*, A. S. *sléan*, Goth. *slahan*; *tear*, sb., A. S. *téar*, Goth. *tagr* (for **tahr*); *Welsh*, A. S. *welisc* (for **welhisc*), a derivative from *wealh*, a foreigner.

§ 336. **Hw > wh.** A. S. *hw* is now written *wh*; as in *hwá*, *hwæt*, E. *who*, *what*, &c. There are cases in which *wh* is miswritten for *w*; as in E. *whit*, put for *wiht*, A. S. *wiht*, and a doublet of *wight*, so that the *h* is in the wrong place; *whelk*, a mollusc, which the lower orders correctly call *wilk*,

from A. S. *wiloc*; *whortleberry*, better *wirtleberry*, from A. S. *wyrtil* in the compound plant-name *biscop-wyrtil*.

§ **337. History of G. Initial g.** The various fortunes of the A. S. *g* may be treated more briefly. Numerous examples can be added from my Dictionary, and the tracing of consonantal changes seldom causes much trouble, when once we know the regular changes to which they are liable.

The A. S. *g* often remains, initially, as a hard *g*, even before the vowels *e* and *i* (*y*), as in A. S. *gear-we*, f. pl., whence E. *gear*; A. S. *gil-an*, to get; A. S. *gidig*, *gift*, *gyldan*, (*on*)*ginnan*, *gyrdan*, *gifan*, E. *giddy*, *gift*, *gild*, (*be*)*gin*, *gird*, *give*. This hard *g* is sometimes absurdly written *gh*, as in *ghastly*, *ghost*, A. S. *gǽstlic*, *gâst*; or else *gu*, as in *guest*, *guild*, *guilt*, A. S. *gæst*, *gild*, *gylt*.

ge > y. A. S. *ge-* (initial) has two distinct values; sometimes it represents the Goth. *j* (= *y*), but in other words the *e* has crept in, much as in the case of the prov. E. *gyarden* for *garden*, cited above. In both cases it becomes E. *y*. Exx.: (1) Goth. *jus*, A. S. *ge*, E. *ye*; Goth. *ja*, A. S. *géa*, E. *yea*; A. S. *gese*, E. *yes*[1]; Goth. *jer*, A. S. *géar*, E. *year*; A. S. *git* (G. *jetz-t*), E. *yet*; Goth. *jains*, A. S. *geon*, E. *yon*; Goth. *juggs* (= **jungs*), A. S. *geong*, E. *young*. Also (2) A. S. *geard* (Icel. *garðr*), E. *yard*, an enclosed space; and in like manner E. *yare*, *yarn*, *yell*, *yellow*, *Yule*, from A. S. *gearo*, *gearn*, *gellan*, *geolo*, *geól*. *Gi* has the same fate, as in E. *yard* (rod), *yearn* (to long for), *yeast*, *yelp*, *yesterday*, *yet*, *yex*, *yield*, from A. S. *gierd*, *giernan* or *gyrnan*, *gist*, *gilpan*, *giestra*, *git* or *get*, *giscian*, *gieldan* or *gyldan*. E. *yawn*, represents a fusion of two A. S. forms, *geónian* and *gánian*. In Middle English, this *y* (= A. S. *ge*, *gi*, *gy*) is very often written ȝ. The common prefix *ge-* has almost entirely disappeared; we can trace it in the archaic *ywis*, *yclept*, *yede*, A. S. *gewis*, *ge-*

[1] Explained by me from A. S. *géa sý*, yea, let it be (so). But it may be for *géa* (or *ge*) *swá*, i. e. yea, so; as suggested by Kluge.

cleopod, pp., *ge-éode*, and in the middle syllable of *hand-y-work*, A. S. *hand-ge-weorc*, and *hand-i-craft*. Similarly, it is best to explain *yean* from A. S. *ge-éacnian*, with loss of *c*; see also my explanation of *yearn* (2), to grieve. It appears as *e-* in *e-nough*, from A. S. *ge-nóh*; and as *g-* in *g-naw*, A. S. *gnagan* (for **ge-nagen*). The initial *g* has disappeared in *if*, from A. S. *gif*[1]; *ilch*, A. S. *giċcan*; *-icle*, A. S. *gicel*, in the compound *ic-icle*, A. S. *ís-gicel*.

§ **338. Final and medial g.** The A. S. *g* is seldom preserved medially or finally. If changed, the formulæ are: *g* > *gh* (silent); *g* > *y* (vocal) or *i*; *g* > *w* (vocal) or *ow*; *g* > *j* (*ge*); *g* > *f*; or it disappears. EXX.: A. S. *twíg*, E. *twig*, where the preservation of *g* is probably due to the shortening of the long vowel. A. S. *hnéġ-an*, E. *neigh*; A. S. *weg-an*, E. *weigh*. A. S. *dæg*, E. *day*; A. S. *gréġ*, E. *gray*; A. S. *cæge*, E. *key*, &c. The A. S. suffix *-ig* = E. *-y*, as in *hál-ig*, *hol-y*, &c. A. S. *eglan*, E. *ail*; A. S. *blegen*, E. *blain*; so also in E. *brain*, *fain*, *fair*, *hail*, s., *lair*, *maiden*, *main* (i. e. strength), *mullein*, *nail*, *rail* (a night-dress), *rain*, *sail*, *snail*, *stair*, *stile*, *tail*, *thane* (for **thein*), *twain*, *upbraid*, *wain*. A. S. *búg-an*, v., to *bow*, *bog-a*, s., a *bow*; A. S. *fugol*, E. *fowl*; A. S. *maga*, E. *maw*; A. S. *ágan*, E. *owe*; A. S. *sugu*, E. *sow* (pig); so also in *dawn*, *draw*, *mow* (heap of corn), *own*, *saw*, *shaw*. A. S. *galga*, E. *gallow*(*s*); A. S. *morgen*, M. E. *morwen*, shortened to *morwe*, E. *morrow*; so also in *borrow*, *hallow*, *swallow*, v. A. S. *dwerg*, E. *dwarf*. The medial *g* has quite disappeared in A. S. *stíweard* (for **stíg-weard*), E. *steward*[2]. In *nine*, A. S. *nigon*, and *tile*, A. S. *tigol* (borrowed from Lat. *tegula*), the loss of the *g* has lengthened the *i*, by compensation. We have curious changes in *henchman* for **hengstman*, A. S. *hengest-mann*, horseman, groom; and in *orchard* for

[1] In A. S. *g-if*, the *g-* (for *ge*) is a prefix; just as in Goth. *jabai*, if, short for *ja-ibai*. Cf. Icel. *ef*, if.

[2] For the vowel-sound, cf. A. S. *híw*, E. *hue*. The *i* is affected by the following *w*.

A. S. *ort-geard*, i. e. wort-yard (cf. our modern pronunciation of *torture*).

ng. The A. S. *ng* is usually preserved, but passes into *nj* (written *nge*) in positions similar to those in which *k* is palatalised. Thus A. S. *sengan*, M. E. *sengen*, is now *singe*; cf. also *cringe*, *swinge*, *twinge*, *ding-y*, *sting-y*. The A. S. *nc* or *ng* has become *n* in *lencten* or *lengten*, spring; mod. E. *lent*.

§ **339. Double g.** Double *g* is written *cg* in A. S., *gg* (or *gge*) in M. E., and *dge* in mod. E. in nearly all cases, the sound having changed from *g* to *j*. A. S. *brycg*, M. E. *brigge*, E. *bridge*; A. S. *ecg*, M. E. *egge*, E. *edge*; A. S. *hecg*, M. E. *hegge*, E. *hedge*[1]; A. S. *micge*, properly **mycge* (cf. 'culix, *mygg*' in the Corpus Glossary of the eighth century, l. 617), E. *midge*; A. S. *hrycg*, E. *ridge*; A. S. *secg*, E. *sedge*; A. S. *slecge*, E. *sledge-hammer*; A. S. *wecg*, E. *wedge*. The breaking down of the *g* into the sound of *j* is really due to the frequent use of the oblique cases of the substantives, in which a final *-e* followed the *cg*; as in A. S. *brycg-e*, gen., dat., and acc. of *brycg*, whence the M. E. nom. took the form *brigg-e* instead of *brigg* or *brig*. The Northern dialect early rejected the final inflectional *-e*, which prevented this change; hence the Northumbrian forms *brig*, bridge, *rig*, ridge (back), *seg*, sedge. This enables us to explain *mug-wort*, i. e. midge-wort, from the early A. S. *mycg* (without a following vowel); for A. S. *y* becomes both *i* and *u* in later English. For the sense, cf. *flea-bane*. In some cases, A. S. *cg* = E. *y*, i. e. is vocalised; as in *lecgan*, to *lay*; *licgan*, to *lie*; *bycgan*, to *buy*. When the double *g* is preserved in modern English, we may be sure that the word is of Scand. origin. Thus the verb *to egg on* is from Icel. *eggja*, to instigate; the A. S. *eggian* could only give *edge*, and indeed we find the form *to edge on* also[2]. Hence also the derivation of *egg* from A. S. *æg*, an egg (as in

[1] There are *three* A. S. forms, viz. *hag-a*, E. *haw*; *hege*, M. E. *hey*, *hay*, as in *hayward*; and *hecg*, E. *hedge*.

[2] See *Edge* in Richardson.

my Dictionary), cannot be right; the A. S. *æg* became (regularly) M. E. *ey*, and is obsolete, whilst the plural *ægru* became M. E. *eyre-n* (with added *-n* for *-en*), and is also obsolete. E. *egg* is certainly of Scand. origin, from Icel. *egg* (Swed. *ägg*, Dan. *æg*); as further explained in Chap. XXIII.

§ 340. History of T. *T* is rarely voiced, so as to become *d*. In native words we have only A. S. *prút*, E. *proud*; A. S. *prýte*, E. *pride*; A. S. *cláte* (Icel. *klótr*), E. *clot* and *clod*. The change of *t* to *th*, as in *swart* (A. S. *sweart*), whence *swarthy*, is hard to explain; equally difficult is *lath* for M. E. *latte*, A. S. *lættu*. Final *t* has disappeared in A. S. *anfilte*, M. E. *anvelt*, E. *anvil*. It is also lost before *st* in A. S. *betst*, E. *best*; M. E. *latst*, E. *last*, superlative of A. S. *læt*, E. *late*. It has also disappeared in *ado*, put for *at-do*. It is only written *once* in the words *eighth*, *eighteen*, *eighty*, put for **eightth*, **eightteen*, **eightty*. In some difficult positions it is not sounded; as in *boatswain* (romic bou·sən), *castle*, *Christmas*, *mistletoe*, *wrestle*. In the word *blossom*, A. S. *blóstma*, it has even disappeared from the written form; so also in *gorse*, from A. S. *gorst*. In the word *tawdry*, the *t* is all that remains of the word *saint*, the word being a contraction for *Saint Awdry*, i. e. Saint *Æþelþrýð* (lit. 'noble strength'). The curious word *stickler*, lit. 'controller,' answers to an older *stightler*, from M. E. *stightlen*, frequentative of A. S. *stihtan*, *stihtian*, to control; here we have a change from *t* to *k*, by a substitution due to misapprehension. Popular etymology connected it with the sb. *stick*.

§ 341. Excrescent t. There are numerous cases in which an *excrescent* letter is developed, owing to a fullness of stress upon a syllable, after the letters *m*, *n*, or *s*. On this subject the reader may consult an ingenious paper by Prof. March, 'On Dissimilated Gemination,' which appeared in the Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1877. He remarks that 'the first *p* in *happy* represents the closing of the lips in *hap-*, the second *p* represents the open-

ing of the lips in *-þy*.' Again, 'the labial nasal *m* is often doubled; but the same movement of the organs which makes *m* with the nose open, will make *b* if it be closed; hence we find *b* appearing in the place of a second *m*. The most common case is before *r*, or *l*. . . . A. S. *slumerian* has in German simple gemination and appears as *schlummern*; in E. the lips close in *slum-*, but the anticipation of the coming *r* leads to stopping the nose as they part, and what would have been *-mer* turns out *-ber*; and so we have *slumber* by dissimilated gemination.' At any rate, the effect is certainly due to stress; *mb* is more forcible than *mm*, and is substituted for it accordingly. Precisely parallel is the change of *nn* to *nd*; as in A. S. *þunor*, which became **thunner* and so *thunder*. Similar are *mp* and *nt*. At the end of a word we find a substitution of *st* for *ss*, or at any rate an excrescent *t* is heard after *s*. Prof. March thinks that this tendency was helped forward by the fact that *st* is a familiar E. ending; it occurs, e.g. in the 2nd person singular of the verb, as in *lovest*, *lovedst*, and in superlatives. Clear examples of the excrescent *t* after *s* or *x* are seen in E. *agains-t*, *amids-t*, *amongs-t*, *behes-t*, *betwix-t*, *hes-t*, *mids-t*, *whils-t*; from M. E. *agein-es* (A. S. *ongéan*), M. E. *amidd-es*, *among-es*, A. S. *behés*, M. E. *betwix*, A. S. *hés*, M. E. *midd-es*, *whil-es*. *T* is excrescent in the difficult sb. *earnes-t* (M. E. *ernes*), a pledge. Excrescent *t* after *n* occurs only in *anen-t*, A. S. *anefn*, *anemn*; and in words of F. origin. (We may also note E. *wer-t*, from A. S. *wér-e*, due to association with *was-t*; but this form is not, like the rest, of purely phonetic origin.)

§ 342. History of TH. The E. *th* has two sounds, voiceless and voiced (*th*, *dh*). I shall here denote the former by þ, and the latter by ð in A. S. words. In the cases where *th* has been replaced by *d*, we may assume that it was voiced (*dh*, ð); but where it has been replaced by *t*, it was voiceless (þ). The A. S. *ge-forð-ian*, *forð-ian*, to further, promote, provide, became M. E. (*a*)*forðen*, and is now *afford*. A. S.

byrðen, a load, became *burðen*, *burthen* (=*burdhen*), and is now *burden*; the change being assisted by association with *burden*, the refrain of a song (F. *bourdon*). A. S. *cúðe* became M. E. *couðe*, *coude*, later *coud*, now spelt *could*, by needless insertion of *l*, to conform it, to the eye, with *should* and *would*. A. S. *fiðele*, M. E. *fithele* (=*fidhele*), is now *fiddle* (for **fidle*). A. S. *morðor*, M. E. *morðre*, *mordre*, became both *murther* and *murder*, of which only the latter is now commonly used. A. S. *róðer*, M. E. *rother*, *roder*, is now *rudder*. Similarly, we find that the M. E. *spither* is now *spider*. As to the voiceless þ, we find it changed to *t* in A. S. *héhþa*, M. E. *heȝþe*, also *hiȝte*, later *highth* (Milton), now *height*; A. S. *nósþyrl*, M. E. *nosethirl*, now *nostril*; A. S. *gesihþ*, later *gesiht*, *siht*, now *sight*; A. S. *stælwyrþ*, M. E. *stalworth*, now *stalwart*; A. S. *þiefþe*, E. *theft*[1]. It is also explained below (§ 343), that *th* can change into *d*, by Verner's Law, in the conjugation of verbs, so that a verb whose primary stem ends in *th* can have other stems ending in *d*. This accounts for the derivation of *suds* from the verb *to seethe* (pp. *sodden*), and of *lead*, v., and *lode* from A. S. *líð-an*, to travel. The voiced *th* (*dh*) in *bathe*, *breathe*, *loathe*, *sheathe*, *soothe*, *wreathe*, is derived, by voicing, from the voiceless *th* in *bath*, *breath*, *loath*, *sheath*, *sooth*, *wreath*. The reason why the *th* in these verbs is voiced is very simple, viz. because, in the M. E. forms, it came *between two vowels*, whereas in the substantives the *th* was final. Cf. M. E. *breðen*, to breathe, with M. E. *breþ*, breath. *Assimilation* of *th* to *s* takes place in *bliss*, put for A. S. *blíþs*, older form *blíð-s*, happiness, derived from *blíðe*, blithe, happy; and in *lissom*, put for *lith-some*, i. e. *lithe-some*.

Loss of th. Finally, *th* is lost in difficult combinations, as in *worship* for *worthship*; *wrist* for **writhst*, from *wríð-an*, to

[1] Koch adds E. *deck*, from A. S. *þeccan*, to thatch. But this is quite wrong, (1) because *deck* is a late importation from Dutch, and (2) because the voiceless *th* (þ) can only change into *t* in English. Equally absurd is his derivation of A. S. *dwerg*, a dwarf, from *þweorh*, perverse.

twist; *Norfolk*, *Norman*, *Norway*, *Norwich*, all derivatives from *North*; and in *clothes*, commonly pronounced as the 'romic' clouz, on account of the difficult combination *ðz*. So also A. S. *þwitel* is E. *whittle*; and *thwack* is commonly *whack*, often pronounced as 'romic' wæk.

§ 343. **History of D.** We learn, from Verner's Law, that in many cases a *th* is changed into *d*. The fact that the A. S. pt. t. of *weorðan*, to become, was *wearð* in the 1st and 3rd persons singular, *wurd-e* in the 2nd person, and *wurd-on* in the plural, caused confusion between *d* and the voiced *th* in M. E. Again, an A. S. *d* often answers to Icel. ð. Hence it is not surprising to find that the A. S. *hider*, *þider*, *hwider*, *fæder*, *módor* (Icel. *héðra*, *þaðra* . . . *faðir*, *móðir*) are now *hither*, *thither*, *whither*, *father*, *mother*[1]. So also A. S. *weder* (Icel. *veðr*), is E. *weather*; M. E. *tedder* is now *tether* (cf. Icel. *tjóðr*); A. S. *gædrian* is now *gather*; A. S. *tó-gædre* is now *together*. E. *sward*, as in *greensward*, A. S. *sweard*, also appears provincially as *swarth*, Icel. *svörðr*. E. *yard*, from A. S. *geard*, also appears as *garth*, from Icel. *garðr*.

D becomes *t* in E. *abbot*, from A. S. *abbod*; but here the influence of the Lat. acc. form *abbat-em* is obvious. A. S. *cudele* is now *cuttle-fish* (cf. G. *kuttelfisch*); but the origin of the word is obscure. A. S. *teld*, M. E. *teld*, *telt*, is now *tilt* (of a cart); so also the Icel. *tjald* is accompanied by Dan. *telt*, Swed. *tält*. The final *-ed* of the pp. is often pronounced as *t* (§ 318); hence we have *wont* for *won-ed*, A. S. *wun-od*, pp. of *wunian*, to accustom; whence even *wont-ed* (=*won-ed-ed*), with reduplicated suffix. Note also such forms as *built*, *girt*, *sent*, *kep-t*, *lef-t*, *bles-t*; and the entire disappearance of *-ed* after *t* and *d*, as in *aghast*, *led*. Final *-d* stands for *-ed* in *bal-d*, M. E. *ball-ed*.

§ 344. **Loss of d.** *D* disappears in a few words; as in

[1] But *father* and *mother* may have been due to association with *brother*; for they are still pronounced with *d* in West Cumberland, where the Norse influence is very strong.

answer, gospel, woodbine, A. S. *andswerian, godspel, wudubind*; *wanion*, formerly *waniand*; *tine*, a prong of a fork, A. S. *tind*; *lime* (tree), A.S. *lind* (see p. 371); also in *upholsterer*, formerly *upholdster*; and in *bandog*, formerly *band-dog*.

Excrescent d (cf. § 341). Excrescent *d* appears after *n* at the close of an accented syllable; as in *boun-d* in the sense of 'prepared to go,' M. E. *boun*, Icel. *búinn*, prepared, pp. of *búa*; *dwin-d-le*, frequentative of A. S. *dwín-an*, to dwindle; *gan-d-er*, A. S. *gandra*, earlier form *ganra*; *hind*, a peasant, M. E. *hine*, from A. S. *hína*, really the gen. pl. of *híwa*, a domestic; *kin-d-red*, M. E. *kinrede*, A. S. *cyn-rǽden*; *len-d*, M. E. *len-en*, A. S. *lǽn-an*; *roun-d*, to whisper, A. S. *rún-ian*; *spin-d-le*, M. E. *spinel*, A. S. *spinl*; *thun-d-er*, A. S. *þun-or*; and perhaps *scoun-d-rel*. In *fon-d*, the suffix is that of the pp. (Conversely, in some words, the combination *nd* is pronounced as *n*; as in *groundsel, handsome, handkerchief*. Lastly, *dn* is pronounced as *n* in *Wednesday*.)

Excrescent *d* also appears after *l* in *al-d-er* (tree), A. S. *alr*; *el-d-er* (tree), A. S. *eller-n*; and in such forms as *alderfirst*, i. e. first of all, where *al-d-er* is for M. E. *aller*, A. S. *eal-ra*, gen. pl. of *eal*. *Iron-mould* was formerly *yron-mole*, as in Lyly's Euphues, p. 39; the *-d* may be due to *-ed*, as if for *mol-ed*, i. e. stained, from *mole*, A. S. *mál*, a spot. *New-fangle-d* was formerly *newe-fang-el*, i. e. prompt to catch at new things, as in Chaucer, C. T. 10932.

Assimilation of *d* to *s* appears in *bless*, A. S. *blédsian*, orig. to consecrate by blood; from *blód*, blood, with the ordinary mutation from *ó* to *é*. Also in *gossip*, M. E. *godsib*.

§ 345. History of N. The most remarkable facts about the letter *n* are the frequent loss of it in all positions, and the occasional insertion of it at the beginning or end of a word; as shewn below. If it changes, it changes to *m*; very rarely to *l* or *r*.

It changes to *m* before *p* or *b*; as in A. S. *henep*, E. *hemp*; A. S. *wín-berige*, E. *winberry, wimberry*. A. S. *hwín-an*, to

whine, has formed a frequentative *whimmer*, noted by Jamieson as a word in use in Roxburghshire, mod. E. *whimper* (with excrescent *p*). At the end of words we find the same change; thus A. S. *holegn*, *holen*, M. E. *holin*, became, by loss of *n*, *holly*; but also, by contraction, *holm*; so that *holm-oak* means 'holly-oak.' A. S. *lind*, a lime-tree, became *line* (Tempest, v. 10), by vowel-lengthening (§ 378) and subsequent loss of *d*, and is now *lime*. M. E. *bren-stoon*, burning stone, is now *brimstone*. A. S. *snacc*, a boat, is the same word as Du. *smak*, whence we have borrowed E. *smack*. *N* is now *l* in *flannel*, formerly *flannen* (Welsh *gwlanen*). In one word, *n* has become *r*; A. S. *pinewincla*, a small mollusc, is the prov. E. *peniwinkle*, E. *periwinkle*, by confluence with the name of a flower.

§ 346. **Loss of n.** *N* is lost in A. S. before *s* and *th*; as in A. S. *cúðe*, *gós*, *líðe*, *múð*, *óðer*, *tóð*, *uncúð*, *ús*, E. *cou(l)d*, *goose*, *lithe*, *mouth*, *other*, *tooth*, *uncouth*, *us*; cf. Goth. *kuntha*, G. *gans*, G. *lind*, Goth. *munths*, *anthar*, *tunthus*, *kunths* (known), *uns* or *unsis*. So also A. S. *téoða*, M. E. *tethe*, *tithe*, E. *tithe*, is for **téonða*, i. e. *tenth*. *N* is lost, finally, in A. S. *drosn*, also *dros*, E. *dross*; A. S. *eln*, E. *ell*; A. S. *elboga* (for **elnboga*=Icel. *alnbogi*), E. *elbow*; A. S. *æfen*, E. *even*, i. e. evening, also *eve*; A. S. *gamen*, *holegn*, *myln* (borrowed from Lat. *molina*), *misteltán*, *solcen* (only found in the compounds *á-solcen*, *be-solcen*), E. *game*, *holly*, *mill*, *mistletoe*, *sulky*. *N* is also lost, medially, in *spider*, M. E. *spither*, put for **spin-ther*, i. e. spinner; *Thursday*, A. S. *þunres-dæg*, the day of Thunder; A. S. *angnægl*, E. *agnail*. Similarly *fourteen-night* has become *fortenight*, and finally *fortnight*; O. Mercian *enlefan*, A. S. *en(d)lufon* (with excrescent *d*, cf. Goth. *ainlif*), M. E. *enleuen*, is now *eleven*. But the most frequent loss of *n* is in inflexions, where it has totally disappeared in the majority of cases. Thus the infinitive of all A. S. verbs ended in *-an*, becoming M. E. *-en*, *-e*, mod. E. mute *e* or lost. Similarly A. S. *beforan* is now *before*; so also in the case of *beneath*

beside, within, about, without; and in *Monday, Sunday, yesterday*, A. S. *mónan-dæg, sunnan-dæg, gistran-dæg*. Initially, it is lost in *adder, auger*, A. S. *nædre, nafe-gár* (lit. nave-borer). Also in *aught*, when popularly used for *naught*, as in the phrase 'carry *aught*' in arithmetic. This peculiarity is due to a confusion in the use of the definite article, so that *an adder, an auger*, were wrongly used instead of *a nadder, a nauger*. It must be remembered that *an* was formerly used before consonants as well as vowels[1]; hence we can account for E. *drake* by supposing that the Scand. form *andrake* (Swed. *anddrake*, O. Icel. *andriki*) was misunderstood as *an drake*, thus causing the loss of *an*.

§ 347. **Intrusive n.** Owing to the uncertainty above mentioned, the opposite mistake arose of prefixing *n* to words which began with a vowel. Thus A. S. *efete* became *ewt*, and *an ewt* was misapprehended as *a newt*; whence E. *newt*. Similarly *an awl* was sometimes thought to stand for *a nawl*; hence the not unfrequent use of *nawl* or *nall* in the sense of 'awl.' Such forms as *nass* for *ass*, *neiȝ* for *eiȝ* (an egg), &c., are occasionally found. *Nuncle, naunt*, probably arose from *mine uncle, mine aunt*, misapprehended as *my nuncle, my naunt*. An intrusion of *n* also occurs by putting *ng* for *g*, as *nightingale* for **nihtigale*, M. E. *nightegale*. At the end of words we find an excrescent *n* after *r*; as in M. E. *bitour*, E. *bitter-n*, M. E. *marter*, later *marter-n*, now *marten*, both words of French origin. Hence we can understand E. *stubbor-n*, M. E. *stibor*, which may also have arisen from misapprehending M. E. *stibor-nesse* as **stiborn-nesse*.

Assimilation of *nd* to *nn* is seen in E. *winnow*, M. E. *windewen*, A. S. *windwian*, to expose to wind.

§ 348. **History of P.** *P* is changed to its voiced equiva-

[1] Layamon's Brut begins with the words *An preost*, written *a prest* in the second and later MS. In l. 113 of the Ormulum, we find *an duhhtig wif*, a doughty wife. Still later, we find *on littel quile*, a little while, Sir Gawayn, l. 30 (about A.D. 1360 or later).

lent, viz. *b*, in a few cases. A. S. *loppestre* is now *lobster*; A. S. *papol* is now *pebble*; *dribble* is the frequentative of *drip*; *wabble*, to reel, orig. to flutter, is the frequentative of *whap*, to strike, to flutter; the M. E. *attorcop* or *cop*, a spider, has given us *cop-web*, now *cobweb*; and *knop* has become *knob*.

P has become *f*, and afterwards *v* in A. S. *cnapa*, later form *cnafa*, E. *knave*.

Excrescent p occurs after *m* in *empty*, A. S. *æmtig*; *glimpse*, M. E. *glimsen*; and *sempster* for *seamster*[1].

§ 349. History of F. The Anglo-Saxon (Southern) *f* had the sound of *v*, even initially (as in modern Southern dialects), and in all positions except in such words as *oft*, *æfter*. The Mercian *f* must have been the same as the mod. E. initially, and also kept that sound in some words, both medially and finally, viz. in words such as *deaf*, *loaf*, *staff*, *cliff*, *offer*, where the *f* is sometimes doubled. This system of denoting the voiceless sound by doubling the letter is found in A. S., in the word *offrian*, to offer, borrowed from Lat. *offerre*; the true A. S. double *f* (or rather double *v*) changing into *bb*, as in *habban*, to have, infin., as compared with *hé hafð* (= *havð*), he has. But a single *f* between two vowels was doubtless sounded as *v*, even in Mercian, and in modern English is always so written; it was early written *u* by the Anglo-French scribes. The form *off*, being emphatic, is still pronounced with *f*, but the unemphatic *of* is pronounced *ov*, even in the compounds *hereof*, *thereof*, *whereof*. In some M. E. MSS. we even find such words as *from* needlessly spelt *ffrom*, as e. g. in the MS. of Richard the Redeless; but I think we never find *ff* for the sound of *v*[2]. This distinction is perfectly observed in mod. Welsh, where *ff*=*f*, and *f*=*v*. We have only four words in which *f* has become *v* initially; these are *vane*, *val*, *vinewed*,

[1] We may add *whimper*, the equivalent of Lowland Scotch *whimmer*, frequentative from a base *whim*, with the same sense as *whine* (§ 345).

[2] The capital F is also written *ff*, as said above.

and *vixen*, A. S. *fana*, *fæt*, *finege*, **fyxen* (fem. of *fox*)[1]. *Life* represents a nom. case *líf*, but the M.E. pl. was *liues*, E. *lives*. *Calf* gives both the pl. *calves*, and the derivative verb *to calve*. *Belief* gives the derivative verb *believe*. Cases in which the medial *f* has become *v* are, of course, extremely common; in fact, they run through the whole language. Examples are seen in the plurals *leaves*, *lives*, *loaves*, *thieves*, &c.; in the verbs *behave*, *behove*, *calve*, *carve*, *cleave*, *crave*, *grave*, *halve*, *have*, *heave*, *live*, *love*, &c., M. E. *hauen* (with prefix *be-*), *behouen*, *caluen*, &c.; also in *cove*, *five*, *glove*, &c., A. S. *cófa*, *fíf*, *glóf*, &c.; and in *anvil*, *clover*, *ever*, *evil*, *harvest*, *haven*, *hovel*, *liver*, *navel*, *raven*, &c. The *f* is preserved in *fifth*, *fifty*, *twelfth*, and the like, by the voiceless *th* or *t*. *F* is miswritten *gh* in *clough* (§ 333).

F has remarkably disappeared in the following cases: A. S. *hæfst*, *hæfð*, *hæfde*, E. *hast*, *hath* (also *has*), *had*; A. S. *heafod*, M. E. *heued*, *heed*, E. *head*; A. S. *hláford*, M. E. *lauerd*, E. *lord*; A. S. *hlǽfdige*, E. *lady*[2]. A. S. *efete* became M. E. *ewt*, our *newt*. Both *l* and *f* are ignored in the mod. E. *halfpenny*.

Assimilation has taken place, of *fm* to *mm*, in *leman* or *lemman*, A. S. *léof-man*, i. e. 'dear one'; *Lammas*, A. S. *hláfmæsse*, i. e. loaf-mass; and in *woman*. The last remarkable form arose thus: the A. S. *wífman*, pl. *wífmen*, became Early E. *wimman*, pl. *wimmen*. The pl. form is still strictly preserved in our pronunciation, though persistently misspelt *women*; the singular has been changed from *wiman* to *woman* by the influence of the *w*, which tends to turn *i* into *o*, and *o* into *u*; cf. Goth. *kwiman* with the modern E. *come*.

[1] Though A. S. *fyxen* does not occur, we find A. S. fem. *fyxe*, which only differs in the suffix; see Index to Sweet's Oldest Eng. Texts. *Fixsen* occurs as a surname. *Vat* was re-imported from Dutch.

[2] *Hawk* is often added; but it is more likely that *hawk* represents Icel. *haukr* than the A. S. *hafoc*. Indeed, the latter form appears to be the original of *havoc*.

Very similar is the change from *fn* to *mn*, later *m*, as in A. S. *stæfn*, *stefn*, later *stemn*, whence mod. E. *stem* (of a tree).

§ 350. History of B. *B* is sometimes changed to voiceless *p*, as in *gos-sip*, M. E. *gossib* or *godsib*, i. e. 'related in God,' said of a sponsor in baptism. So also *unkempt*=*unkembed*, i. e. uncombed; from A. S. *camb*, a comb, with mutation of *a* to *e*; see p. 202.

Excrescent b is common after *m*, as in *em-b-ers*, M. E. *emeres*, A. S. *æmyrian*; *gam-b-le*, from *game*; *bram-b-le*, M. E. *brembil*, A. S. *bremel*; *nim-b-le*, M. E. *nimel*, ready to seize, from A. S. *nim-an*, to seize, take; *slum-b-er*, M. E. *slumeren*, A. S. *slumerian*; *tim-b-er*, A. S. *timber*, but cf. Swed. *timmer*, timber, and Goth. *timrjan*, to build. Similarly, *mb* appears for *mm* (or even *m*) in an accented syllable, as in *lamb*, A. S. *lamb* (Du. and Dan. *lam*, Swed. and G. *lamm*); so also in *climb*, *comb*, *crumb*, *dumb*; to which we may add *limb*, A. S. *lim*, and *thumb*, A. S. *puma*; but this final *b* is no longer sounded. *Thim-b-le* is a derivative of *thumb*; and *crum-b-le* of *crumb*, from A. S. *crum-a*. *Humble-bee* = *hummle-bee*; where *hummle* is the frequentative of *hum*. *Numb* is from M. E. *num-en*, *nom-en*, A. S. *num-en*, deprived of sensation, pp. of *nim-an*, to seize, take, catch; cf. Icel. *num-inn*, bereft, pp. of *nema*, to take.

§ 351. History of M. The letter *m* is lost before *f* and *s*, even in A. S., in a few words, viz. *fif*, E. *five*, Goth. *fimf* (where the *m* is itself a substitution for Aryan N); *ósle*, E. *ousel*, cognate with G. *amsel*; *sófte*, E. *soft*, cognate with G. *sanft*, O. H. G. *samfto* (adverb).

M becomes *n* before *t*, as in A. S. *æmete*, E. *emmet*, or by contraction *ant*. So also we have *Hants* for *Hamtonshire*, otherwise called *Hampshire*, where the *p* is excrescent. Cf. *aunt* (through the French) from Lat. *amita*.

§ 352. History of Y. The original Aryan Y is represented in A. S. by *ge* only in a very few words, viz. *ye*, *yea*, *yes*, *year*, *yore*, *yet*, *yoke*, *yon*, *young*, *youth*; in *you*, *your*, the *g*

was dropped, viz. in A. S. *eów*, *eówer*. In other cases *y* corresponds to an Aryan G. See § 337.

§ 353. **History of R.** In most Aryan languages, *r* has a tendency to turn into *l*. Hence we can explain E. *smoulder*, from M. E. *smolder*, a stifling smoke, as being a variant of M. E. *smorther*, with the same sense; from A. S. *smor-ian*, to stifle. The M. E. *smorther* is now *smother*, so that *smoulder* and *smother* are doublets.

Rr has become *dd* in A. S. *pearruc*, M. E. *parrok*, an enclosure, now *paddock*. In fact, the railway-station now called *Paddock Wood* is in the old manor of *Parrocks*; Archæologia Cantiana, xiii. 128; Hasted's Hist. of Kent, 8vo., v. 286. Cf. *porridge* < *poddige* < *pottage*.

R has disappeared from *speak*, M. E. *speken*, A. S. *sprecan*; also from *speech*, M. E. *speche*, A. S. *spǽc*, earlier *sprǽc*.

R is intrusive in *bride-groom*, for *bridegoom*, A. S. *brýd-guma*; and probably in *groom* itself; also in *hoarse*, M. E. *hors*, *hoos*, A. S. *hás*. *Surf* was formerly *suffe*, probably from A. S. *swógan*, to make a rushing noise or 'sough.' As to the pronunciation of *r*, see § 310.

Metathesis is not infrequent in words containing the letter *r*, which is liable to shift its place. Thus we have *bird*, from A. S. *bridd*; *burn*, from A. S. *brinnan*; *bright*, from Mercian *berht* (A. S. *beorht*); *cress*, from A. S. *cærse*; *fresh*, from A. S. *fersc*; *fright*, from A. S. *fyrhto*; *nostril*, for **nosthril* = **nos-thirl*, A. S. *nospyrl*; *through*, from A. S. *purh*, cf. E. *thorough*; *wright*, from A. S. *wyrhta*; *wrought*, A. S. *worhte*; *third* for *thrid*, from *three*; *thirteen*, *thirty*, for *thrilteen*, *thrilty*. Cf. also A. S. *gœrs* or *græs*, grass; A. S. *irnan* or *rinnan*, to run; E. *thirl* or *thrill*, to pierce; M. E. *burd*, a bride; E. *frith* as a variant of *firth*, from Icel. *fjörðr*.

§ 354. **History of L.** *L* has disappeared from *each*, *which* (Scotch *ilk*, *whilk*), *such*, A. S. *ǽlc*, *hwilc*, *swylc*; also from *as*, M. E. *als*, *alse*, *also*, A. S. *eal-swá*, a doublet of *also*. *England* is for *Eng(le)-land*, A. S. *Engle-lond*, *Æng-laland*, the

land of the Angles. *L* is not sounded in *calf*, *half*, *calve*, *halve*, *folk*, *yolk*, *talk*, *walk*, *qualm*, &c.; nor in *would*, *should*. The spelling of *would* and *should* has brought about the intrusive *l* in *could* for *coud*. Assimilation of *lt* to *tt* has taken place in *totter*, prov. E. *toller*, A. S. *tealtrian*.

§ 355. **History of W.** The A. S. suffix *-wa* or *-we* is now written *-ow*, as in *ærwe* (*ærewe*), *spearwa*, now *arrow*, *sparrow*. The A. S. final *w* is absorbéd; so that *treow* is *tree*, *cneow* is *knee*, *gleow* is *glee*, *tréowe* is *true*, *éow* is *you*, *híw* is *hue*, &c. It is preserved to the eye in *ewe*, *new*, *yew*, *snow*, &c., but is vocalised in pronunciation.

W has disappeared from A. S. *wós*, E. *ooze*; A. S. *cwidu*, later *cudu*, E. *cud*; *féower*, E. *four*; *láwerce*, E. *lark* (bird); *áwiht*, *náwiht*, E. *aught*, *naught*; *sáwel* (Goth. *saiwala*), E. *soul*. It also occasionally drops in certain combinations, as *wl*, *thw*, *tw*, *sw*. Thus *lisp* is from A. S. *wlisp*, adj., stammering; *thong*, from A. S. *þwang*; *tusk*, from A. S. *tusc*[1], also *tux*, *twux* (for **twisc*); *such*, from M. E. *swiche*, A. S. *swylc*; *so*, *also*, from A. S. *swá*, *ealswá*; and *sultry* is for *sweltry*. Also in *answer* and *sword*, where it is only present to the eye. *Sister* is not derived from A. S. *sweostor*, but from the cognate Icel. *systir* (Goth. *swistar*).

Hw is now written *wh*, reduced in pronunciation to a mere *w* in Southern English; the *w* is silent in *who*, A. S. *hwá*, but the *h* remains. See § 336.

Wr is still written, but the *w* is silent, viz. in *write*, *wrong*, &c. To this rule there is one exception, the written *w* being now dropped in A. S. *wrót-an*, to *root* or *rout* up, as a pig does with his snout. The Promptorium Parvulorum has: '*Wrotyn*, as swyne; *Verror*.' *Root*, sb., is of Scand. origin.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century a habit arose of prefixing *w* to *h*, when the vowel *o* followed it, in certain words. Thus M. E. *hool* became *whole*, and M. E. *hoot*

[1] The spelling *tusc* occurs in the Erfurt Glossary, l. 487.

became *whole* or *whot*; in which cases the *w* was slightly sounded[1]. The *w* in *whole* and *whot* has again dropped in pronunciation, but it is kept to the eye in the former of these words; whereas *whot* is now *hot*. So also *hoop* (F. *houper*) became *whoop*; we must not make the mistake of confusing this word with A. S. *wóp*, sb., an outcry, the derived verb from which is *wépan*, our *weep*. The *w* in *woof* is also unoriginal, and will be explained below; § 370, p. 395.

§ 356. **History of S.** Owing to the frequent change of the sound of final *s* to *z*, the Anglo-French scribes introduced the use of *ce* to denote a final *s* that had preserved its sound; in imitation of the F. spellings *penance*, *price*, &c. Hence we find A. S. *flýs*, *ís*, *lýs*, *mýs*, *minsian*, *ánes*, answering to E. *fleece*, *ice*, *lice*, *mice*, *mince*, *once*; and the M. E. *hennes*, *sithens*, *thennes*, *thriës*, *trewes*, *twiës*, *whennes*, answering to E. *hence*, *since*, *thence*, *thrice*, *truce*, *twice*, *whence*. Owing to a supposed etymology from F. *cendre*, we find A. S. *sinder*, scoria, slag (Icel. *sindr*, Swed. *sinder*, G. *sinter*), spelt *cinder*, as at present. The correct spelling *sinder* occurs as early as the eighth century and as late as the sixteenth; see my Supplement. Owing to confusion with F. words, such as *science*, we find *sc* miswritten for *s* in *scythe*, A. S. *síðe*.

S becomes *z* medially and finally in a large number of words, a change which is sometimes indicated by writing *z*, and sometimes not. On the one hand we have *adze*, A. S. *æðese*; *bedizen*, allied to *dis-* in *distaff*; *blaze*, A. S. *blæse*; *dizzy*, A. S. *dysig*; *drizzle*, frequentative of A. S. *dréos-an*, to let fall in drops; *freeze*, (pp. *frozen*), A. S. *fréosan*; *furze*, A. S. *fyrs*; *hazel*, A. S. *hæsel*; *nozzle*, from *nose*, A. S. *nosu*; *ooze*, sb., wet mud, A. S. *wós*; *sneeze*,

[1] Halliwell gives prov. E. *whome* for *home*, and *whoard* for *hoard*. We even find prov. E. *woats* or *wuts* for *oats*; and we all say *wun* for *one*.

for **fneeze*, M. E. *fnesen*, A. S. *fnéosan* (whence also *neeze*, by loss of *f*); *wheeze*, A. S. *hwésan*; *wizen*, from A. S. (*for*)-*wisnian*, to dry up. So also *brazen* from *brass*, *glaze* from *glass*, *graze* from *grass*. On the other hand, we have *arise* and *rise*, A. S. *árísan*, *rísan*; *besom*, A. S. *besma*; *bosom*, A. S. *bósm*; *lose*, A. S. *losian*, properly 'to become loose'; *nose*, A. S. *nosu*; *whose*, A. S. *hwás*; *those*, A. S. *þás*. So also the verbs *house*, *louse*, *mouse*, with *se* as *z*; from the sbs. *house*, *louse*, *mouse*, with *se* as *s*. Compare with this the voicing of *th* between two vowels, as explained in § 342.

S becomes *sh* in *gush*, from Icel. *gusa*; and *ch* in *linch-pin*, put for *lins-pin*, from A. S. *lynis*, an axle-tree. So also mod. E. *henchman* appears as M. E. *hensman*, short for *hengst-man*, i. e. horseman, groom. Cf. 'canterius, *hengst*' in Wright's Vocabularies; and see *heyncemann* in the Promptorium Parvulorum.

§ 357. **S > r.** There are some very interesting instances of the change of *s* to *r*, by Verner's Law. In all such cases *s* took first of all the intermediate sound of *z*. Obvious examples occur in *are*, pl. of *is*; *were*, pl. of *was*; *lorn*, pp. of M. E. *lesen*, A. S. *léosan*; *frore*, used by Milton for *frozen*. Other examples are found in *bare*, A. S. *bær*, cognate with Lithuanian *basas*, bare-footed; *berry*, A. S. *berige*, Goth. *basi*; *blare* (of a trumpet), from M. E. *blasen*, to blow loudly (cf. *blas-t*); *dreary*, A. S. *dréor-ig*, orig. dripping with gore, from *dréos-an*, to drip; *ear*, A. S. *éare*, Goth. *auso*; *hear*, A. S. *héran*, *hýran*, Goth. *hausjan*; *iron*, A. S. *íren*, earlier form *ísen*; *lore* and *learn*, A. S. *lár* and *leornian*, from a Teut. base LEIS, appearing in Goth. *lais*, I have found out, I know; *rear*, v., A. S. *rǽran* (=**rǽs-ian*), causal verb from *rise*; *weary*, A. S. *wér-ig*, from *wórian*, to tramp over a moor, from *wór*, a moor = *wós*, mire.

One very singular example of a similar change occurs in the mod. E. *dare*; the A. S. form is *dear*, standing for *dearr*

(=**dearz*), cognate with Goth. *dars*, I dare (cf. Gk. *θαρσ-εῖν*). The radical *s* reappears in the pt. t. *durs-t.*

§ 358. In several words *s* has disappeared from the end, having been mistaken for the plural suffix, and its removal has formed a new but incorrect singular[1]. A. S. *byrgels*, a tomb, M. E. *buriels*, became M. E. *buriel*, whence our *burial*. A. S. *rǽdelse*, M. E. *redels*, a riddle, became M. E. *redel*, whence our *riddle*. A. S. *pisa*, pl. *pisan*, borrowed from Lat. *pisum*, became M. E. *pese*, pl. *pesen* or *peses*, later *pease*, pl. *peason*; then *pease* was taken to stand for *peas*, a plural; the *s* was cut off, and the result is E. *pea*. Similarly the supposed pl. *skates* is really a singular, being borrowed from Du. *schaats*, pl. *schaatsen*. On the other hand, the pl. *bodies*, in the sense of stays for women, has been turned into a singular, spelt *bodice*; *bracken* is really a plural in *-en*, A. S. *braccan*, pl. of *bracce*, i. e. *brake*. *Eaves* is singular, A. S. *efese*; and so is *alms*, A. S. *ælmesse* (Gk. *ἐλεημοσύνη*).

§ 359. The combinations *st*, *sp*, *str*, *spr*, are extremely common, and remain unchanged. There is hardly any tendency, as in some languages, to drop the initial *s*. It is however lost in *paddle*, formerly *spaddle*, when used in the sense of a small spade, being in fact the diminutive form of *spade*; this is due to confusion with *paddle*, in the sense of an implement for managing a boat.

S is intrusive in *island*, M. E. *iland*, A. S. *ígland*, by confusion with F. *isle*, from Lat. *insula*.

S is sometimes prefixed. It is common to compare *melt* with *smelt*, and to say that the *s* in *smelt* is prefixed. This is untrue; both *meltan* and *smeltan* are A. S. and general Teutonic forms; and, if they are connected, we can more

[1] See a list of Words corrupted through mistakes about Number, in A. S. Palmer's Folk-Etymology, 1882, p. 592. But there are a few errors in it, as e.g. under *knee*, supposed to be plural; *lea*, supposed to be a fictitious singular.

easily derive *melt* from *smelt* by supposing that the *s* was lost. But there is a real prefixing of *s* in *s-queeze*, from A. S. *cwísan*, *cwésan*, to crush. This *s* is due to association with *s-quash*, a word of F. origin, from O. F. *es-quacher* (= Lat. *ex-coactare*), in which the *s* represents the O. F. intensive prefix *es-* = Lat *ex*[1]. Several other words have been explained as containing the same intensive prefix, but I believe that most of such explanations are wrong[2]. *Sneeze* is probably nothing more than a variant of the older *fneeze*; due to substituting the common combination *sn* for the rare and difficult *fn*; whilst *neeze* resulted from dropping *f*.

§ 360. **SK**: The A. S. *sc*, when followed by *e* or *i*, commonly becomes M. E. *sch*, E. *sh*; as in A. S. *sceamu*, E. *shame*; A. S. *scínan*, E. *shine*. Exceptions are mostly due to Norse influence; as in E. *skin*, from Icel. *skinn*. When followed by other vowels, *sc* also commonly becomes *sh*, as in A. S. *scaga*, E. *shaw*; A. S. *sculdor*, E. *shoulder*; A. S. *scyttan*, E. *shut*. But A. S. *scæb* remains as *scab*, with a double form of the adjective, viz. *scabby*, *shabby*. A. S. *scale* is E. *scale*, but A. S. *scell* is E. *shell*. *Sc* final also becomes *sh*; as in *æsc*, ash (tree), *fisc*, fish, the dative cases of these words being *æsce* and *fisce*; compare the remarks in note 3, p. 354. In the word *schooner*, the *sch* is an imitation of Dutch spelling; but it should rather be *scooner*, from the prov. E. *scoon*, to glide over water. The late Du. word *schooner* is borrowed from English[3].

St. Medial *st* may become *ss*, as in *blossom*, A. S. *blóstma*; *misselthrush* = *mistlethrush*, the thrush that feeds on the berries of the mistletoe. In *mistletoe*, A. S. *misteltán*, the *st* is now pronounced as *ss*; as also in *glisten*, *listen*.

[1] Even in Italian we find the same prefix used intensively; thus, *s-gridare*, to scold, is derived from *gridare*, to cry out, by prefixing *s* = Lat. *ex*. (The Ital. *s* also stands for Lat. *dis-*).

[2] The old notion of etymologising was to rush to conclusions by combining uncertain instances, often unrelated, under a general law.

[3] Whitney, Language and the Science of Language, 1868, p. 38.

Mizzle, to fall in fine drops, is a frequentative formed from *mist*, i. e. fine rain; it stands for **missle* = **mistle*.

Metathesis occasionally takes place of final *sk*, which becomes *x* (*ks*), and of final *ps*, which becomes *sp*. Thus E. *ask* also appears as prov. E. *ax* (= *aks*); E. *wasp* is prov. E. *waps*, from A. S. *wæps*. M. E. has *clapsen* as well as *claspen* for E. *clasp*; and this is an older form, being allied to *clamp*. Similarly *grasp* is probably for **grap-s*, and allied to *grab* and *gripe*. *Hasp* is for * *haps* = A. S. *hæpse*, a bolt of a door, a 'fitting'; allied to A. S. *ge-hæp*, fit. *Asp-en* is an adjectival form from A. S. *æps*. *Lisp* is from A. S. *wlips*, stammering.

§ **361.** The principal results of the preceding chapter may be exhibited in the following table. It may be observed that the consonantal changes in words of French origin are of a similar character in a great many respects; but there are a few such changes which are not here represented. These will receive attention on a future occasion.

TABLE OF PRINCIPAL CONSONANTAL CHANGES.

(N.B.—The italic *w* and *y* denote vowel-sounds, forming parts of a diphthong; the roman w and y denote consonants.)

ARYAN.	TEUTONIC.	A.-SAXON.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.
G	K	c; ce	c, k, g; ch, j, ce	c, k, g, t; ch, j, ce, gh
...	K (doubled)	cc	cc, ck, kk; cch	ck; tch
SK	SK, KS	sc, sce; x	sc; sch, sh; x	sc, sk; sh; x
Gw	KW	cw	qu	qu
K	H	h	h; (*lost*); gh	h; (*lost*); gh
Q	HW	hw	wh	wh, w
GH	G	g; ge; h	g; y, ȝ; gh, w, f; ge (j), i, *y*	g, y; gh, w, f; ge; i, *y*
...	G (doubled)	cg	gg, gge; *y*	dge, *y*
D	T	t	t; d; (*lost*)	t; d; (*lost*)
T	TH	þ, ð; t, d	þ, th; t, d; (*lost*)	th; t, d; (*lost*)
DH	D	d	d, t; (*lost*)	d, t; (*lost*)
N	N	n; (*lost*)	n; (*lost*)	n; m; (*lost*)
B? P?	P	p; f	p, b; u (=v)	p, b; ve

ARYAN.	TEUTONIC.	A.-SAXON.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.
P	F	f	f, ff; u (=v)	f, ff; v, ve; (*lost*)
BH	B	b	b	b, p
M	M	m	m	m; n
Y	Y	ge	y, ȝ	y
R, L	R, L	r, l	r (l); l	r (l); l
W	W	w	w; (*lost*)	w, ow; (*lost*)
S	S	s; r	s; r	s, z; sh, sc; r; (*lost*)

EXCRESCENT LETTERS: d, t, *after* n; b, p, *after* m; t, *after* s, x; n, *after* r. These produce the combinations *nd*, *nt*, *mb*, *mp*, *st*, *xt*, *rn*, in certain cases. See §§ 341, 344, 347, 350.

CHAPTER XIX.

Various Changes in the Forms of Words.

§ 362. In § 322 and § 323 above, I have noted some of the principal modes in which the forms of words are affected. Some of these require further discussion and exemplification. It is impossible to avoid some repetition, but I give old results briefly, with references to former sections.

(1) **Palatalisation.** See this discussed in § 324. For examples, see §§ 325, 326, 330, 339.

(2) **Voicing of voiceless letters.** Examples have already been given in §§ 318, 323, 327, 328, 340, 342, 348. Thus we have *loaves* as the pl. of *loaf*, *dig* from *dike*, *knowledge* from M. E. *knowleche*, *jowl* from M. E. *chauel* (*chavel*), *proud* from A. S. *prūt*, *breathe* from *breath*, &c.; *lobster* from A. S. *loppestre*, *pebble* from A. S. *papol*, &c.

(3) **Vocalisation of voiced letters.** This is particularly common in the case of *g*; see § 338. So also *w*; see § 355.

(4) **Assimilation.** This produces a grouping of voiceless letters, as in the sound *lookt* for *looked*; or of voiced letters, as in the sound *dogz* for *dogs*; as explained in § 318. It also produces doubled letters, as in *blossom* (§ 340), *bless* (§ 344); *bliss* (§ 342); *lemman* (later *leman*), *Lammas*, *woman*, Early E. *wimman* (§ 349). It is extremely common in Latin, as in *of-ferre* for *ob-ferre*, whence E. *offer*; and is quite a distinguishing feature of Italian and Icelandic. Notable examples are seen in Ital. *ammirare*, to admire; Icel. *drekka*, to drink.

(5) **Substitution.** Examples have been given of *t* for *k* (§ 329); of *k* for *t* (§ 340); of *d* for *ð* (§ 342); of *t* for *þ* (§ 342); and of *sh* and *ch* for *s* (§ 356). We may refer hither the change from *s* (=*z*) to *r* (§ 357).

(6) **Metathesis.** Examples have been given of *ks* or *x* for *sk*, and *sp* for *ps* (§ 360); and of the frequent shifting of *r* (§ 353). So also modern E. employs *wh* for A. S. *hw*, and commonly has *le* finally for A. S. *el*, as in *idle*, from A. S. *ídel*; but these are merely graphic changes, appealing to the eye. It is also extremely probable that the sense of M. E. *tikelen*, to tickle, a frequentative verb from the base TIK, to touch lightly, was influenced in sense, and confused with, the Icel. *kitla*, to tickle, whence prov. E. *kittle*, to tickle, and the adj. *kittle*, used in the precise sense of the mod. E. *ticklish*. So also *wallet*, M. E. *walet*, appears to be a mere substitution for M. E. *watel*, formerly used in the sense of 'bag' or 'basket'; as shewn in my Dictionary. Other examples of metathesis are seen in *neeld* for *needle*; in *acre*, an Anglo-French spelling of A.S. *æcer*, as may be seen by consulting the Year-books of Edward I, edited by Mr. Horwood; and in several words of French origin.

§ 363. (7) **Abbreviation; including Aphesis, Syncope, and Apocope.** There are many ways in which abbreviation can take place, and examples are numerous.

Aphesis. The dropping of an initial letter or syllable is so common that Dr. Murray has found it convenient to invent a special name for it. He calls it *aphesis* (Gk. ἄφεσις, a letting go), and defines it thus: 'the gradual and unintentional loss of a short accented vowel at the beginning of a word.' A word in which *aphesis* occurs is called *aphetic*. Most of such words are, however, of French origin. Among those of English origin we may note: *down*, short for M. E. *adoun*, A. S. *of-dúne*, lit. off the down or hill, and so, downwards; *lone*, short for *alone*; *wayward*, short for *awayward*.

To these we may add *bishop*, A. S. *biscop*, borrowed from Lat. *episcopus*; *sterling*, short for *Esterling*; and *drake*, short for *andrake* (§ 346).

Initial consonants are lost in several words. Thus *K* has disappeared in *nip*, *nibble*, *nap*; see § 331. *H* has disappeared in all words which began in A. S. with *hl*, *hn*, and *hr*; see the list in § 332; also in A. S. *hit*, E. *it*. A. S. *g*, later ȝ, is lost in *if*, *itch*; § 337. A. S. *þ* is lost in *þwitel*, E. *whittle*; and *thwak* is commonly *whack*; § 342. A. S. *n* is lost in *adder*, *auger*, *aught* (for *naught*); § 346. *F* has disappeared from M. E. *fnesen*, to sneeze, leaving the form *neese*, Mids. Nt. Dream, ii. 1. 56. A. S. *w* is lost in *lisp*, *ooze*, § 355; and is silent in the combination *wr*.

§ 364. **Medial consonants** are also lost in various words. *C* is lost in A. S. *druncnian*, M. E. *druncnien*, *druncnen*, later *drounen*, E. *drown*. An original Teut. *h* is lost even in A. S. in *ear*, *see*, *slay*, *tear*, sb.; § 335. *Welsh*, A. S. *welisc*, is really for **welhisc*, being derived from *wealh*, a stranger. *H* is also lost in modern E. in *trout*, *not*; § 335. *G* often disappears from sight, becoming first M. E. ȝ, and then *i* or *y*, and so forming part of a diphthong, as in A. S. *hægel*, later *hæȝel*, *hayl*, mod. E. *hail*; see examples in § 338, where I have also included *nine*, *steward*, *tile*; and *lent* (for *lengt*). *T* is lost in *best*, *last*, &c.; § 340. *Th* is lost in *worship*, *wrist*, *Norfolk*, &c.; § 342. *D*, in *answer*, *gospel*, *upholsterer*, *bandog*; § 344. *N*, in *agnail*, *elbow*, *eleven*, *spider*, *Thursday*, *tithe*; and even in A. S. in *could*, *goose*, *lithe*, *mouth*, *other*, *tooth*; § 346. An Aryan *n* is lost in *five*; § 351. *F* has disappeared in *hast*, *hath*, *has*, *had*, *head*, *lord*, *lady*, *leman*, *woman*; and has become *m* in *Lammas*; § 349. *M* is lost, even in A. S., in *ousel*, *soft*; § 351. *R* is lost in *smother*, *speak*, *speech*; § 353. *L*, in *as*, *each*, *such*, *which*, and is often silent, as in *calf*, *folk*, *walk*, &c.; § 354. *W* is lost in *also*, *aught*, *naught*, *four*, *lark*, *so*, *soul*, *thong*, and is silent in *answer*, *sword*; in *such* (for *swich*), *tusk* (probably for * *twisc*), *sultry* (for *sweltry*), *cud*

(doublet of *quid*), the effect of a *w* upon the following vowel is plainly discernible; see § 355.

§ 365. Final consonants are also lost. Examples are seen in the loss of *k*, A. S. *c*, as in *barley*, *every*, *I*, and all words in *-ly*; also in *sigh* (A. S. *síc-an*), where the *gh* is silent; § 328.

The A. S. *h*, later *gh*, is silent in *borough*, *bough*, &c.; and is entirely lost in *fee*, *lea*, *roe* (deer), and even in A. S. *sceó*, E. *shoe*.

The A. S. *g* constantly becomes *y*, i.e. part of a diphthong, as in *day*, *gray*, *key*, &c.; and A. S. final *-ig* becomes E. *-y*, not only in adjectives such as *holy*, *any*, *many*, *dizzy* (A. S. *hálig*, *ænig*, *mænig*, *dysig*), but even in substantives, as *body*, *ivy*, *penny* (A. S. *bodig*, *ifig*, *penig*, short for *pening*, *pending*); § 338. Similarly, the A. S. *g* becomes *i* when not final, as in A. S. *molegn*, E. *mullein*.

T is lost in *anvil*, § 340; and *d* in *wanion*, *woodbine*, *tine*, *lime*, § 344.

The loss of final *n* is quite a characteristic mark of the modern language. Not only is it lost in *ell* from A. S. *eln*, *game* from A. S. *gamen* (the full form of which is preserved as *gammon*), *holly* from A. S. *holegn*, *mill* from A. S. *myln* (compare the equivalent names *Miller* and *Milner*), *mistletoe* from A. S. *misteltán*, *sulky* from A. S. (*á*)*solcen*, but in a large number of words which in A. S. ended in *-an*. This A. S. suffix (*-an*) usually has a grammatical value, and is found at the end of all infinitives, and at the end of many adverbs and prepositions; but in modern English it is either lost or is represented only by a mute *e*. Thus A. S. *sing-an* became M.E. *sing-en*, *sing-e*, and is now *sing*; and so with most other verbs. A. S. *mac-ian* became M. E. *mak-ien*, *mak-en*, and is now *make*; but the final *e* is mute. Among the adverbs, it may suffice to mention A. S. *ábúfan*, E. *above*; A. S. *on-sundran*, E. *asunder*; A. S. *æftan*, behind, E. *aft*; A.S. *beforan*, E. *before*; A. S. *behindan*, E. *behind*, &c. Among the prepositions we may

note A. S. *beneoðan*, E. *beneath*; A. S. *wiðinnan*, E. *within*; A. S. *on-bútan*, *á-bútan*, E. *about*, &c. To these we may add A. S. *bút-an*, E. *but*, often used as a conjunction. In all these instances, the *-an* was originally a case-ending of a substantive or adjective; it was weakened to *-en* in M. E., and has since become mute *e* or has disappeared. Curious exceptions are seen in the words *hence*, *thence*, *whence*, *since*. The A. S. *hin-an*, hence, later *heon-an*, became M. E. *hen-en*, *henn-en*, and (by loss of *n*) *henn-e*; at this stage, instead of the *e* being lost, the commonly adverbial suffix *-es* was substituted for it, giving M. E. *henn-es*, later *hen-s*, mod. E. *hen-ce*. The final *-ce* is merely the Anglo-French scribal device for shewing that the final *s* was voiceless. So also we have A. S. *ðan-an*, *ðan-on*, M. E. *thann-e*, *thenn-e*, later *thenn-es*, and finally *then-ce*; A. S. *hwan-an*, *hwan-on*, M. E. *whan-en*, *whann-e*, later *whenn-es*, and finally *whence*. A. S. *síð-ðám* (i.e. 'after the,' *ðám* being the dat. case of the definite article), became, in late A. S., *siðð-an*, M. E. *siðen*, *sithen*, to which the adverbial suffix *-s* (short for *-es*) was added, giving M. E. *sithens*, later *sithence* (Shakespeare), and, by contraction, *since*. The same case-ending *-an* has disappeared in *Monday*, A. S. *món-an dæg*, day of the moon; *Sunday*, A. S. *sunn-an dæg*, day of the sun. In *yester-day*, A. S. *gistr-an dæg*, the *-an* is a case-ending, probably a genitive; the nominative being the adjectival form *gistra*, which occurs in Gothic. The only traces left of the old suffix *-an* are in the plural nominatives *ox-en*, *brethr-en*, *childr-en*, *shoo-n*, *ey-ne*, *ki-ne*; to which we may add *brack-en*, originally the plural of *brake* (§ 358). In one adverb, *oft-en*, we have the suffix *-en* added by analogy with other M. E. adverbs; the A. S. form being simply *oft*. Cf. § 346. Other examples of the loss of final *n* are seen in *eve*, short for *even*, i.e. evening; *my*, *thy*, short for *mine*, *thine*; *no*, short for *none*; *ago*, short for *agone*; *el*(*bow*) for *eln*(*bow*); *ember-days* for *embern-days*, from A. S. *ymb-ren*, *ymb-ryne*, a running round, circuit, course, hence 'season'; *stem* for *stemn*, A. S. *stemn*, *stefn*.

Final *w* has disappeared in *glee, knee, tree, hue, true, you*; § 355.

Final *s* has disappeared in *burial, riddle, pea*; and in several words of French origin, as *cherry, sherry*, &c.; § 358.

§ 366. Syncope. The term *syncope* is usually restricted to that peculiar form of contraction which results from the loss of letters and syllables in the middle of a word, as when we use *e'er* for *ever*, *ev'ry* for *every*. Examples of the loss of medial consonants have been given in § 364. The loss of the medial *g* in particular produces a very real syncope, by reducing the number of syllables in a word, the A. S. *nægel* being now *nail*, &c.; see § 338. A similar result comes from the loss of a *medial vowel*. Examples are: *adze* for *ad'ze*, A. S. *adesa*; *ant* for *am't*, A. S. *æmette*; *church* for *chur'ch*, A. S. *cyrice*, later *cyrce, circe*; *newt* for *ewt=eft=ef't*, A. S. *efeta*; *hemp* for *hen'p*, A. S. *henep, hænep*; *mint for min't*, A. S. *mynet*, borrowed from Lat. *moneta*; *monk* for *mon'k*, A. S. *munec*, from Lat. *monachus*; *month* for *mon'th*, A. S. *mónaþ*. We may add some adjectives, as *bald*=M. E. *ball-ed*; *own*=M. E. *owen*, A. S. *ágen*; *French* for *Frankish*; *Scotch* or *Scots* for *Scotish* or *Scottish*; *Welsh* for *Wale-ish*, &c. The omission of *e* in the pp. suffix *-en* is extremely common, as in *thrown* for *throw'n*, A. S. *þráw-en*; *born* for *bor'n*, A. S. *bor-en*, &c. Syncope also gives us *don* for *do on*, *dout* for *do out*, *doff* for *do off*, *dup* for *do up*. Syncope sometimes does considerable violence to the original forms, as in these examples: *either*, A. S. *ægðer*, syncopated form of *æg-hwæðer*, which again is for *á-ge-hwæðer*, and so compounded of *á*, aye, *ge*, the common prefix, and *hwæðer*, whether[1]; *else*, A. S. *elles*; *England*, A. S. *Ængla-land*, land of the Angles; *fortnight* for *fourteen night*; *fo'c'sle* for *fore-castle*; *lady*, A. S.

[1] Cf. G. *jeder*, compounded of *je* and *weder*; here *je* answers to A. S. *á*, and *weder* to *hwæðer*; the *ge* not appearing in it. Thus *jeder* is precisely the equivalent of E. *or*; see below.

hláfdige; *lark*, A. S. *láwerce*; *last* for *lat'st*, i. e. *latest*; *lord*, A. S. *hláford*; *made* for *makede*, A. S. *macode*; *park* for *parrock*, A. S. *pearruc*; *sennight* for *seven night*; *since* for *sithence* (§ 365); *whirlwind* for **whirfle-wind*, Icel. *hvirfilvindr*, Dan. *hvirvelvind*. So also *or* is short for *other* or *auther*, A. S. *áwðer*; and again the A. S. *áwðer* is a contracted form of *á-hwæðer*, from *á*, ever, and *hwæðer*, whether. Consequently *or* differs from *either* only as *á-hwæðer* does from *á-ge-hwæðer*; in other words, the latter contains the particle *ge*, and the former does not. So also *nor*=*ne or*, from A. S. *ne*, not, and *á-hwæðer*; and *neither*=*ne either*.

Another kind of syncope appears in the *shortening of vowels*, as in *shepherd* for *sheepherd*. There are several words with short vowels which were once long. Thus *rod* is short for *rood*; the vowels in *red*, *bread*, *dead*, *shred*, *lead* (a metal), *head*, answer to A. S. *éa*; those in *breast*, *friend*, *hip* (dog-rose), to A. S. *éo*; those in *breath*, *health*, *sweat*, to A. S. *ǽ*; those in *cloth*, *gone*, *hot*, *wot*, to A. S. *á*; *ten* is short for *teen*, as in *thir-teen*; the *i* in *ditch* was once long, as in *dike*; the *o* was once long in *other*, *mother*, *brother*, *doth*, *done*, *glove*, &c. See further in § 454.

§ 367. **Apocope.** The omission of final letters or syllables of a word is called *apocope*. Numerous examples have been already given, the most noticeable being the loss of final *n* in inflexions; see § 366. Putting aside the loss of final consonants, the apocope of vowels is the chief distinguishing mark of modern English as compared with Early English and, more particularly, with Anglo-Saxon. It pervades the whole of the language. All final A. S. vowels, whether *a*, *e*, *o*, or *u*, became 'levelled' to *e*; and subsequently all the final *e*'s, so common in Middle English, were lost or became mute. At the same time, all the A. S. genders have been lost; modern English knows nothing of *grammatical* gender; it only recognises *logical* gender, as in *man*, *wife*, *fish*; or *metaphorical* gender, as when we speak of a *ship* as feminine. The A. S. *man* is

of a common gender, *wíf* and *scip* are neuter, and *fisc* is masculine. As the final vowel, or the absence of one, gave some sort of indication, though not always a sure one, of the gender, the loss of genders assisted the loss of the final vowel, by rendering any retention of it unnecessary. A few examples must suffice.

(*a*) A. S. final *-a* is lost in *ass-a*, E. *ass*; *bog-a*, E. *bow*; *drop-a*, E. *drop*; *fód-a*, E. *food*; *fol-a*, E. *foal*; *món-a*, E. *moon*, &c. It has become *e* mute in *ap-a*, E. *ape*; *har-a*, E. *hare*; *cnap-a*, *cnaf-a*, E. *knave*, &c[1]. A. S. *crum-a*, M. E. *crum-me*, is now *crumb*, with excrescent *b*. If a consonant is doubled before the final *-a*, it appears in modern E. as a single consonant only; thus A. S. *lip-pa* is now *lip*; A. S. *steor-ra*, M. E. *ster-re*, is now *star*. The chief exceptions are *-c-ca* and *-l-la*, where the doubled consonant remains; as in A. S. *stic-ca*, E. *stick*; A. S. *geal-la*, E. *gall*. So also we have A. S. *ass-a*, M. E. *ass-e*, E. *ass*; but in *grass*, from A. S. *græs*, the *s* is doubled to shew that it is voiceless.

(*b*) A. S. final *-e* is lost in *cráw-e*, E. *crow*; *end-e*, E. *end*; *eorð-e*, E. *earth*, &c. It is mute in *side*, A. S. *síd-e*; *wise*, sb., A. S. *wís-e*, &c. A. S. *-we* final becomes E. *-ow*, as in *are-we*, M. E. *ar-we*, E. *arr-ow*. Very often the original final *-e* has left a trace in mod. E. by producing palatalisation; as in E. *witch*, from A. S. *wic-ce*. The final *-e* of the dative case is often the cause of such palatalisation; as shewn in §§ 325, 339.

(*c*) A. S. final *-o* or *-u* is lost in *hæt-o*, E. *heat*; *yld-o*, E. *eld* (old age); *dur-u*, E. *door*; *sun-u*, E. *son*; *wud-u*, E. *wood*. It is mute *e* in *beal-u*, E. *bale* (evil); *eal-u*, E. *ale*, &c. It is needless to multiply instances of this character.

A few other examples of apocope may be noted. A. S.

[1] Observe how the mod. E. accented vowel is *lèngthened*, by the principle of compensation; it becomes of more importance and bears a greater stress. Very curious is the exceptional shortening, owing to common use, in the verb *to have*; its regular form comes out in the compound *be-have*.

ælmesse (Gk. ἐλεημοσύνη), M. E. *almesse*, drops *-se* and becomes *almes*; and finally *alms*, by syncope. Final *-en* has been lost in *lent*, A. S. *lenct-en*; and in *kindred*, A. S. *cyn-rǽd-en*, the former *d* being excrescent. Final *-we* is lost in *gear*, A. S. *gear-we*; final *-gi* in *harbour*, Icel. *herber-gi*; final *-ie* or *-ige* in *toad*, A. S. *tád-ie*, *tád-ige*. The A. S. *hæg-tesse* has been cut down to *hag*.

§ 368. (8) **Unvoicing of voiced consonants.** This process is extremely rare; examples are: *abbot* from A. S. *abbod*, but this has clearly been influenced by an attempt to bring it more nearly to its original form, as seen in Lat. acc. *abbat-em*; *cuttle-(fish)* or *cuttle*, put for **cuddle*, from A. S. *cudele*, perhaps influenced by G. *Kuttelfisch*, of obscure origin; *tilt* (of a cart), M. E. *telt*, earlier *teld*, from A. S. *teld*[1], the form being influenced by Dan. *telt*, Swed. *tält*, a tent. The mod. prov. E. *want* or *wont*, a mole, is from A. S. *wand*, an extremely early form, found in the Epinal Glossary, l. 1014; possibly a derivative from *wind-an*, to wind, turn (pt. t. *wand*). The voiced *b* becomes *p* in *gos-sip*, M. E. *god-sib*, lit. 'related in God,' originally applied to a sponsor in baptism. A most remarkable example is seen in *purse*, a word of F. origin, from F. *bourse*.

§ 369. (9) **Addition.** The rule in English, as in other languages, is that words become diminished in course of time by various forms of loss. 'Letters, like soldiers,' says Horne Tooke[2], are 'very apt to desert and drop off in a long march.' Anything in the nature of addition or amplification is comparatively rare, and invariably slight. Such insertions are mostly 'euphonic' in the strict sense, i. e. they mostly represent some slight change in the sound which requires an insertion in order to compensate for a loss. This will be

[1] The A. S. form is invariably *teld* or *geteld*, a tent, with a verb *teldian*, to cover. The *d* is original, and becomes High German *t* in *zelt*.

[2] Diversions of Purley, pt. i. c. 6.

easily understood by observing the examples. They may be distributed into two sets: (1) those in which vowels are inserted; and (2) those in which consonants are inserted.

Vowel-insertions. The A. S. *hwisprian* became M. E. *whisperen*, whence E. *whisper*. Here the *e*, apparently inserted, may be due to metathesis, i. e. to putting *er* (=*ir*) for *ri*[1]. When the A. S. *besma* lost its final *-a*, the scribes inserted a vowel to shew that the *m* formed a syllable; hence E. *bes(o)m*. Similarly A. S. *blóstma* became *bloss(o)m*, with loss of *t* and *a*; A. S. *bósm* is now *bos(o)m*; A. S. *botm* is now *bott(o)m*; A. S. *fæðm* is now *fath(o)m*. A. S. *hýrcnian* became M. E. *herkn-en*, whence our *heark(e)n*. The *t* in *glisten* is probably due to a graphic mistake, by confusion with *glister*; it would be better omitted. Then *glis(e)n* or *gliss(e)n* would correctly represent the A. S. *glisn-ian*. We can explain *beacon* from M. E. *beken*, A. S. *béacen*; but we may notice that the A. S. word is frequently spelt *béacn*. In the words *bow-y-er*, *braz-i-er*, *cloth-i-er*, *coll-i-er*, *glaz-i-er*, *graz-i-er*, *harr-i-er* (=*har-i-er*), *hos-i-er*, *saw-y-er*, *spurr-i-er*, we have an inserted *i* or *y* (=*i*) which it is not very easy to understand. Mätzner suggests that such words were assimilated to certain substantives, such as *court-i-er*, *farr-i-er*, *sold-i-er*, in which the suffix *-i-er* is French, from Lat. *-arius* (Brachet, Hist. French Gram., tr. by Kitchin, bk. iii. c. 2). We may notice that F. verbs such as *carry*, *curry*, likewise gave rise to a suffix *of similar form* in words such as *carri-er*, *curri-er*, where the *-er* is purely English. I think it extremely probable that such trade-names as *farr-i-er* (with F. *-ier*) and *curri-er* (with E. *-er* after *i*) combined to suggest new trade-names such as *bow-y-er*, *braz-i-er*, *cloth-i-er*, *coll-i-er*, *glaz-i-er*, *graz-i-er*, *hos-i-er*, *saw-y-er*, *spurr-i-er*; and that *harr-i-er* was invented

[1] Most vowel-insertions occur in an unaccented syllable, and between two consonants, the latter of which is either a liquid or *w*. The reason is that the liquids, as well as *w*, are often vocalised, and an attempt is made to express this in writing.

to pair off with *terr-i-er*. It is not to be forgotten that there was yet a third way in which the suffix *-i-er* sometimes arose. The A. S. *luf-ian*, to love, produced an M. E. form *louyen* (=*lovien*) as well as *louen* (=*loven*), and hence was formed a sb. *louyer* (=*lovier*) as well as *louer* (=*lover*)[1]. Here the *i* or *y* is really due to the *i* in the causal suffix *-ian* of the A. S. verb. Hence I take the most likely solution to be, that the form in *-ier*, naturally arising in three different ways, was looked upon as being always the same, and so established itself as a convenient occasional form of the agential suffix.

The insertion of *o* before *w* is common, to shew that the *w* has become vocal. Thus A. S. *wealwian* is to *wallow*; the sbs. *arrow*, *morrow*, *pillow*, *sallow*, *sorrow*, *sparrow*, *willow*, answer to M. E. *arwe*, *morwe*, *pilwe*, *salwe*, *sorwe*, *sparwe*, *wilwe*, from A. S. *arewe*, *morgen*, *pyle* (a short form, for the original is the Lat. *puluinus*), *sealh* (gen. *sealge*), *sorh* (gen. *sorge*), *spearwa*, *wilig* (gen. *wilige*); and the adjs. *fallow*, *narrow*, answer to A. S. *fealu* (definite form *fealwa*), and *nearu* (definite form *nearwa*).

An inorganic mute *e* was often added by ignorant scribes in impossible places, as e.g. in *makethe*, but this needs no attention or remark; unless it be worth while to say that modern comic writers imagine that they can produce 'Old English' by adding a final *e* at random, and thus producing such monstrous forms as *hathe*, *dranke*, *withe*, *thatte*, *itte*, and the like; for such is English scholarship in the nineteenth century!

We do, however, find an inorganic mute *e* in *mouse*, *house*, *louse*, *goose*, *geese*, *horse*, *worse*, &c.; this is merely an orthographic device (like the *-ce* in *mice*) for shewing that the *s* is voiceless, and not pronounced as *z*. Yet the verbs to *house*, to *louse*, to *mouse* are spelt precisely the same; we must look to

[1] See *Luuien* and *Louien* in the glossary to Specimens of English, Part I, ed. Morris. In Chaucer, C.T. 1347, where the Ellesmere MS. has *loueres*, the Petworth and Lansdowne MSS. have *louyers* and *louiers* respectively. Halliwell gives *lovier* as a provincial E. form still in use.

the context to distinguish them. In *one*, *none*, the final *e* expresses the fact that the vowel was once *long*; as in M.E. *oon*, *noon*, A.S. *án*, *nán*. *Sate* for *sat* is simply a bad spelling, but is not uncommon; similarly we have *bade* for *bad*, possibly to distinguish it, to the eye, from *bad* as an adjective. Perhaps it is for a like reason that we write *ate* (not *at*) for the pt. t. of *eat*; some indeed write *eat*, but this is as confusing as our use of *read* (pronounced *red*) for the pt. t. of *read*. The A.S. infinitive is *etan*, pt. t. *æt*, pp. *eten*; M.E. *eten*, pt. t. *eet* or *et*, pp. *eten*; so that modern E. might fairly adopt *et* for the past tense.

§ 370. **Consonantal insertions.** At the beginning of a word, we sometimes find *h* prefixed in a wrong place. The only fixed example in a word of native origin is *yellow-hammer* as the name of a bird, from A.S. *amore*, earliest form *emer*; cf. Mid. Du. *emmerick*, G. *emmerling*, *gelb-ammer*, *gold-ammer*. *H* is also inserted in *whelk*, a mollusc, which ought rather to be *wilk*, and in *whortle-berry*; § 336. Also in *rhyme*, M.E. *ryme*, A.S. *rím*, by confusion with *rhythm*. *N* is prefixed in *newt*; inserted before *g* in *nightingale*, M.E. *nightegale*; and suffixed in *bittern*, *stubborn*, and *martern* (now *marten*); § 347. *Y* is prefixed in *yew*, M.E. *ew*, A.S. *íw*, to indicate the sound more clearly; so also *you*, *your*, are written for the A.S. *eów*, *eówer*; but the *y* in *yean* is best explained as representing the prefix *ge-*; see § 337. *R* is inserted in *bridegroom*, *hoarse*, and probably in *groom* and *surf*; § 353.

The spelling *swarths* for *swaths* in Twelfth Night, ii. 3. 162, is probably a mere misprint; for it is spelt *swath* in Troilus, v. 5. 25. *L* in *could* is an intentional misspelling, due to association with *would* and *should*; § 354. *W* in *whole* is explained in § 355, where also *whoop* is shewn to stand for *hoop*.

The insertion of *w* in *woof* is very curious. The M.E. form is *oof*, a contraction from A.S. *ówef*, *óweb*, short for

on-wef or *on-web*, i. e. 'a web formed on' what has been already spun; so called because the woof or weft traverses the 'warp,' which is the name given to the parallel threads before they are crossed. It was, doubtless, felt that *oof* was in some way connected with the verb to *weave*, and as the fact of its being a contraction for *o-wef* had been forgotten, the *w* was restored *in the wrong place*, thus producing a form *woof* to accompany *weave*, *web*, and *weft*. See Sweet's Oldest English Texts, p. 523, col. 2. The *s* in *island* is due to confusion with *isle*.

Excrescent letters. Lastly, we may note the excrescent letters, viz. *d* or *t*, after *n*; *b* or *p*, after *m*; *t* after *s* or *x*; *n* after *r*; see §§ 341, 344, 350, 347.

§ 371. (10) **Graphic Changes; changes in the symbols employed.** The symbols employed to denote certain sounds have sometimes been changed from time to time, without any change in the sound represented. This is a matter of history, and need cause little difficulty. Most of such changes have already been pointed out. It will be sufficient to note the following. A. S. *c* became *k* before *e* and *i* in many words. M. E. *cch* (from A. S. *cc*) became E. *tch*. A. S. *h*, when not initial, became *gh* or ȝ, of which ȝ is no longer used. *Cw* became *qu*. *Hw* became *wh*. Initial *y* (often A. S. *g*) was written either *y* or ȝ; but ȝ is no longer used. Initial hard *g* is sometimes written *gu* or *gh*. M. E. *gge* (from A. S. *cg* or *cge*) is now written *dge*. A. S. *þ*, *ð* became *þ*, *th*; of which *þ* is now disused. *F*, as in *lifan*, to live, became *u*, and finally *v*; but with the restriction that the *u* or *v* must always be followed by a vowel; hence mod. E. *live* for *liv*. When final *w* represented a vowel-sound, it was commonly written *ow*. Voiceless final *s* was changed to *ce* or *se*; voiced *s* was sometimes, but far too seldom, altered to *z*. *Ch*, *sh* were introduced to denote new sounds; the latter was also written *sch* in M. E. See above, §§ 324–356, and see the chapter on Spelling.

§ 372. (11) Misuse of symbols. Sometimes symbols were misunderstood and misused. Some scribes, even in the twelfth century, confused *d* with *ð*, by omitting the stroke across the top of the latter. In the Royal MS. of the A. S. Gospels, the *o* is not unlike *a*; in the Lindisfarne MS. of the same, *a* is often like *u*. In the fifteenth century, *c* and *t* are not always distinguishable; nor can *e* always be discerned from *o*. The stroke across an *f* is sometimes omitted; it then becomes a long *s* (ſ). *V*, with a longer stroke on the left, looks like *b*. I have seen *w* so written as to resemble *lk*; and a scrawled *r* that might almost be *e*, or even *v*. The scribe of the Vernon MS. often writes an *n* like *u*, or a *u* like *n*; most scribes make *n* and *u* precisely alike. The thorn-letter (*þ*) degenerated into a mere duplicate of *y*; so that the early printers employed *y*ᵗ for *that*, &c. They did not however pronounce it *yat*; this folly was reserved for the nineteenth century. Three successive downstrokes may mean *m*, or *in*, or *iu*, or *ui*, or *ni*; four may mean *mi*, or *im*, or *nu*, or *un*, unless the stroke meant for *i* is marked by a slanting mark above, as is sometimes done. Some MSS. have a short stumpy *g*, very like *s*. The A. S. *w* is very like *þ*. *Z* and ȝ are often precisely alike[1]. We thus see that possible mistakes may arise in a great number of ways; the table below, which groups the symbols that resemble each other together, will give some idea of this.

a, *u*; *b*, *v*; *c*, *t*; *d*, *ð*; *e*, *o*; *f*, long *s*; *g*, twisted *s*; *m*, *in*, *ni*, *iu*, *ui*; *n*, *u*; *mi*, *im*, *nu*, *un*; *o*, *e*; *þ*, *w*; *r*, *e*, *v*; *s*, *g*; long *s*, *f*; *t*, *c*; *þ*, *y*; *u*, *n*; *v*, *r*; *w*, *lk*; A. S. *w*, *þ* (and even *þ*); *y*, *þ*; *z*, ȝ.

Some of these confusions have even influenced the language. We write *capercailzie* for *capercailȝie*[2], and then the ȝ is pronounced as *z*; if we had written *capercailyie*, this

[1] The abbreviation for a final *et* in Latin MSS. also resembled *z*; hence *viet*, short for *videlicet*, is now written *viz.*

[2] Formerly *capercalze*; see quotation in § 407.

could not have happened. It is highly probable that our mod. E. *citizen* is merely a graphic error for M. E. *citȝen*, also written (probably by misunderstanding) *citisen* or *citisein*, cf. O. F. *citeain*, mod. F. *citoyen*; i. e. the ȝ means *y*, not *z*.

§ 373. **Errors of editors and early printers.** Ever since the invention of printing, innumerable mistakes have been made by printers and editors in the attempt to convert MSS. into printed books. A volume might easily be filled with specimens of blunders, many hundred of which have at various times come under my notice. The subject is a painful one; but the reader should always be on his guard as to this, remembering that most of our editors have been entirely self-taught amateurs, who had little or no previous acquaintance with the peculiarities of M. E. MSS., or even of the language in which they are written. As a single specimen of what can be done, I will just mention that the word *dwerh*, a dwarf, in William of Palerne, l. 362, was misread by Hartshorne, and printed as *owery*. There is no such word in the language. Once more, as a specimen of what the scribes themselves could accomplish, take the following lines from Octovian, ed. Weber, 1743–46:—

'Alle the baners that Crysten founde,
They were abatyde [*knocked down*];
There was many an hethen hounde
That they chek yn a tyde.'

And so Weber leaves it; but he informs us, in his glossary, that *chek* means '*checked*, as in the game of chess, metaphorically, killed.' This is doubtless the sense; but what are we to think of an editor who supposes that *chek* can be the third person plural of a past tense? To return, however, to the scribe; it is clear that he had before him a copy containing a letter *m*, which he misread as *in*, and then miscopied as *yn*. With this hint, we can see that he actually

wrote *chek yn a tyde* for *chek-matyde*, the very word required by the sense, the grammar, the metre, and the rime[1].

The general rule is that the scribes are frequently stupid, but are often right in passages where editors 'correct' them; the latter being, in general, much less familiar with Middle-English sounds and symbols than were the scribes who habitually used them.

§ 374. (12) **Doubling of consonants.** One form of amplification of the word is extremely common in English, viz. the doubling of a consonant after a short vowel. This is partly due to the stress of the accent. It is probable that the M. E. accent was, so to speak, more equable and less marked than the modern accent. The effect of throwing a still stronger accent on to a short vowel, is to bring out more clearly the sound of the consonant that follows it. But, whatever may be the reason, the fact is undoubted; so much so that the doubling of a consonant is now the received method of marking a vowel as short. The Ormulum, written about 1200 in the East Midland dialect, abounds with examples of this method. 'The most characteristic feature of Orm's spelling is the consistency with which he has introduced doubled consonants to shew shortness of the preceding vowel[2].' Orm gives us such spellings as *þatt* for *that*, and *crisstenndom* for Christendom, the final *o* in which was then long. A few instances must suffice; I take the consonants in alphabetical order. Thus we have *pebble* (for **pepple*), A. S. *papol*; *chicken*, A. S. *cicen*; *fickle*, A. S. *ficol*; *sickle*, A. S. *sicol*; *addle* or *addled*, from A. S. *adela*, filth (see Murray's New E. Dict.); *bladder*, A. S. *blǽdre*, and *fodder*, A. S. *fódor*, where the vowels, once long, have been shortened by the stress; *giddy*, M. E. *gidi*; *ladder*, A. S. *hlǽder*[3], with vowel-shortening;

[1] I call an unreal form, such as *owery* for *dwerþ*, a 'ghost-word.' Numerous examples of ghost-words are given in my Presidential Address to the Philological Society for 1886, printed in the Transactions.

[2] Sweet, First Middle English Primer, p. 43.

[3] My Dictionary gives *hlæder*; but the *æ* was originally long, as

riddle, A.S. *rǽdelse*, with vowel-shortening; *rudder*, A.S. *róðer*, with vowel-shortening, from *rów-an*, to row; *saddle*, A. S. *sadol*; *off*, variant of *of*, A. S. *of*; *staff*, A. S. *stæf*, and final *ff* generally; *straggle*, formerly *stragle*, as spelt by Minsheu (1627); *follow*, M. E. *folwen*, A. S. *fylgan*; *gallow*(*s*), A. S. *galga*; *mullein*, A. S. *molegn*; *swallow*, v., A. S. *swelgan*; *swallow*, sb., A. S. *swalewe*; *yellow*, A. S. *geolu*; *till*, Icel. *til*, and final *ll* frequently; *emmet*, A. S. *æmette*; *gammon*, A. S. *gamen*; *stammer*, from A. S. *stamer*, adj., stammering; *penny*, M. E. *peny*, A. S. *penig*, *pening*, *pending*; *pepper*, A. S. *pipor*, from Lat. *piper*; *berry*, A. S. *berige*; *borrow*, A. S. *borgian*; *burrow*, a mere variant of *borough*; *errand*, A. S. *ǽrende*; *farrow*, *ferry*, *furrow*, *marrow*, *morrow*, *narrow*, *sorrow*, *sparrow*, *yarrow*, as well as *harrier* from *hare*; *dross*, *glass*, *grass*, *loss*; *bitter*, *bottom*, *brittle*, *fetter*, *flutter*, *latter* (i. e. *later*, with vowel altered), *little*, *nettle*, *otter*, *ratile*, *scatter*, *settle*, *spittle*, *tetter*; *dizzy*, A. S. *dysig*; *drizzle*, formerly *drisle*. A singular example appears in *sorry*, formed by vowel-shortening from A. S. *sár-ig*, an adjective derived from *sár*, a sore. People naturally connect it with *sorrow*, from A. S. *sorh*.

The double *c* (*ck*) in *accursed*, *acknowledge*, is unoriginal, and due to confusion with the Lat. prefix *ac-* (= *ad*); the double *f* in *afford*, *affright*, is also unoriginal, and due to confusion with Lat. *af-* (= *ad*).

§ 375. (13) **Vowel-changes due to consonantal influence.** The consonants which most affect adjacent vowels are *h*, *g*, *n* or *m*, *r* or *l*, and *w* or *wh*.

The effect of the old guttural *h* (like G. *ch*) upon a preceding vowel is sometimes curious. It certainly *tends*, in some instances, to turn the vowel into the mod. E. long *i*. Thus A. S. *meaht* or *mæht* also appears as *meht* and *miht*; E *might*. A. S. *héah*, Mercian *heh*, gives M.E. *hey* or *heh*,

proved by the cognate G. *leiter*, which see in Kluge. Indeed, the Gk. κλῖμαξ is a related word; from √KLI, to lean.

but also M. E. *hy* or *hygh*; hence E. *high*, though the M. E. *hey* is represented by *heyday*, i. e. 'high day.' A. S. *néah*, Mercian *néh*, gives M. E. *neh* or *neigh*, but also *ny* or *nygh*; hence E. *nigh*, though the M. E. *neigh* is preserved in *neighbour*. The A. S. *feohtan*, Mercian *fehtan*, gives M. E. *fehten*, but also *fihten*; E. *fight*. A. S. *reht* is also spelt *riht*; E. *right*. Hence the German words *macht*, *hoch*, *nach*, *fechten*, *recht*, contrast remarkably, as to their vowels, with E. *might*, *high*, *nigh*, *fight*, *right*. In the A. S. *fléah*, *léah*, the *h* was simply dropped, leaving *flea*, *lea*. The A. S. *hlehhan*, M. E. *lehȝen*, also *laȝen*, is now *laugh*.

§ **376**. The A. S. guttural *g* commonly coalesces with a preceding vowel so as to form a diphthong. Thus *æg* becomes *ay*, *ai*, as in *dæg*, E. *day*; *tægel*, E. *tail*. *Eg* does the same, becoming *ay*, *ai*, as in *weg*, E. *way*, *eglian*, E. *ail*; also *ei*, as *wegan*, E. *weigh*. *Ig* becomes long *i* if accented, as in *higian*, E. *hie*; *nigon*, E. *nine*: or *-y* if final, as in *hál-ig*, E. *holy*. *Ug* becomes *ow*, as in *fugol*, E. *fowl*; *sugu*, E. *sow*. *Yg* becomes long *y*, as in *dryge*, E. *dry*; so also *bycgan*, M. E. *buggen*, later *buyen*, is now *buy*, pronounced as *by*. A. S. *ǽg* becomes *ey* or *ay*, *ei* or *ai*, as in *cǽge*, E. *key*; *grǽg*, E. *gray* and *grey*; *hnǽgan*, E. *neigh*; *stǽger*, E. *stair*. A. S. *éog* becomes *ee* or long *i* (*y*); thus A. S. *fléogan*, Mercian *flégan*, *flígan*, appears both as *flee* and *fly*; A. S. *léogan*, Mercian *légan*, *lígan*, is E. *lie*, to tell untruths. A. S. *éag* corresponds to Mercian *ég*; A. S. *éage*, Mercian *ége*, is E. *eye*. There is a fluctuation in the vowel-sound, and a tendency (in some cases) to the production of the modern diphthongal *i*, just as in the case of *h* above.

§ **377**. The effects of *n* or *m* upon a preceding vowel are noticed by Sievers, § 65. They tend to turn *a* into *o*, so that A. S. *nama*, *land* also appear as *noma*, *lond*. Traces of this effect are still found. Thus A. S. *camb* is now *comb*; A. S. *fram* is now *from*; whilst our prep. *on* represents A. S. *on*, put for an earlier *an*, which actually appears in the Epinal

Glossary (51), and in the G. *an*. To these add E. *long*, *song*, *strong*, *thong*, *throng*, *wrong*; from A. S. *lang*, *sang*, *strang*, *þwang*, (*ge*)-*þrang*, *wrang*. A lost *n* turns *on* (for *an*) into A. S. long *ó*, E. *oo*; as already shewn with regard to the words *goose*, *sooth*, *tooth*, *other*. A lost *m* does the same in *soft*, A. S. *sófte*.

Sievers remarks that *n* or *m* turns a preceding *e* into *i*; and instances *niman*, to take (E. *nim*, to steal), put for **neman*, and cognate with G. *nehmen*; also A. S. *mint* (herb), borrowed from Lat. *mentha*, whence E. *mint*. It may be observed that the same law holds in modern English; which accounts for E. *grin*, from A. S. *grennian*. Other examples are these: *blink*, M. E. *blenken*, not found in A. S.; *link* (of a chain), A. S. *hlence*; *skink*, to serve out wine, A. S. *scencan*; *think*, A. S. *þencan*, which however was confused with the impersonal verb appearing in *me-thinks* = A. S. *mé þyncað*. *Ling* (fish), M. E. *lenge*, A. S. *lenga*, the 'long' one, from its shape; *ling-er*, frequentative of A. S. *leng-an*, to prolong; *ming-le*, frequentative of A. S. *meng-an*, to mix. *Hinge*, M. E. *henge*, that on which a door hangs; cf. Icel. *hengja*, to hang. *Singe*, A. S. *sengan*; *swinge*, A. S. *swengan*; *twinge*, M. E. *twengen*. *Hint*, prob. from M. E. *hinten*, more usually *henten*, A. S. *hentan*, to seize, catch[1]. We may also notice the double forms *dint* and *dent*, *splint* and *splent*, *glint* and Scot. *glent*; and the pronunciation of *England* as *Ingland*.

§ 378. The effect of *nd* in lengthening a preceding *i* is surprising. In the A. S. *bindan*, the *i* is short, just as in Du. and G. *binden*, Icel. and Swed. *binda*, Dan. *binde*; but in the mod. E. *bind*, the *i* is diphthongal. The same remark applies to the verbs *find*, *grind*, *wind*, and prov. E. *tind* (to kindle); to the sbs. *hind* (female stag), *mind*, *rind*, and *woodbine*,

[1] This difficult word seems to have been confused with Icel. *ymta*, to murmur, Dan. *ymte*, to whisper about a thing. Still, the connection with *hentan* is much cleared up by Jamieson's account of *hint*, sb., opportunity.

formerly *woodbiṅd*; and to the adjectives *blind, hind,* and the adverb *behind. Kind,* s., M. E. *kind, kund,* though answering to A. S. *cynd,* follows the same law. In *hind,* s., a peasant, formed with excrescent *d* from M. E. *hine,* the long *i* is original; but *lime-tree* is a corruption of *line-tree* = *lind-tree,* from A. S. *lind,* with short *i*. The original short *i* of *tind* or *tine,* to kindle, is seen in the derivative *tinder*; the original short *i* of the adj. *hind* is seen in the derivative verb *hinder*. We also keep the short *i* in *cinder* (A.S. *sinder*), *kindle, kindred*; and even in the sb. *wind,* to avoid confusion with the verb to *wind.* Yet even in the last case some consider it 'correct' to pronounce the sb. *wind* with a long *i* in reading poetry. Such persons are, at any rate, consistent; for in all other monosyllables the *i* (before *nd*) has been lengthened.

It has also been seen, in the preceding section, that A. S. substitutes *in* (of course *short*) for European *en*; we can thus easily understand that the sb. *mind* (for **mend*) is cognate with Lat. acc. *ment-em*; and the sb. *wind* (for **wend*) with Lat. *uent-us.* This furnishes an independent proof that the *i* in these words was originally short; whereas some Englishmen, who believe that the corrupt modern E. pronunciation is a sure and safe guide to the pronunciation of A. S., have actually maintained that it was long! How soon the lengthening of the *i* in these words set in, we have no very sure way of ascertaining. Chaucer, C. T. 2157, rimes *finde* (find) with *Inde* (India); and Shakespeare rimes *Ind, wind, lined, mind* with *Rosalind,* As You Like It, iii. 2. 93. If they pronounced *Ind* with a long *i*, it must at any rate be granted that this *i* was originally short. There is only one example of long *i* before *nt*, viz. in *pint*, a borrowed word.

The effect of *m*, in turning a preceding *e* into *i*, is not much seen. A striking example appears, however, in *limbeck,* as a latter form of *alembic*; but this is a borrowed

word. *Limp*, v., to walk lamely, is connected with the A. S. *lemp-halt*, adj., lame, halting. *I* is lengthened before *mb* in A. S. *climban*, E. *climb*. Cf. § 377.

§ 379. *N* and *m* also affect a preceding *o*. 'West Germanic *o* (says Sievers) before nasals becomes *u*.' He instances A. S. *genumen*, taken, as compared with O. H. G. *ginoman*, G. *genommen*; also A. S. *munuc*, a monk, borrowed from Lat. *monachus* (which we now pronounce *mənk*); A. S. *munt*, now lengthened to *mount*, from Lat. acc. *montem*; and A. S. *pund*, now lengthened to *pound*, from Lat. *pondus*, a weight. Other examples are: E. *among*, pronounced *əməng*, in which we have two processes, viz. the change from A. S. *a* (in *onmang*) to M. E. *o* (in *amonge*), and secondly the change from *o* to *u* (mod. E. *ə*); so also A. S. *mangere* is now spelt *monger*, but pronounced *məngər*; and the A. S. *mang*, a mixture, is the origin of our *mong-rel*, pronounced *məngrəl*. The O. Irish *donn*, *dond*, mod. Irish and Gael. *donn*, is still seen in the river-name *Don*; but was adopted into A. S. as *dunn*, whence mod. E. *dun*, one of the few words which are *undoubtedly* of Celtic origin. The Low Lat. *nonna*, *nunna*, was borrowed as A. S. *nunne*, mod. E. *nun*. The Lat. *ponto* (whence, through the French and Italian, our *pontoon*) became A. S. *punt*, E. *punt*. But there is some confusion as to *on* and *un*, owing to the M. E. use of *on* to denote short *un*, as seen in A. S. *sunu*, M. E. *sone*, E. *son*, where the M.E. spelling with *o* does not mean that the sound was pronounced otherwise than as short *u*. Hence the double spelling of *ton* and *tun*, and the objectionable mod. E. *tongue* for A. S. *tunge*.

With regard to *m* following *o*, we may notice M. E. *glommen*, to look gloomy, whence E. *glum*.

§ 380. Some light is thrown upon the lengthening of *i* before *nd* by the fact that short *u* is also lengthened before the same. Thus Lat. *pondus*, A. S. *pund*, is now *pound*; A. S. *bunden*, pp., is now *bound*, just as A. S. *bindan* is now

bind; A. S. *funden*, pp., is now *found*; A. S. *grund*, s., is *ground*, and the pp. *grunden* is *ground* also; A. S. *hund* is *hound*; A. S. *mund* is *mound*; A. S. *sund*, healthy, is *sound*, and so is A. S. *sund*, a strait of the sea; A. S. *wunden*, pp., is *wound*. Even *nt* lengthens the vowel in two cases; Lat. *montem* gives A. S. *munt*, our *mount*; Lat. *fontem* gives A. S. *font*[1], whence E. *font*, and a later form *funt*[2], found in the Ormulum, l. 10924, whence E. *fount*[3].

To these we may add a very remarkable instance of vowel-lengthening in the mod. E. *maund*, a basket, from A. S. *mand*, *mond*. This A. S. word occurs as early as the eighth century. The Epinal Glossary has: '*Corben*, mand,' l. 193; the Erfurt Glossary has: '*Corben*, mondi'; the Corpus Glossary has: '*Coffinus*, mand,' l. 532, and '*Qualus*, mand,' l. 1689; see Sweet's O. E. Texts, p. 468. It has nothing whatever to do with the Anglo-Indian *maund*; see Col. Yule's Hobson-Jobson; nor yet with '*Maundy* Thursday,' as is so constantly repeated by archæologists unworthy of the name.

§ 381. The effect of *r* upon a preceding vowel is great and remarkable. Mr. Sweet says, in his History of Eng. Sounds, p. 67—'In the present English hardly any vowel has the same sound before *r* as before other consonants. One important result is that the *r* itself becomes a superfluous addition, which is not required for distinguishing one word from another, and is therefore weakened into a mere vocal murmur, or else dropped altogether, although always retained before a vowel.' Compare, for example, the sounds in *far*[4], *her*, *fir*, *for*, *fur*, *fare*, *fear*, *fire*, *more*, *moor*, *sour*

[1] Very rare; but we find *font-wæter*, in Cockayne's Leechdoms, ii. 350. We also find *fant*, *fant-fæt*, and *fant-wæter*.

[2] Spelt *funnt*, because the *u* is short.

[3] I have given *fount* as a French word; I now think this is unnecessary. It is better to take it from Lat. directly. The A. S. *font* easily becomes *funt*, and *funt* will give *fount*.

[4] Observe the word *arid*, where the retention of the trilled *r* allows the sound to resemble that of the *a* in *fat*.

with those in *fat*, *hen*, *fit*, *fog*, *hut*, *fate*, *feat*, *fight*, *mole*, *moot*, *out*. Observe also the difference in pronunciation between 'far east' and 'far west'; in the former case the *r* in *far* is trilled, but in the latter case it is not. The loss of trill in a final *r* before a consonant is a very marked peculiarity of modern English as distinguished from other languages, and is certainly of late date. Another modern peculiarity is the levelling of *er*, *ir*, and *ur*, as in *her*, *fir*, *fur*, under one obscure sound, and that sound a new one, unknown to the older forms of the language. Perhaps the most marked result, to the eye at least, is the change from the M. E. *er* to mod. E. *ar*, as this is often indicated by a change of spelling. Thus M. E. *fer* is now *far*, from A. S. *feor*. As this is rather an interesting point, I give a tolerably complete list of the native words in which this change has taken place. The A. S. vowel is *eo*, the M. E. vowel *e*, and the modern vowel *a*, in the following: *barm* (yeast), *barrow* (a mound), *carve*, *dark*, *far*, *farthing*, *hards* (of flax), *hart*, *smart*, v., *star*, *starve*, *tar*; to which we may add *heart* and *hearth* (M. E. *herte*, *herth*), which ought rather to be spelt *hart* and *harth*, in order to be consistent. The A. S. and M. E. vowel is *e*, and the modern vowel *a*, in the following: *barn*, *char* (a turn of work, as in *char-woman*), *charlock*, *harry*[1], *mar*, *marsh*. The Icel. *herbergi*, M. E. *herberwe*, is now *harbour*; the Icel. *serkr*, a shirt, is now *sark*; the Icel. *sker*, a rock, is now *scar*. In like manner, the A. S. *weorc*, *weorld*, *weorþ*, would, regularly became M. E. *werk*, *werld*, *werth* (spellings which actually occur), but the action of the preceding *w* caused them to be also *work*, *world*, *worth*, forms which are still retained, though the *ŏ* has really been changed still further into *ŭ*, and afterwards 'unrounded.' The A. S. *sweord* became M. E. *swerd*, *sword*; whence, by the entire loss of *w*, the mod. E. *sord* (as we should rather spell it). The change of *er* to *ar* is also

[1] See the last footnote on p. 405.

common in words of French origin, and is particularly striking in the word *clerk*, pronounced as *clark*, and actually spelt *Clark* when used as a proper name; also in such words as *vermin*, *university*, &c., vulgarly *varmin*, *'varsity*, &c.

The confusion above mentioned, between *er* and *ur*, sometimes affects the spelling. Thus A. S. *beornan*, M. E. *bernen*, is now *burn*; *ceorl*, M. E. *cherl*, is now *churl*; A. S. *berstan*, M. E. *bersten*, is now *burst*; A. S. *eorl*, *eornest*, s. (seriousness), *eorðe*, became, regularly, M. E. *erl*, *ernest*, *erthe*, but are now oddly spelt *earl*, *earnest*, *earth*, in order to preserve an archaic spelling, which shews that, in Tudor English, the *e* was 'open,' as in mod. E. *ere*.

§ **382.** The liquid *l* followed by *f* or *m* preserves the *old* sound, though lengthened, of a preceding *a*, but is itself lost; as in A. S. *cealf*, M. E. *calf*, E. *calf* (pron. *kaaf*); A. S. *healf*, M. E. *half*, E. *half* (pron. *haaf*[1]); A. S. *sealm*, borrowed from Lat. *psalmus*, Gk. ψαλμός, is pedantically spelt *psalm*, but pronounced *saam*; A. S. *palm*, from Lat. *palma*, is now pronounced *paam*; A. S. *cwealm*, M. E. *qualm*, is pronounced *kwaam*. The combinations *ll*, *ld*, *lt* remarkably affect a preceding *a*, as in *all*, *bald*, *malt*; the combination *lk* produces the same effect on the *a*, but the *l* is lost, as in *walk*. The process is carried a step further in A. S. *eald*, Mercian *ald*, *āld*, M. E. *old* (probably pronounced as romic *aold*), mod. E. *old*. So also in *cold*, *sold*, *told*, &c. The combination *ld* also lengthens a preceding *i* in monosyllables; hence A. S. *cĭld*, M. E. *child*, is E. *child*; A. S. *mĭld* is E. *mīld*; A. S. *wĭld* is E. *wīld*; but the short *i* is preserved in *children*, *Mildred*, and *wilderness*. The rule does not apply to *gild* or *build*, because these are from A. S. *y*, as in *gyldan*, *byldan*. But A. S. *gild*, a pay-

[1] So also in the derivatives *calve*, *halve*. The A. S. *sealf* is the mod. E. *salve*, variously pronounced as *saav* or *sælv*; the former is more regular.

ment, now usually spelt *guild*, and pronounced *gild*, should, by the rule, have a long *i*; and in fact I have frequently heard it so pronounced in the compound *guild-hall* (romic *gaild-haol*.)

§ 383. We thus see how *h*, *g*, *n*, *r*, and *l* affect a preceding vowel; it remains to note that *w* often remarkably affects a following *a* or *o*, if short; and, in A. S., a following *i*. The same effect may be produced by *wh* and *qu*. Thus *wan*, *what*, *quash* are pronounced as if with *o*, i. e. *won* (riming with *on*), *wot*, *quosh*; and *won*, *worse* are pronounced as if with *u*, i. e. *wun*, *wurse* (romic *wən*, *wəəs*). Examples in words of native origin are: *wallet*, *wallow*, *walnut* (romic *waonət*), *wan*, *want*, *wanton*, *war*, *ward*, *warlock*, *warm*, *warn*, *warp*, *wart*, *was*, *wash*, *wasp*, *watch*, *water*, *wattle*; *wharf*, *what*. *Qualm* (pron. *kwaam*) is a native word, but here the *a* is controlled by the following *lm*; § 382. And again, we have: *swaddle*, *swallow*, both s. and v., *swamp*, *swan*, *swap*, *sward*, *swarm*, *swart*, *swarthy*, *swash*, *swath* (spelt *swarth* in Twelfth Night, ii. 3. 162), *swathe*[1]. In *twang*, the *a* is kept like the *a* in *sang*, by the influence of the following *ng*. Next, we have: *wolf*, *woman*, *wonder*, *word*, *work*, *world*, *worm*, *wormwood*, *worry*, *worse*, *worst*, *worship*, *wort*, *worth*. Such words require care, because the A. S. vowel may be very different. *Wolf* is A. S. *wulf*; *woman* is A. S. *wífman*, § 349; *work* is M. E. *werk*, A. S. *weorc*; *world* is M. E. *werld*, A. S. *weorld*; *worm* is A. S. *wyrm*, &c. The word *womb* is curious; the A. S. *wamb* became M. E. *womb*, by the influence of *mb*, just as *camb* became M. E. *comb*; but the modern sounds of *womb* and *comb* are differentiated by the effect of the *w*. In *two*, *who*, from A. S. *twá*, *hwá*, we should have had, by the usual change from *á* to long *o*, such forms as *two*, *who*, pronounced as written and riming with *go*; but the *w* has altered the

[1] The verb *to swathe* is, however, frequently pronounced as romic *sweidh*, i. e. with *a* as in *fate*.

sound from *ō* to *ū* (romic *ou* to *uu*), and then disappeared, leaving *tū*, *hū* (romic *tuu*, *huu*).

It may be added that an A. S. *g*, after a vowel, and if medial, commonly becomes *w*, and the *w* then coalesces with the vowel to form a diphthong. Thus A.S. *dragan* is M.E. *drawen*, E. *draw*; so also A. S. *haga*, M.E. *hawe*, E. *haw*; A.S. *maga*, E. *maw*; A. S. *saga*, a cutting instrument, E. *saw*; A. S. *sagu*, a saying, E. *saw*. E. *law* is A. S. *lagu*, but this is quite a late word in A. S., and probably a mere borrowing from Norse; cf. Swed. *lag*, a law, Icel. *lög* (plural in form, but singular in sense), a law.

§ 384. When *w* and *i* are adjacent, the *w* may affect the vowel whether it precedes or follows it. A remarkable example appears in A. S. *cwidu*, preserved as E. *quid*. By the action of the *w*, this A. S. word also appears as *cwudu*, and (by loss of *w*) as *cudu*; whence E. *cud*. Again, E. *wood* is from A. S. *wudu*; but this is a late form, put for an earlier *widu*, as in *uuidubinde*, woodbine, in the Corpus Glossary of the eighth century, l. 18; this explains how it comes to be cognate with Icel. *viðr*, O. H. G. *witu*, and even with O. Irish *fid*, a tree, a wood; and how the bird called a *woodwale* is also called a *witwall*, *wittal*, or *wittol*.

In the combination *iw*, the *i* is apt to turn into *e*, the resulting *ew* being a diphthong. Thus A. S. *niwe* is E. *new*. A. S. *hiw* is M. E. *hewe*, but is now spelt *hue*; A. S. *íw* is M. E. *eugh* or *ew*, now spelt *yew*. Hence we can explain *steward*, from A. S. *stíweard*, lit. a sty-ward, where *stí* is short for *stig* = *stigu*. The A. S. *stigu*, a sty, is a very old word; see Sweet, O. E. Texts, p. 513.

§ 385. (14) **Confluence of forms.** The number of words in English which are either spelt alike, sounded alike, or both, is very large. This is in a great measure due to the loss of inflexions or other changes, which have brought words into similar forms that were once different. I use the word *confluence* advisedly, for it would seem that there is a real *tendency*

in our language for different words to flow as it were together, just as two drops of rain running down a window-pane are very likely to run into one. It is partly due to confusion, very slight distinctions being easily broken down. Hence it is that, when different words come to *resemble* one another, it is occasionally found that *one* of the pair or set, usually the one which is either later in form or less usual, has suffered some slight violence in order to make it agree with the other *exactly*. I have nowhere seen this law or tendency stated, but it is certainly true in some cases, and ought to be considered. For example, we find the A. S. *sund*, adj., healthful, and A. S. *sund*, a strait of the sea, already existing in the earliest times as different words, from different roots, but alike in form. Of course both of these, in course of time, became *sound* in modern English; § 380. But in M. E. a third word arose, viz. *soun*, borrowed from Anglo-French *soun* or *sun* (Lat. acc. *sonum*), and bearing a very close resemblance to the words above. Confusion easily resulted, and a new form *sound* was produced, with the sense of 'noise'; the excrescent *d* being easily and naturally added on account of the word being strongly accented, as expressive monosyllables frequently are. This is a clear case of confluence. Again, there is a fish called a *barse*; but the name is frequently written *bass*, because *bass* is a familiar form, and *barse* is not. When we have to remember the spelling of so many thousands of words by the *look* of them, we naturally spell as many as possible alike, to save trouble. The word *wilk*, a shell-fish, has been tortured into *whelk*, because *whelk* was once a known word in another sense, viz. that of protuberance. *Burn*, a stream, is frequently written *bourn*; it is then spelt like *bourn*, a limit. *Burthen* is now always *burden*, owing to confluence with the *burden* of a song; again, the *burden* of a song is actually misspelt to make it more like its twin word; it ought, of course, to be either *burdon* or *bourdon*, with suffix *-on*, but the F. suffix succumbs to the E. one. The word *crouth*, a

fiddle, of Welsh origin, has been conformed to the familiar E. *crowd*. I leave it to the reader to find more examples; see the next section.

§ 386. Words of different origin which have thus run together are commonly called *homonyms*. Strictly speaking, they are of two kinds, i. e. either *homographs* or *homophones*. *Homographs* (from γράφειν, to write) are such as are *spelt* alike; *homophones* (from φωνή, sound) are such as are *sounded* alike. Homographs are commonly also homophones, but there are just a few exceptions, very trying to a child learning to read. Examples are: *bow* (to shoot with), *bow* (of a ship); *gill* (of a fish), *gill*, a liquid measure; *lead*, a metal, *lead*, to conduct; *lease* (of a house), *lease*, to glean; *lower*, to let down, *lower*, to frown; *raven*, a bird, *raven*, to plunder; *sow*, s., *sow*, v.; *tear*, s., *tear*, v.; pronounced, respectively, according to the romic spellings *bou*, *bau*; *gil*, *jil*; *l̨ed*, *liid*; *liis*, *liiz*; *louər*, *lauər*; *reivn*, *rævn*; *sau*, *sou*; *tiir*, *teir*. Other examples, all perhaps of French origin, are due to variations of accent, as in the case of *désert* and *desért*, *éntrance* and *entránce*, *présent* and *presént*, the usual rule being that the verb is accented on the root-syllable, but the substantive on the prefix. I have given a fairly complete list of homographs, under the title of 'Homonyms,' in my Dictionary[1]. I shall only add a few remarks to shew how confluence has often taken place naturally, owing to the loss of inflexions or to peculiar habits of spelling, in words of native origin.

§ 387. The A. S. *angul* or *angel*, a fish-hook, regularly became M. E. *angil* or *angel*, but the F. habit prevailed of writing final *-le* for final *-el*, thus turning it into *angle*. It thus became a homograph with *angle*, a corner, of F. origin. The A. S. *bealu* (for **balu*), became M. E. *bale*, i. e. evil, by the almost universal substitution of final *-e* for nearly all inflectional forms. Our *bale* of goods is not from mod. F. *balle*, but from O. F. *bale*. The A. S. *beorcian* (=Mercian

[1] See also Koch's Grammatik, i. 223–237.

bercian?) became M. E. *berken*; whence, by the change from *er* to *ar* (see § 381) the mod. E. verb to *bark*. The *bark* of a tree is of Scand. origin, from the base *bark-* of Icel. *börkr* (gen. *bark-ar*). The F. word *barque* has been respelt *bark* to agree with these. A curious example is seen in the old word *bile*, A. S. *býl* or *býle*[1], in the sense of a small tumour; it seemed more natural to associate it with the verb to *boil* than with the *bile* from the liver; and it was altered accordingly. It is needless to multiply instances, as many examples can easily be traced by the historical method. I will just add one more; the M. E. adv. *wel* is now *well*, because we usually write the *l* double when final; on the other hand, the M. E. sb. *welle* has lost its final *e*, and is thus reduced from a dissyllabic form to the monosyllabic *well*. This is a good example of the production of a pair of homographs by inevitable processes.

§ 388. We have also several pairs of homophones. These can usually be easily explained by the historical method. Thus *ale* is M. E. *ale*, A. S. *ealu* (Mercian **alu*); but *ail* is for *eil*[2], from M. E. *eilen*, A. S. *eglan*, to be troublesome, a verb formed from the adj. *egle*, cognate with Goth. *aglus*, difficult, troublesome. *Beat*, M. E. *beten*, from A. S. *béatan*, is spelt with *ea* to represent that the Tudor-English sound was that of *open e* (romic *ae*); whilst *beet*, M. E. *bete*, A. S. *béte*, from Lat. *beta*, had the sound of *close e*. The spellings of *son* and *sun* are curious, and it is not easy to see why they are now different, unless an express attempt was made to distinguish them to the eye, perhaps on the ground that a distinction had long been kept up. The A. S. forms were *sunu* and *sunne* respectively, in the latter of which the *n*

[1] '*Frunculas* (sic), wearte, byle'; Wright's Glossaries, ed. Wülcker, 244. 11; '*Furunculus*, wearte, *uel* byl,' id. 245. 15; '*Carbunculi*, bylas,' id. 199. 25. There are two forms, *býl*, masc.; and *býle*, fem.

[2] 'Know ye ought what thise bestes *eiled*?' Merlin, ed. Wheatley, p. 3.

was distinctly made double. Owing to the use of the M. E. *o* to denote short *u*, which Mr. Sweet calls 'a well-known feature of Middle English[1],' these became *sone* and *sonne* respectively, spellings which may be found at least as late as 1481, in Caxton's Reynard the Fox, ed. Arber, p. 23, ll. 20, 28. Skelton has varying spellings, but both words still have *o*. In Shakespeare's Tempest, the former is *son* or *sonne*, the latter is *sun*.

Inasmuch, however, as the best method of distinguishing all such homophones is by tracing them back to their original A. S. forms, it is unnecessary to pursue the subject further[2].

[1] History of Eng. Sounds, p. 149.

[2] A list of Homophones is given by Koch, i. 232.

CHAPTER XX.

Doublets and Compounds.

§ 389. At the end of the last chapter we considered some examples of confluence of forms, producing homonyms. This will therefore be a convenient place for giving some examples of *dimorphism*, or the appearance of the same word under a double form. Such double forms are most common in that part of our language which is of Romance or Latin origin. Thus the Lat. *balsamum*, Gk. *βάλσαμον*, has given us the word *balsam*; but we also have the same word in the form *balm*, due to a French modification of the Latin word. These double forms have conveniently been called *doublets*[1], and a full List of Doublets is given in my Etymological Dictionary. I shall only notice here a few examples of doublets in words belonging to the oldest period or of native origin.

§ 390. Doublets are sometimes due to a difference of dialect. Examples are seen in the Southern English *ridge*, *bridge*, *birch*, *church*, *shred*, as distinct from the Northern *rig*, *brig*, *birk*, *kirk*, *screed*. Or they are due to the fact that we have sometimes borrowed a word from a cognate language, when we already possessed it in our

[1] It is best to keep to this name, though it is not always logically exact. In a few cases we have really *triplets*, or *three* forms of a word, as when the Lat. *chorus* appears also as *choir* and *quire*, or when we have three spellings, as *caldron*, *cauldron*, and *chaldron*.

own; the reason being, probably, that it was not used in precisely the same sense. We already had the verb *to thatch*, A. S. *þeccan*[1], but it was used in rather a restricted sense; hence we borrowed the cognate Dutch *decken* in the sixteenth century, to express the notion of *decking*, or covering in a more general manner. The following are examples of doublets of native words, probably of dialectal origin. A. S. *ǽmette*, *ǽmete*; E. *emmet*, also contracted to *ant*. A. S. *cwidu*, also *cudu*; E. *quid*, *cud* (§ 384). A. S. *dynt*, a blow; E. *dint*, also *dent*. A. S. *dǽl*, a portion; E. *dole*, whence the verb *dǽlan*, to deal, and the sb. *dǽl*, a portion, E. *deal*, sb., which is practically a doublet of *dole*. A. S. *gamen*, M. E. *gamen*, whence E. *game* and the archaic form *gammon* (so spelt by confusion with a *gammon* of bacon). E. *alone*, often shortened to *lone*. E. *of*, differentiated as *off*. E. *scabby*, also *shabby*, with *sh* for *sc*. A. S. *scateran*, whence the archaic form *scatter*, and the later *shatter*. A. S. *stæf*; E. *staff*, pl. *staves*, whence the later form *stave*. E. *touse*, better and older form *tose*, M. E. *tosen*, from an A. S. form **tásian* (not found), of which the contracted form is A. S. *tǽsan*, the original of the doublet *tease*. A. S. *þirlian*; E. *thirl*, or by metathesis *thrill*[2]. A. S. *tó*; whence E. *to* and *too*. A. S. *útor*; E. *outer*, also *utter*, with vowel-shortening and doubled consonant. E. *wallet*, probably a double of *wattle* (§ 362). E. *wit*, to know, spelt *weet* by Spenser, F. Q. i. 3. 6, by a licentious lengthening of the vowel. A. S. *wiht*; E. *wight*, and also *whit*, the *h* in the latter form being misplaced. A. S. *weald*, M. E. *wald*, altered to E. *wold* (or *old* in Shakespeare) by the influence of *w* on the following vowel (§ 383); also spelt *weald*, probably by a pedantic revival of the A. S. spelling in the sixteenth century. M. E. *wrappen*,

[1] Strictly speaking, the A. S. *þeccan* could only give a mod. E. *thetch*; cf. M. E. *thecchen*, P. Plowman, B. xix. 232. The vowel is, of course, borrowed from the sb., A. S. *þæc*, dat. *þæce*.

[2] The third form, *drill*, is borrowed from Dutch.

to wrap, was sometimes spelt *wlappen*, whence (by loss of *w*) the form *lap*, in the sense to 'wrap up.'

> 'Indulgent Fortune does her care employ,
> And, smiling, broods upon the naked boy:
> Her garment spreads, and *laps* him in the fold,
> And covers, with her wings, from nightly cold.'
> DRYDEN, *Translation of Juvenal*, Sat. vi. l. 786.

§ 391. In some cases the native word finds its twin form in Scandinavian. Examples are seen in A. S. *dell*, E. *dell*, cognate with Icel. *dalr*, E. *dale* (but see § 392). A. S. *yfel*, E. *evil*; Icel. *illr*, E. *ill*. A. S. *fram*, later *from*, E. *from*; Icel. *frá*, E. *fro*. Mercian *milc* (in the Vespasian Psalter, Ps. 118. 70), E. *milk*; cognate with Swed. *mjölke*, milt, whence E. *milt*, soft roe of fishes, by substitution of *t* for *k*. A. S. *rád*, E. *road*; Icel. *reið*, Northern E. *raid*; cf. our phrase 'to make an *inroad*.' A. S. *rǽran*, E. *rear*; Icel. *reisa*, E. *raise*. A. S. *rǽcan*, *rǽcean*, E. *reach*; Swed. dial. *raka*, to reach, *raka fram*, to reach out, whence E. *rake*, used of the projection of the upper parts of a ship, at both ends, beyond the extremities of the keel. A. S. *sagu*, a saying, E. *saw*; Icel. *saga*, whence *saga* as an E. word. A. S. *hál*, E. *whole*; Icel. *heill*, E. *hale*. A. S. *wyrt*, E. *wort*; Icel. *rót*, E. *root*. Sometimes *both* the forms are Scandinavian; such seems to be the case with Icel. *skyrta*, E. *skirt*, modified to *shirt*. Icel. *skúfa*, Swed. *skuffa*, to shove, whence E. *scuff-le*, modified to *shuffle*. Icel. *skrækja*, modified to *screech* and to *shriek*. Sometimes one of the words is native, and the other Dutch; as is the case with E. *thatch* and Du. *decken*, mentioned above, § 390. Other examples are E. *thrill*, cognate with Du. *drillen*, to bore, also to *drill* soldiers; also A. S. *wægn*, M. E. *wayn*, E. *wain*, cognate with Du. *wagen*, whence E. *waggon*, formerly spelt *wagon*[1].

[1] It is common to derive E. *wagon* from A. S. *wægn*, which I believe to be simply impossible. The A. S. *g* in such a position regularly

§ 392. An E. word frequently has a twin form in a word borrowed from Latin or French. Thus E. *knot* is cognate with Lat. *nodus*, whence E. *node*. E. *naked* is cognate with Lat. *nudus*, whence E. *nude*. E. *word* is cognate with Lat. *uerbum*, whence E. *verb*. Again, E. *heart* is cognate with Lat. *cor*, whence O. F. *cor*, *coer*, E. *core*. E. *name* is cognate with Lat. *nomen*, whence O. F. *noun*, *nun*, E. *noun*. E. *ship* is cognate with O. H. G. *skif*, whence F. *esquif* (in Cotgrave), E. *skiff*. E. *ward*, verb, is cognate with O. H. G. *wartén*, O. Sax. *wardón*, Middle G. *warden* (Schade), whence O. F. *guarder*, *garder*, E. *guard*. Similarly the native words *wile* and *wise*, sb., are doublets of the forms *guile*, *guise*, borrowed, through French, from the Frankish. The Latin word *uncia* was borrowed in the A. S. form *ynce*, with mutation of *u* to *y*, whence E. *inch*; at a later period it was re-borrowed in the F. form *ounce* (O. F. *unce*).

Both forms may be Latin. Thus the Lat. *locusta* was borrowed in the early A. S. form *lopust*, and applied to the *locusta marina*, or lobster; this early form *lopust* was afterwards made to look more like a native word by turning it into *loppestre*, whence E. *lobster*; at a later period, the same word was re-borrowed in the form *locust*, and applied to a certain winged insect. The Lat. *struppus* was borrowed in the A. S. form *stropp*, whence E. *strop*; at a later period, this A. S. *stropp* was turned into *strap*[1]. *Font* and *fount* are mere variants of A. S. *font*, borrowed from Lat. acc. *fontem* (§ 380). *Ton* and *tun* both answer to A. S. *tunne*, a non-Teutonic word of doubtful origin.

In some cases we find that the doublets are not *exactly*

passes into part of a diphthong; indeed, even in A. S. we already find the contracted form *wán*. Again, I do not suppose that *wagon* was ever heard of in England till the sixteenth century. (N.B. in my Concise Dict., s. v. *Wagon*, read 'XVI cent.' for 'XIV cent.')

[1] I know of no instance of *strap* earlier than in Shak. Tw. Nt. i. 3. 13. We do, however, find an A. S. dimin. *strapul*, M. E. *strapel*; see Wright's Vocabularies and Stratmann.

equivalent, but differ slightly in the form of the suffix. Thus *dale*, Icel. *dalr*, answers to a Teut. form DALA; whereas *dell* answers to DALJA. I now find that the E. *byre* is not (as said in my Dictionary) of Scand. origin, but is precisely the A. S. *býre*, which Mr. Sweet, in his Oldest E. Texts, calls a plural sb., and translates by 'dwellings.' The word is evidently formed by mutation from A. S. *búr*, a bower; so that *bower* and *byre* are, practically, doublets, though different in use; the former was usually allotted to ladies, but the latter to cows.

§ 393. **Compound Words.** Compound words, such as *head-ache*, are extremely common in English, and the majority of them are compounded of two substantives, the sense of the compounds being obvious. But it is worth observing that there are some compounds, of purely native origin, which are of such antiquity that their form has suffered considerable alteration, with the result that their sense is by no means obvious until their oldest forms have been discovered. I give below, for the reader's information, a few of the most interesting. The results are stated with all brevity; fuller information will be found in my Dictionary. Some of these words are noticed in Morris's Hist. Outlines, p. 222; but the present list is considerably fuller. I shall, however, make no scruple of quoting at length (in § 394) Morris's description of the various modes in which English compounds are formed.

§ 394. **I. Substantive Compounds.**

(1) Substantive and substantive.

(*a*) Descriptive; as *gar-lic*, *spear-plant*, *even-tide*, &c. [Here belong *friend-ship*, *king-dom*.]

(*b*) Appositional; as *oak-tree*, *beech-tree*.

(*c*) Genitive; as *kins-man*, *Tues-day*, *dooms-day*.

(*d*) Accusative; as *man-killer*, *blood-shedding*.

(2) Substantive and Adjective: *free-man*, *mid-day*, *black-bird*, *alder-man*. [See *mid-riff*, *neigh-bour* in § 395.]

(3) Substantive and Numeral: *twi-light, sen-night, fort-night* [see § 395]; *two-fold.*

(4) Substantive and Pronoun: *self-esteem, self-will.*

(5) Substantive and Verb: *grind-stone, whet-stone, pin-fold, wag-tail, rear-mouse* [see below], *bake-house, wash-tub, pick-pocket.* A substantive is often qualified by another substantive, to which it is joined by a preposition, as *man-of-war, will-o'-the-wisp. Jack-a-lantern* (where *a=o=of*), *brother-in-law.*

II. Adjective Compounds.

(1) Substantive and Adjective; in which the sb. has the force of an adverb; as *blood-red* = red as blood, *snow-white* = white as snow, *sea-sick*, sick through the sea, *fire-proof*, proof against fire, *cone-shaped, eagle-eyed, lion-hearted.* [Here belong *man-ly, wil-ful, heart-less*, &c.]

(2) Adjective and Substantive, denoting possession, as *barefoot.* (In the corresponding modern forms the sb. has taken the pp. suffix of weak verbs, as *bare-footed, bare-headed, three-cornered.* Just as the suffix *-en* in *gold-en* denotes possession, so does *-ed* in *boot-ed, shoulder-ed*, forms to which Spenser and other Elizabethan writers are very partial.)

(3) Participial combinations, in which the participle is the last element.

(*a*) Substantive and Present Participle, in which the first element is the object of the second; as *earth-shaking, heart-rending, ear-piercing, life-giving.*

(*b*) Adjective and Present Participle, in which the first element is equivalent to an adverb; as *deep-musing, fresh-looking, ill-looking.*

(*c*) Substantive and Perfect Participle; as *air-fed, earth-born, moth-eaten.*

(*d*) Adjective and Perfect Participle; as *dear-bought, full-fed, high-born.* Cf. *well-bred*, where *well* is an adverb.

III. Verbal Compounds.

(1) Substantive and Verb: *back-bite, brow-beat, hood-wink, kiln-dry.*

(2) Adjective and Verb: *dry-nurse, dumb-found, white-wash.*

(3) Adverb and Verb: *cross-question, doff* (do off), *don* (do on), &c.

The above account may be usefully compared with the full account of Compound Words, with a Scheme of different Composition of Noun-bases, given in Peile's Notes on the Nalopákhyánam, Cambridge, 1881, pp. 2–9.

§ 395. List of Compounds, of native origin, in which the origin has been more or less obscured.

Agnail, formerly *angnail*; A. S. *ang-nægl*; of which Dr. Murray writes: 'a word of which the application, and perhaps the form, has been much perverted by pseudo-etymology. The O. E. [A. S.] *angnægl* is cognate with O. H. G. *ungnagel*, Fries. *ongneil, ogneil*; from *ang-* (Gothic *aggwus*, cf. *ang-sum*), compressed, tight, painful, and *nægl* (Goth. *nagls*), nail. The latter had here the sense, not of "finger-nail," *unguis*, but of a nail (of iron, etc.) *clavus*, hence a hard, round-headed excrescence fixed in the flesh; cf. [A. S.] *wer-nægl*, E. *warnel*, a wart, lit. "man-nail" (as opposed to "door-nail," "wall-nail," etc.). So, Lat. *clavus* was both a nail (of iron, etc.) and a corn in the foot. Subsequently *-nail* was referred to a *finger-* or *toe-nail*, and the meaning gradually perverted to various (imaginary or real) affections of the nails.' The senses are: (1) a corn on the toe or foot; (2) any painful swelling, ulcer, or sore near the toe- or finger-nail; (3) a hang-nail. *Hang-nail* is a perversion of the true form, 'putting a plausible meaning into it.'

Alone, also shortened to **lone**; for *all one.*

Atone; coined from *at* and *one*; i. e. to 'set at one,' to reconcile. It originated in the phrase 'to be at one,' which

is a translation of the Anglo-French phrase *estre a un*, to agree[1].

Auger, corruption of *nauger*; A. S. *nafu-gár*, later *nafe-gár*, a tool for boring a hole in the nave of a wheel; from A. S. *nafu*, a nave; *gár*, a piercer, that which gores.

Aught, lit. 'ever whit,' i. e. e'er a whit, anything whatever; A. S. *áwiht*, contracted form *áht*; compounded of A. S. *á*, ever, and *wiht*, a wight, whit, thing[2]. Cf. O. H. G. *éowiht*, aught, the cognate form. The A. S. *á* is cognate with Icel. *ei* (whence E. *aye*), O. H. G. *éo*, G. *je*, Goth. *aiw*, ever; where *aiw* is from the sb. *aiws*, time, an age, allied to Lat. *æuum*, Gk. *αἰών*, a life-time. Cf. Gk. *αἰεί*, *ἀεί*, ever.

Bandog, M. E. *band-dogge*, i. e. a dog tied up by a band, a watch-dog or ferocious dog.

Barley, A. S. *bærlíc*, i. e. that which is like *bear*, where *bear* is equivalent to A. S. *bere*, also explained as barley. Dr. Murray shews that the suffix is certainly our *like*, not A. S. *léac*, E. *leek*, as usually said[3].

Barn, contracted from A. S. *bere-ern*, a place for barley; from A. S. *bere*, barley, and *ærn*, *ern*, a place, store-house.

Bridal, put for *bride-ale*, i. e. bride-feast. The M. E. *ale* frequently occurs in the sense of 'feast.'

Bridegroom, for *bride-goom*, bride-man; A. S. *guma*, a man. The second *r* is dragged in by the influence of the first.

Brimstone, M. E. *bren-stoon*, burning stone.

Caterwaul, M. E. *caterwawen*, to make the wailing noise of cats. *Cater* = Icel. *kattar-*, as in *kattar-skinn*, cat's skin; orig. gen. of *köttr*, a cat. Cf. *nighter-tale* (Chaucer). *Wau-l*

[1] 'Il ne peusent *estre a un*,' i. e. they (Henry II. and Beket) could not agree; Le Livere de Reis, ed. Glover (Record Series), p. 220, l. 8.

[2] In my Dictionary, I have explained the prefix *á* in this word as short for *án*, one. This is a slip for which I cannot account, and is of course entirely wrong.

[3] I regret that my Dictionary gives this false explanation.

is the frequentative of M. E. *waw-en*, to make a noise like a cat. 'Where *cats* do *waule*'; Return from Parnassus, A. 5. sc. 4.

Chincough, for *chink-cough*; *chink* = *kink*, a catch in the breath.

Cobweb, i. e. *attercop-web*; *atter-cop* = poison-head, a spider. Cf. M.E. *coppis*, spiders; Wars of Alexander, l. 3300.

Cowslip, prov. E. *cowslop*, in many dialects; A.S. *cú-sloppe*, *cú-slyppe*, cow-slop, piece of cowdung. Cf. Icel. *kú-reki*, a primrose, lit. cow-refuse. There is no doubt about this; the Icel. word is a translation of the A. S. one. So **Ox-lip** below.

Cranberry, *crane-berry*. So also G. *Kranich-beere*.

Daisy, A. S. *dæges éage*, lit. day's eye, the sun with rays.

Darling, for *dear-ling*; A. S. *déorling*.

Didapper, for *dive-dapper*; a diving bird.

Distaff, A. S. *distæf*, for **dise-stæf*, staff with a bunch of flax on it. Cf. Westphalian *diesse*, a bunch of flax (Bremen Wörterbuch, v. 284); E. Fries. *díssen* (Koolman); M. H. G. *dehse*, a distaff, from *dehsen*, to swingle flax, also to hack, hew (Schade); √TEKS, no. 124.

Each, A. S. *élc*, for **á-ge-líc*, ever-like; see **Aught** above.

Earwig, ear-creeper; A. S. *wicga*, one that moves about, a beetle; cf. A. S. *wicg*, a runner, horse. '*Blatea* (*sic*), *lucifuga*, wicga'; Wright's Voc. ed. Wülcker, 196. 18. Cf. A. S. *weg-an*, to move about.

Either, (1) adj. in the sense 'one of two'; A. S. *ægþer*, *ægþwæþer*, for **á-ge-hwæþer*, ever-whether. See **Each**.

Either, (2) conjunction, M. E. *either*, variant (due to confusion with the word above) of M. E. *auther*, A. S. *á-hwæþer*; and therefore differing from the above in not containing the syllable *ge*. See **Or**, p. 427.

Elbow, A. S. *elboga*, also *elnboga*, Wright's Vocab. 216. 22. *Eln* = ell; *boga*, bow, bending.

Eleven, A. S. *endlufon*, *andleofan* (for **án-leofan*), Goth.

ain-lif, Lith. *wĕno-lika*; one remaining, one over (beyond ten). Cf. Lith. *wĕnas*, one; also Lith. *lĕk-as*, remaining, *at-lĕkmi*, I remain over, Lat. *linq-uo*; √RIQ, no. 307.

Ember-days; from A.S. *ymb-ryne*, circuit, course (season), lit. 'a running round.' See § 365.

Every, M. E. *euerich*, i. e. ever-each. See **Each**.

Farthing, A. S. *féorð-ing*, from *féorð-a*, fourth.

Fortnight, for *fourteen night*, two weeks.

Furlong, furrow-long, the length of a furrow.

Futtocks, for *foot-hooks*; spelt *foot-hooks* in Bailey, Phillips, and Coles (1784).

Garlic, A. S. *gár-léac*, spear-leek; from *gár*, spear.

Godwit, A. S. *gód wiht*, good wight, good creature.

Goodbye, for *God be with you*[1], as in Othello, i. 3. 189 (first folio); other spellings are *God B' w' y* (Suckling), *God be wi' ye* (Allan Ramsay); *God bwy yee* (Marston); *godbwy* (J. Davies); *God by'e* (Evelyn); *God buy you*, Twelfth Night, iv. 2. 108 (first folio); see Palmer, Folk-Etymology. It is tolerably clear that *God be with you* was cut down to *God bwy* or *God buy*; after which, the sense being obscured, the word *ye*, *yee*, or *you* was *again* appended; so that the *modern* E. *good-bye* really stands for Evelyn's *God by'e*, i. e. for *God be with you ye*, or *God be with you you*. This is the true solution of the mystery, and is not at all 'impossible.'

Gorcrow, carrion-crow; from *gore*, blood, carrion.

Goshawk, i. e. goose-hawk; Icel. *gáshaukr*; cf. A. S. *gŏshafuc*.

Gospel, A. S. *god-spel*. At first this word was *gód-spel*, good tidings; '*Euuangelium, id est, bonum nuntium*, godspel'; Wright's Vocab. 314. 9; but the *o* was afterwards shortened by stress (precisely as in *gos-ling* from *gŏs*), and it was *then* commonly supposed to mean 'God-spell,' or the story of

[1] Trautmann says this is impossible, and that it stands for *God be by you*; Anglia, viii. 2. 144. He forgets that the plain evidence is the other way; where is 'God be by you' to be found?

Christ. In this latter form it was translated into Icelandic as *guð-spjall* (= God-spell) and into O.H.G. as *gotspel*, as if from O.H.G. *got*, God, not O.H.G. *guot*, good. Hence the spelling *goddspell* (with short *o*) in the Ormulum.

Gossamer, M.E. *gosesomere*, lit. goose-summer. (See Dictionary.)

Gossip, M.E. *god-sib*, related in God, a sponsor in baptism.

Groundsel, a plant, A.S. *grunde-swelge*, ground-swallower, i.e. abundant weed. But this is a corrupted form. The Oldest E. Texts have *gundeswilge*, which means 'swallower of poison or pus,' with reference to healing effects; from A.S. *gund*, matter, pus. *Gund* is used of a running from the eyes; and groundsel was good for eye-disease; Leechbook, i. 2. 13. For the spellings *gundeswilge*, *gundaeswelgae*, see Sweet's O.E. Texts, p. 98, l. 976; p. 97, l. 1850.

Grunsel, Groundsill, threshold; from *ground* and *sill*.

Halibut, holy plaice; for eating on holidays. Also spelt *holybut* (Bailey). Cf. *holi-day* for *holy day*.

Halyard, a rope for *haling* the *yards* into place.

Handcuff, corruption of A.S. *hand-cops*; where *cops* is a fetter.

Handicap, hand i' (th') cap, a mode of drawing lots, &c.

Handicraft, Handiwork; the *i* here answers to A.S. *ge*, as in A.S. *handgeweorc*.

Harebell, M.E. *hare-belle*, bell of the hare. (Otherwise explained by those who prefer fancy to fact; and of late years spelt *hair-bell*, to foster a false etymology.)

Heifer, A.S. *héah-fore*; from *héah*, high (full-grown); and *-fore*, cognate with Gk. πόρις, a heifer.

Hemlock, M.E. *hemlok*, *humlok*; A.S. *hemlic*, *hymlic*, *hymelic*, oldest forms *hymblicæ*, *hymlice* (Oldest E. Texts). Sense doubtful; the sense of *lic*, *lice* can hardly be 'leek,' but rather 'like'; see **Barley** above.

Henchman, M.E. *hensman*, *henxman*, and more corruptly *henchman*; a page; prob. from late A. S. *hengst*, a horse, and *man*. '*Canterius*, hengst'; Wright's Vocab. 119. 37. The precise equivalent of Icel. *hestamaðr*, a horse-boy, groom. This explains *Hinxman* as a surname (Clergy List); cf. A. S. *Hengestes-bróc*, now *Hinxbrook*; *Hengestesgeat*, now *Hinxgate*, &c. (Index to Kemble's Charters.) The surname also occurs in the form *Hensman*.

Heriot, an Anglo-French respelling of A. S. *here-geatu*, lit. 'military equipment.'

Heyday, i.e. high-day; M.E. *hey*, high.

Hiccough, a modern spelling and travesty of the old words *hickup* and *hicket*, the still older form being *hickock*. *Hick* denotes a spasmodic gasp; *-ock* is a mere diminutive.

Hoarhound; from *hoar*, white, and A. S. *húne*, hoarhound.

Hobnob, Habnab, orig. at random, take it or leave it; A. S. *hæbban*, to have, *næbban*, not to have.

Humbug; from *hum*, to cajole, *bug*, a terror, bugbear.

'For Warwicke was a *Bugge*, that fear'd [frightened] vs all.'
3 Hen. VI, v. 2. 2.

Hussy, short for *hus-wife* = *house-wife*.

Icicle, A. S. *ís-gicel*; from *ís*, ice, and *gicel*, a small piece of ice.

Ironmonger; *monger*, A. S. *mangere*, is a dealer in various (mixed or *mingled*) articles.

Island, misspelling of *iland*; A. S. *íg*, island, *land*, land. The lit. sense of *íg* or *íeg* is 'belonging to water.' It is formed by mutation from A. S. *ég*, *éa*, a stream.

Lady, A. S. *hláf-dige*, probably 'kneader of bread'; cf. Goth. *deig-an*, to knead.

Lammas, A. S. *hláf-mæsse*, loaf-mass; day of offering first-fruits.

Lapwing, A. S. *hléape-wince*, lit. 'one who turns about in running.'

Lemman, Leman, A. S. *léof-man*, dear one; from *léof*, lief, and *mann*, a man or woman.

Lichgate, corpse-gate; from A. S. *líc*, the body, a corpse.

Livelihood, a corrupted form; formerly M. E. *livelode*, a life-leading, means of living; from A. S. *líf*, life; *lád*, course, way.

Loadstone, Lodestone; from A. S. *lád*, a leading; guiding.

Lord, A. S. *hláf-ord*, prob. for **hláfweard*, a loaf-ward.

Mermaid, lake-maid; from A. S. *mere*, a lake.

Midriff, A. S. *mid-rif*, for **mid-hrif*; from *mid*, mid, and *hrif*, the belly.

Midwife, from *mid*, with; a woman who is with another, a helper. (Not *meed-wife*.)

Mildew, lit. honey-dew; from A. S. *mele*, *mil*, honey.

Milksop, lit. 'bread sopped in milk'; a soft fellow.

Misselthrush, so called from feeding on mistletoe-berries; from A. S. *mistel*, mistletoe.

Mistletoe, lit. 'birdlime-twig,' A. S. *mistel-tán*; from *mistel*, mistletoe, also that which has *mist* or bird-lime; *tán*, a twig.

Mole, short for *mould-warp*, the animal that throws up mould.

Monday, A. S. *mónan-dæg*, day of the moon. So also *Tíwes-dæg*, Tuesday, day of *Tíw* (Mars); *Wódnes-dæg*, day of Woden; *Thunres-dæg*, day of Thor (or thunder); *Frige-dæg*, day of Frigu (Love, Venus); *Sætern-dæg*, day of Saturn; *Sunnan-dæg*, day of the Sun.

Mugwort, midge-wort, A. S. *mucg-wort*; cf. *mycge*, a midge, lit. 'a hummer'; see Kluge, s.v. *Mücke*.

Naught, also **Not**; for *ne aught*; see **Aught**.

Neighbour, lit. 'nigh dweller'; A. S. *néah*, nigh, *búr*, a husbandman, dweller.

Nickname, orig. *eke-name*, i.e. additional name.

Nightingale, A. S. *nihte-gale*, a singer by night.

Nightmare; from A. S. *mara*, an incubus.

Nostril, nose-thirl, nose-hole; A.S. *nósþyrl*.

Nuncheon, M. E. *none-schenche*, a noon-drink; from A.S. *scencan*, to pour out drink. *Noon* is of Lat. origin. [Cf. prov. E. *nammut*, i.e. noon-meat, with a parallel sense.]

Oakum, lit. 'that which is combed out'; A. S. *ácumba*, tow; from *á-*, out, off, and *cemban*, to comb.

Oast-house, a kiln for drying hops; A. S. *ást*, a drying-house.

Offal, orig. fallen sticks, that which falls of trees; refuse. From *off* and *fall*. See Notes and Queries, 6 S. ix. 155, 231.

Or, conj.; M. E. *other*, *auther*, A. S. *á-hwæþer*; see **Either** (2) above, p. 422.

Orchard, A. S. *orceard*, *ortgeard*, also *wyrtgeard*, i.e. wort-yard.

Ordeal, A. S. *ordel*, *ordál*, a dealing out, decision, doom; from *or*, out, and *dél*, *dál*, a dealing.

Oxlip, A. S. *oxan-slyppe*, ox-droppings; see **Cowslip** above, p. 422. *Slyppe*=**slop-ja*, with mutation of *o* to *y*.

Pinfold, for *pind-fold*; from A. S. *pyndan*, to pen up.

Quagmire, formerly *quakemire*, a quaking mire.

Rearmouse, a bat, A. S. *hrére-mús*; from *hréran*, to flutter.

Scotfree, free from paying *scot* or *shot*, i.e. a contribution.

Sennight, for *seven night*; a week.

Sheldrake, for *sheld-drake*, lit. shield-drake; a drake ornamented as with a shield.

Shelter, (perhaps) the same as M.E. *sheltroun*, *sheldtrume*, a squadron, guard; from A. S. *scild-truma*, lit. 'shield-troop.' M. E. *sheltroun* in P. Plowman means defence or shelter.

Sheriff, A. S. *scír-geréfa*, a shire-reeve, officer of the shire.

Sledge-hammer, where *hammer* is a needless addition; from A. S. *slecge*, a heavy hammer; from *slag-*, base of *slagen*, pp. of *sléan*, to strike, with mutation of *a* to *e*.

Soothsayer, one who says sooth or truth.

Stalwart, a late spelling of *stalworth*, M. E. *stalworþ*, *stalewurðe* (St. Katharine), A. S. *stælwyrðe*, pl., serviceable (said of ships). It seems to have meant 'good at stealing,' as applied to troops, hence stout, excellent, with reference to securing plunder. Also explained as 'worth stealing,' i.e. good; or as *stall-worthy*, worthy of a *stall* or place. (Unsettled.)

Starboard, A. S. *stéorbord*, steer-board; the side on which the steersman stood.

Starknaked, M. E. *start-naked*, lit. 'tail-naked'; hence, wholly naked.

Stepchild, an orphaned child; A. S. *stéopcild*; cf. A. S. *á-stéapian*, to render an orphan, deprive of parents.

Steward, A. S. *stí-weard*, warden of the sties or cattle-pens.

Stickleback, the fish with small spines on its back; from *stick*, to pierce.

Stirrup, A. S. *stíg-ráp*, a rope to climb up by.

Such, A. S. *swylc*, Goth. *swaleiks* = so-like.

Sweetheart, M. E. *swete herte*, sweet heart, dear heart.

Tadpole, a *toad* nearly all *poll* or head.

Titmouse, from *tit*, small, and A. S. *máse*, a small bird (G. *meise*, not G. *maus*).

Topsyturvy, orig. *topsyturvy* (afterwards corruptly *topside-turvy*), prob. = *top so turvy*; cf. *up-so-down*, afterwards altered to *upsidedown*. *Turvy* means overturned, from M. E. *terven*, to upset, *torvien*, to throw, A. S. *torfian*, to throw.

Twibill, a two-edged bill; A. S. *twí-*, double.

Twilight, lit. 'double light,' but put for 'doubtful light,' half light. See above.

Walnut, a foreign nut; A. S. *wealh*, foreign.

Wassail, from A. S. *wes hál*, be thou whole, be in good health.

Wellaway, A. S. *wá lá wá*, i.e. woe! lo! wo!

Werwolf, man-wolf; A. S. *wer*, a man.

Which, A. S. *hwylc*, Goth. *hwaleiks*, lit. 'who-like.'

Wilderness, for *wildern-ness*; cf. M. E. *wilderne*, a place for wild animals; from A. S. *wild*, wild, *déor*, animal, with adj. suffix *-ne*.

Woman, M. E. *wimman*, A. S. *wíf-man*, lit. 'wife-man.'

Woodruff, A. S. *wude-rófe*, *wudu-rófe*, from A. S. *róf*, noble, excellent; a name of praise. Cf. G. *Waldmeister*, wood-master, woodruff[1]. In old Glossaries *wuderófe* translates *Hastula regia*, i. e. king's spear, usually applied to white asphodel.

Woodwale, a wood-pecker, oriole; M. E. *wodewale*, lit. 'wood-stranger,' from A. S. *wealh*, foreigner. Cf. M. H. G. *wîlewal*, similarly explained by Schade.

Woof, M. E. *oof*, A. S. *ó-wef*, for *on-wef*, lit. 'web upon' or across the weft. See § 370.

World, A. S. *weoruld*, *weruld*; lit. 'age of man,' hence age, &c. From A. S. *wer*, man; *ældu*, old age; cf. Icel. *veröld*, world, from *ver* and *öld*.

Wormwood, A. S. *wermód*, fuller form *were-mód*[2], lit. 'that which preserves the mind'; from *werian*, to defend, and *mód*, mind. Similarly, hellebore was called *wéde-berge*, preservative against madness.

Yellow-hammer, for yellow-ammer; see § 370.

Yeoman, of disputed origin. The M. E. form is double; M. E. *yeman*, *yoman*. I take the prefix to be A. S. **gęa*, not found[3], but equivalent to G. *gau*, province, village; the sense being 'villager,' as is that of O. Friesic *gaman*. The A. S. **géa*, if the accent be on *e*, would become M. E. *ye* (for A. S. *géar* gives M. E. *yeer*); and **geá*, with shifted accent, would become M. E. *yo* (for A. S. *geára* gives M. E. *yore*).

[1] *Ruff* is a corrupt form, due to confusion; it should be *woodrove*. We also find *woodrow* and *woodrowel*, by confusion with F. *roue* and *rouelle*, with reference to its whorls of leaves.

[2] '*Absinthium*, weremod'; Wright's Vocab. 296. 24.

[3] The A. S. *gá*, a province, given in Dictionaries, is a complex fiction, due to mistakes. No A. S. *á* = G. *au*; but only A. S. *éa* has this value.

Yes, A. S. *gese*, explained by me as for A. S. *ge sig*, 'yea, let it be (so)'; but Kluge (s. v. *ja*) gives it as for A. S. *ge sé* = *ge swá*, yea, so. Grein gives *sé* for *swá*.

Yesterday, A. S. *geostra*, yester-, and *dæg*, day. *Geos-tra* is a comparative from *geos-* = Gk. *χθές*, Skt. *hyas*, yesterday, orig. perhaps 'morning.' If so *yes-ter-* = morning beyond.

A second list of compounds, all of Scandinavian origin, will be found at the end of Chapter XXIII.

§ **396**. Some derived forms may be called 'petrified grammatical forms'; i. e. they are forms due to grammatical inflexion, preserved as 'petrifactions' long after the notion of inflexion has passed from them. Examples are: *live*, adj., short for *alive*, formerly M. E. *aliue*, *oliue*, *on lyue*, for A. S. *on lífe*, in life, where *lífe* is the dat. sing. of *líf*, life. *On-ce*, *twi-ce*, M.E. *on-es*, *twi-es*, are genitival forms, like *backward-s*, *unawar-es*. *Seld-om*, at rare (times), is a dative plural; so also is *whil-om*, at times. *Whil-s-t* is a genitival form, with addition of excrescent *t*. *Why*, A. S. *hwý*, is the instrumental case of *who*. *Since*, short for *sithen-s*, is due to A. S. *síð ðám*, later *síððan*, with the addition of an adverbial (genitival) *s*; and as *ðá-m* is a dative case, we see that the *-n-* in *si-n-ce* is due to a dative suffix, and the *-ce* to a genitive suffix, added at a time when the notion of dative was lost, just as the notion of genitive is lost now. For further examples, see Morris, Hist. Outlines; such forms, being purely of grammatical origin, can be explained by the historical method.

§ **397. Hybrids.** English further abounds with Hybrid Compounds, i. e. words made up from different languages. Many of these are due to the use of prefixes or suffixes. Thus, in *a-round*, the prefix is English, but *round* is French; so also in *be-cause*, *fore-front*, *out-cry*, *over-power*, *un-able*. In *aim-less*, the suffix is English, but *aim* is French; so also in *duke-dom*, *false-hood*, *court-ship*, *dainti-ness*, *plenti-ful*, *churl-ish*, *fairy-like*, *trouble-some*, *genial-ly*, &c. But besides these we have perfect compounds, such as these: *beef-eater*, i. e.

eater of beef, where *eater* is English and *beef* is French; so also *black-guard*, *life-guard*, *salt-cellar*, *smallage*. On the other hand, French is followed by English in *eyelet-hole*, *heir-loom*, *hobby-horse*, *kerb-stone*, *scape-goat*. *Bandy-legged* is French and Scandinavian. *Archi-trave* is ultimately Greek and Latin; while *ostrich* is ultimately Latin and Greek. *Inter-loper* is Latin and Dutch. *Juxta-position* is Latin and French. *Mari-gold* is Hebrew and English. *Partake*, for *part-take*, is French and Scandinavian. *Tamar-ind* is Arabic and Persian. *Spike-nard* is Latin and Sanskrit. *Mac-adam-is-ed* is Gaelic, Hebrew, French, and English. There is no language in which words from very different sources can so easily be fused together as they have frequently been in our own.

CHAPTER XXI.

Early Words of Latin Origin.

§ 398. **Latin of the First Period.** When the English invaded Britain in the fifth century and conquered the Celtic inhabitants, the Latin language had already preceded them. Britain had been a Roman province for nearly four hundred years. The Latin introduced during that time among the Britons, and by them transmitted to the English, has been called Latin of the *First Period*. It is well known that it has left its mark upon many place-names. The A. S. *ceaster*, E. *chester*, is nothing but an English pronunciation of the Lat. *castrum*, a camp. But there are at least two words in common use, viz. *street* and *wall*, which also belong to this period; for the Romans had not left the island without leaving famous traces of their occupation behind them. Our *street*, Mercian *strél*[1], is an English form of Lat. *strāta uia*, a paved way, *strata* being the fem. of the pp. of Lat. *sternere*, to spread, lay down, pave a road. Our *wall*, Mercian *wall*[2], is merely the Lat. *uallum*, a rampart, borrowed at a time when the Latin *u* was still [*w*]. It must also be remembered that many Latin words were already familiar to most of the Teutonic tribes soon after the Christian era; so that the English invaders not only learnt some Latin words from the Britons,

[1] *Strét* is Mercian and Kentish; A. S. *strǽt*.

[2] *Wall* is the Mercian form; Vesp. Psalt. xvii. 30; A. S. *weall*. (I note here that *Foss*, in place-names, is Latin; but mod. E. *foss* is French.)

but had brought others with them. Such words also clearly belong to the Latin of the First Period, but it is not easy to say precisely what they were. Still, it is probable that our *wine*, A. S. *wín*, spelt *uuin* in the Epinal Glossary, l. 1040, also belongs to this period; and the same may be true of *wick*, A. S. *wíc*, a town, spelt *uuic* in a Charter dated 740; these words are borrowed, respectively, from Lat. *uinum* and *uicus*. The A. S. *port*, from Lat. *portus*, a harbour, is common in place-names[1]. Of course, it is also possible that such words were already familiar to the English invaders before they left the continent; but this comes to much the same thing, and we are thus entitled to consider *wine*, *wick* (a town), *port* (a harbour), *pool* (Welsh *pwll*, Low. Lat. *padulis*), *mile*, *pine* (punishment, whence mod. E. vb. *to pine*), as well as *street* and *wall*, as words belonging to Latin of the First Period. There may even have been a few more, viz. among those which are usually reckoned as belonging to the *Second* Period; but this is not a matter of much consequence, and, in the absence of evidence, cannot easily be decided. My list of words belonging to Latin of the First Period is therefore as follows: *mile*, *pine*, v., *pool*, *port*, *street*, *wall*, *wick* (town), *wine*. All these probably found their way into English before A.D. 500.

§ 399. Latin of the Second Period. 'The English,' says Dr. Morris, 'were converted to Christianity about A.D. 596, and during the four following centuries many Latin words were introduced by Roman ecclesiastics, and by English writers who translated Latin works into their own language. This is called the Latin of the *Second Period*.'

It is common to reckon amongst words of this character such words as *sanct*, a saint, *calic*, a chalice, &c., but this is

[1] Cf. O. Irish *fín*, wine, *fích*, a town (*municipium*), *fál*, a hedge, *port*, a harbour, *pían*, pine, pain, punishment, all borrowed words; the Irish *f* being put for Lat. *u*. Again, the borrowed words *wine*, *mile*, *pine* (in the sense of punishment), are all common Teutonic words. So indeed is *street* (G. *Strass*).

likely to mislead. As a matter of fact, these words are certainly found in A. S., and were certainly borrowed from Latin; but they are as dead to modern E. as if they had never been known. *Saint* and *chalice* are purely French forms, and belong to a later period; they effectually supplanted such forms as *sanct* and *calic*. In the same way the word *balsam* is found in A. S. but was afterwards lost, and not reintroduced into English till the sixteenth century. Most of the lists of Latin words of the Second Period seem to me more or less imperfect; perhaps the fullest is that given by Koch, Grammatik, i. 5. As this is a point of much interest, I propose to give a fuller and more accurate list than such as are generally offered, carefully *excluding* such words as *sanct*, which have not survived. At the same time, I take the opportunity of dividing the words into two sets: (1) those of pure Latin origin, and (2) those of Greek or other foreign origin. Some of them, as said above, may really belong to the Latin of the First Period, and I shall include these in the list.

§ 400. Words of pure Latin origin, found in Anglo-Saxon; including those of the First Period. *Altar*, A. S. *altare*, dative (Matt. v. 24); Lat. *altare*. *Ark*, A. S. *arc*; Lat. *arca*. *Beet*, A. S. *béte*; Lat. *beta* (Pliny). *Box* (1), a tree, A. S. *box*; Lat. *buxus*. *Box* (2), a chest, A. S. *box*; Lat. *buxus*, *buxum*. *Candle*, A. S. *candel*; Lat. *candela*. *Canker*, A. S. *cancer* (Bosworth); Lat. *cancer*. *Castle*, A. S. *castel*, used for Lat. *castellum*, a village, Matt. xxi. 2; but in the sense of 'castle' in A. S. Chron. an. 1137. *Chalk*, A. S. *cealc*, Lat. acc. *calc-em*, from *calx*. *Chapman*, A. S. *céapman*, a merchant, from the sb. *céap* below. *Cheap*, adj., from A.S. *céap*, sb., purchase; which comes perhaps from Lat. *caupo*, a huckster[1]. *Cheese*, Mercian *cése* (O.E. Texts); Lat. *caseus*.

[1] I leave this, as being the usual account. But Kluge (s. v. *kaufen*) shews good reason for supposing that Goth. *kaupon*, to trade, G. *kaufen*, Du. *koopen*, are words of *pure Germanic* origin, and in no way related to Lat. *caupo*.

Circle (so spelt by the influence of F. *cercle*), A. S. *circul*; Lat. *circulus*, dimin. of *circus*. *Coleplant*, *Cole*, cabbage; A. S. *cole*, in the comp. *hǽþ-cole*, lit. 'heath-cole,' in Wright's Vocab. 300. 33, 365. 37, and in O. E. Texts; also spelt *caul*, *cawl*, *cawel* (Bosworth); Lat. *caulis*. *Cook*, A. S. *cóc*, Lat. *coquus*. *Coop*, not found in A. S. except in the mutated form *cýpa*, Luke ix. 17; but we find O. Sax. *cópa* in the Freckenhorst Roll, l. 13; here O. Sax. *cópa* = Low Lat. *copa*, variant of Lat. *cūpa*, a tub, vat, cask (whence A. S. *cýpa*, with mutation of *ú* to *ý*). *Cowl*, A. S. *cugle*, *cugele*[1]; Lat. *cucullus* (whence also O. Irish *cochull*). *Creed*, A. S. *créda*; from Lat. *credo*, I believe (the first word of the Apostles' Creed). *Crisp*, adj., A. S. *crisp*; Lat. *crispus*. *Culter*, *Coulter*, a plough-share, A. S. *culter*; Lat. *culter*. *Culver*, a dove, A. S. *culfre*, fuller form *culufre* (Grein); Lat. *columba*. *Cup*, A. S. *cuppe*; formed from Lat. *cupa*, a cask, late Lat. *cuppa*, a drinking-vessel. *Dight*, prepared, adorned, pp. of M. E. *dihten*, A. S. *dihtan*, to set in order; from Lat. *dictare*. *Disciple*, A. S. *discipul*; Lat. *discipulus*; afterwards modified into the O. F. form *disciple*.

Fan, A. S. *fann* (Matt. iii. 12), where *f* was sounded as *v*, the modern *f*-sound in this word being due to a Northern pronunciation (Wyclif has *fan*); Lat. *vannus*, a winnowing-fan. *Fennel*, A. S. *fenol*, *finol*, *finul*, *finugle*; from Lat. *feniculum*, fennel; a dimin. form from *fenum*, hay. *Fever*, A. S. *fefer*, *fefor* (Matt. viii. 15); from Lat. *febris*. [Not through French, as said in my Dictionary, but immediately.] *Feverfew*, A. S. *feferfuge*, Lat. *febrifuga*, i.e. dispelling fever. *Fiddle*, M. E. *fidel*, *fithel*, A. S. *fiðele*; perhaps from Lat. *vitula*, *vidula*[2]. *Font*, A. S. *font* (usually *fant*); from

[1] Not A. S. *cufle*, as given in my Dict. from the *old* edition of Bosworth's A. S. Dict. '*Cuculla*, cugle'; Wright's Vocab. 328. 14. We find the forms *cugele*, *cuhle*, *cule* in the Rule of St. Benedict, cap. 55, ed. Schröer, pp. 88, 89.

[2] But Kluge (s. v. *fiedel*) argues that *fiðele* is a genuine Teutonic word,

Lat. *fontem*, acc. of *fons*. *Fount*, variant of *font*. *Fork*, A. S. *forca*[1]; Lat. *furca*. *Fuller*, a bleacher of clothes, A. S. *fullere*, from *fullan*, verb; the latter is borrowed from Low Lat. *fullare*, a verb due to the sb. *fullo*, a fuller. *Gladen*, or *Gladden* (a plant), A. S. *glædene*, Lat. *gladiolus* (sword-lily). *Inch*, A. S. *ynce*, formed by vowel-change from Lat. *uncia*. *Keep*, A. S. *cépan*, *cýpan*, a derivative of *céap*, a purchase; see *Cheap* above[2]. *Kettle*, A. S. *cetel*, Wright's Vocab. 197. 19; earlier form *cetil*, Epinal Gloss. 168; formed, with *i*-mutation, from Lat. *catillus*, dimin. of *catinus*, a bowl. *Kiln*, A. S. *cyln*, fuller form *cyline*, in the Corpus Glossary, 906; formed with *i*-mutation of *u* to *y*, from Lat. *culina*. *Kitchen*, A. S. *cycene*, from Lat. *coquina*, with similar mutation; cf. '*Coquina*, cycene' in Wright's Vocabularies, 283. 12.

Lake, A. S. *lac*; Lat. *lacus*. *Lin-en*, adj., from A. S. *lín*, flax; Lat. *linum*. *Lin*(*seed*), from the same A. S. *lín*. *Lobster*, A. S. *loppestre*, earlier form *lopust*; Lat. *locusta* (*maris*). *Mallow*, A. S. *malwe*; Lat. *malua*. *Mass*, A. S. *mæsse*, earlier *messe*, from Lat. *missa*; cf. 'ðæt æghwilc *messepriost* gesinge fore Oswulfes sáwle twá *messan*,' that each mass-priest sing two masses for Oswulf's soul; O. E. Texts, p. 444. *Mile*, A. S. *míl*; Lat. pl. *milia* (*passuum*). *Mill*, A. S. *myln*, Lat. *molina*, with mutation from *o* to *y*. *Mint* (1), A. S. *mynet*, earlier *mynit*, a coin (O. E. Texts, p. 81); from Lat. *moneta*, with similar change. *Mortar* (to pound things in); A. S. *mortere*; Lat. *mortarium*. *Mount*, a hill, A. S. *munt*, Lat. acc. *mont-em*. *Mul*(*berry*), M. E. *mool-bery*; where *mool* is from A. S. *mór* (with change from *r* to *l*); cf. '*Morus*, mór-béam,' Wright's Vocab. 138. 9. *Muscle*, *Mussel* (fish), A. S. *muscle*, Lat. *musculus*. *Must*, new wine, A. S. *must*, Lat. *mustum*. *Noon*,

and independent of the Lat forms. It is hard to believe that there is no connection. See O. H. G. *fidulá* in Schade.

[1] '*Furcilla*, litel forca,' Wright's Vocab. 154. 11 (*Forca* is omitted in the Index to this work).

[2] If *cheap* is Teutonic, then *keep* is the same; see note on p. 434.

A. S. *nón*, Lat. *nōna hora*, ninth hour. *Nun*, A. S. *nunne*, Low Lat. *nonna*. *Offer*, A. S. *offrian*, Lat. *offerre*.

Pall (1), A. S. *pæll*, Lat. *palla*. *Pan*, A. S. *panne*; Lat. *patina*, a shallow bowl[1]. *Pea*, M.E. *pese*, A. S. *pise*, earliest form *piose*, Corpus Gloss. l. 1208; Lat. *pisum*. *Pear*, A. S. *pere* (Wright's Vocab. 269. 33); Lat. *pirum*. *Penny*, A. S. *penig*, fuller forms *pening*, *pending*, probably formed with the suffix *-ing* from a base *pand-*, which, like the F. *pan* (E. *pawn*), seems to be borrowed from Lat. *pannus*, a cloth, rag, piece, pledge. *Periwinkle*, a flower, A. S. *peruincæ*; Lat. *peruinca*. The name of the mollusc called a *periwinkle* is due to confusion with the flower-name, and should rather be *peniwinkle* or *piniwinkle*, A. S. *pine-wincla*, where the prefix *pine-* is merely borrowed from Lat. *pina*, a mussel; cf. prov. E. *pennywinkle*, a periwinkle (Halliwell). *Pilch*, A. S. *pylce*, *pylice*; Lat. *pellicea*, fem. of *pelliceus*, adj., made of skins; from *pellis*. *Pile* (2), a large stake, A. S. *pil*; Lat. *pilum*. *Pillow*, M.E. *pilwe*, A. S. *pyle*; from Lat. *puluinus*. *Pin*, A. S. *pinn*, a peg; from Lat. *pinna*, variant of *penna*. [The A. S. *pinn* occurs in the phrase 'to hæpsan *pinn*,' a peg or fastening for a hasp; see Gerefa, ed. Liebermann, Halle, 1886, p. 15, from the Corpus MS. No. 383, p. 102.] *Pine* (1), a tree, A. S. *pín*; Lat. *pinus*. *Pine* (2), A. S. *pín*, Lat. *poena*, punishment; whence our verb *to pine*. *Pit*, A. S. *pyt*; Lat. *puteus*. *Pitch*, A. S. *pic*; Lat. *pix*. *Plant*, A. S. *plant* (O.E. Texts); Lat. *planta*. *Pole*, A. S. *pál*; Lat. *pālus*, a stake. *Pool* (1), A. S. *pól* (Welsh *pwll*), probably borrowed from British; but the British word is from late Lat. *padulis*, a marsh. *Poppy*, Mercian *popei* (O.E. Texts, p. 85, l. 1516), A. S. *popig*; Lat. *papauer*. *Port*, a harbour (O. Irish *port*), A. S. *port*; Lat. *portus*. *Post* (1), A. S. *post*; Lat. *postis*.

[1] Kluge doubts this, but the change is easy. In the Epinal Glossary, l. 784, we find A. S. *holo-pannæ*, hollow pan, as a gloss to Lat. *patina*; and we actually find this Lat. word twice spelt *paneta* in the Corpus Glossary, ll. 1489, 1490; which points out the direction of the change.

Pound, A. S. *pund*; Lat. *pondo*, allied to *pondus*. *Prime* (canonical hour), A. S. *prím*; Lat. *prima hora*. *Pumice*, A. S. *pumic-stan*; Lat. *pumic-*, base of *pumex*. *Punt*, A. S. *punt*; from Lat. *ponto*, a pontoon.

Savin, *Savine*, a shrub, A. S. *safine*, *sauine*; Lat. *sabina*. *Scuttle* (1), a vessel, A. S. *scutel*, Lat. *scutella*, dimin. of *scutra*, a tray. *Service-tree*, M. E. *serves-tre*, a tree bearing *serves*; where *serves* is the pl. of *serve* = A. S. *syrfe*; from Lat. *sorbus*. *Shambles*, pl. of *shamble*, a bench, A.S. *scamel*; Lat. *scamellum*. *Shrine*, A.S. *scrín*; Lat. *scrinium*. *Shrive*, A. S. *scrífan*, Lat. *scribere*. *Sickle*, A. S. *sicol*; Lat. *secula*. *Sock*, A. S. *socc*; Lat. *soccus*. *Sole*, of the foot, A. S. *sole*, Lat. *solea*. *Spend*, A. S. *spendan*; Lat. *dispendere* (not *expendere*, as is often wrongly said). *Stop*, A. S. *stoppian*, to stop up; from Lat *stuppa*, tow (which is perhaps borrowed from Gk. στύππη, στύπη). *Strap*, *strop*, A. S. *stropp*; Lat. *struppus*. *Street*, Mercian *strét*, A. S. *stræt*; Lat. *strata uia*, paved road. *Temple*, A. S. *tempel*; Lat. *templum*. *Tile*, A.S. *tigele*; Lat. *tegula*. *Ton*, *Tun*, A.S. *tunne*; Low Lat. *tunna*. *Tunic*, A. S. *tunice*; Lat. *tunica*. *Turtle* (dove), A.S. *turtle*; Lat. *turtur*. *Verse*, A. S. *fers* (with *f* sounded as *v*); Lat. *versus*. *Wall*, *Wick*, *Wine* have been already mentioned among words of the First Period; see § 398. *Provost*, Lat. *præpositus*, may answer either to A. S. *práfost* or the O. F. *provost* (commonly *prevost*). *Gem* is rather the F. *gemme* than the A. S. *gimm* (from *gemma*). I also regard the words *metre*, *organ*, *pearl*, *prove*, and *purple* as being French words.

§ 401. Unoriginal Latin words found in Anglo-Saxon. It is not a little remarkable that a considerable number of the Latin words found in A. S. are unoriginal, being themselves borrowed from other languages, mostly Greek. I now give a list of these also.

Alms, A. S. *ælmesse*, Lat. *eleemosyna*; Gk. ἐλεημοσύνη. *Anchor*, better spelt *ancor*, A. S. *ancor*, Lat. *ancora*; Gk. ἄγκυρα. *Angel*, A. S. *engel*, afterwards modified by F. and

Lat. influence; Lat. *angelus*, Gk. ἄγγελος. *Anthem*, A. S. *antefn*, late Lat. *antifona*, Gk. ἀντίφωνα, a pl. treated as a fem. sing. *Apostle*, A. S. *apostol* (afterwards modified by F. influence), Lat. *apostolus*, Gk. ἀπόστολος. *Archbishop*, A. S. *arcebiscop*, Lat. *archi-episcopus*, Gk. ἀρχι-επίσκοπος, chief bishop. [*Balsam*; see p. 434.] *Bishop*, A. S. *biscop*, Lat. *episcopus*, Gk. ἐπίσκοπος. *Butter*, A. S. *buter*, Lat. *butyrum*, Gk. βούτυρον; of Scythian origin. *Canon*, A. S. *canon*, Lat. *canon*, Gk. κανών, a rule. *Capon*, A. S. *capun*, Lat. acc. *caponem*, nom. *capo*; from Gk. κάπων. *Cedar*, A. S. *ceder*, Lat. *cedrus*, Gk. κέδρος; of Eastern origin. *Chervil*, A. S. *cærfille*, Lat. *cærefolium*, Gk. χαιρέφυλλον, lit. 'pleasant leaf.' *Chest*, A. S. *cist* (Wright's Vocab. 276. 6), Lat. *cista*, Gk. κίστη. *Christ*, A. S. *Crist*, Lat. *Christus*, Gk. Χριστός. *Church*, A. S. *cyrice*, Lat. *cyriaca*, the Latinised way of writing Gk. κυριακά, neut. pl. used as fem. sing. *Clerk*, A. S. *clerc*, *cleric*, Lat. *clericus*, Gk. κληρικός; from κλῆρος, a lot. *Coomb*, *comb*, a measure, A. S. *cumb*, Low Lat. *cumba*, a stone sepulchre, hence a trough; from Gk. κύμβη, a hollow cup, a bowl; so that a *coomb* is a 'bowlful.' *Copper*, A. S. *coper* (Wright's Vocab. 217. 9), Lat. *cuprum*, Cyprian brass; from Gk. Κύπρος, Cyprus. *Cumin*, *Cummin*, A. S. *cymin*, Lat. *cuminum*, Gk. κύμινον; a Hebrew word. *Deacon*, A. S. *diacon*, Lat. *diaconus*, Gk. διάκονος, a servant. *Devil*, A. S. *déofol*, Lat. *diabolus*, Gk. διάβολος, slanderer. *Dish*, A. S. *disc*, Lat. *discus*, Gk. δίσκος. *Hemp*, A. S. *henep*, Lat. *cannabis*, Gk. κάνναβις; of Eastern origin; cf. Skt. *çana*, hemp.

Imp, a scion, M. E. *imp*, a graft, A. S. *imp-an*, pl., grafts, adapted from Low Lat. *impotus*, a graft; from Gk. ἔμφυτος, engrafted. *Lily*, A. S. *lilie*, Lat. *lilium*, Gk. λείριον. *Martyr*, A. S. and L. *martyr*, Gk. μάρτυρ, a witness. *Minster*, A. S. *mynster*, Lat. *monasterium*, Gk. μοναστήριον; from μοναστής, one who dwells alone (μόνος), a monk. *Mint* (2), a plant, A. S. *minte*, Lat. *menta*, Gk. μίνθα. *Monk*, A. S. *munec*, Lat. *monachus*, Gk. μοναχός, solitary; from μόνος, alone. *Palm*

(tree), A. S. *palm*, Lat. *palma*; probably borrowed from Gk. παλάμη. *Paper*, A. S. *paper* (Wright's Vocab. 523. 7), Lat. *papyrus*, Gk. πάπυρος; of Egyptian origin. *Pasch*, A. S. and L. *pascha*, Gk. πάσχα; from Heb. *pesakh*, a passing over. *Pea(cock)*, M. E. *pekok*, *pokok*; the latter form is from A. S. *pawe*, *pawa*, Lat. *pauo*, Gk. ταῶς; of Tamil origin. *Pepper*, A. S. *pipor*, L. *piper*, Gk. πέπερι; Skt. *pippalí*. *Phenix*, A. S. *fenix*, Lat. *phœnix*, Gk. φοῖνιξ; of Phoenician origin. *Plaster*, A. S. *plaster*, Lat. *emplastrum*, Gk. ἔμπλαστρον; from ἐμ-πλασ-τος, daubed on or over. *Plum*, A. S. *plúme*, Lat. *prunum*, Gk. προῦνον, προῦμνον. *Pope*, A. S. *pápa*, L. *papa*, Gk. πάππας, father. *Priest*, A. S. *préost*; from L. *presbyter*, Gk. πρεσβύ-τερος, elder. *Psalm*, A. S. *sealm*, Mercian *salm* (O. E. Texts), L. *psalmus*, Gk. ψαλμός; from ψάλλειν, to twitch harp-strings, to play the harp.

Rose, A. S. *rose*, L. *rosa*; from Gk. ῥόδον, for *ϝρόδον; Arab. *ward*. *Sack*, A. S. *sacc*, L. *saccus*, Gk. σάκκος, Heb. *saq*; probably of Egyptian origin. *School*, A. S. *scolu*, L. *schola*; from Gk. σχολή, rest, leisure, disputation, &c. *Shoal* (1), a multitude of fishes; doublet of *School*. *Silk*, prob. from an O. Mercian form **sílc* (cf. Icel. *silki*), answering to A. S. *seolc*; ultimately from Lat. *Sericum*, silk, neut. of *Sericus*, belonging to the *Seres*; from Gk. Σῆρες, pl. the Seres; probably of Chinese origin. *Stole*, A. S. *stole*, L. *stola*, Gk. στολή, equipment, robe, stole. *Tippet*, A. S. *tæppet*, L. *tapete*, cloth; Gk. ταπητ-, stem of τάπης, a carpet, rug. *Trout*, A. S. *truht*, L. *tructa*, Gk. τρώκτης; from τρώγειν, to gnaw.

§ 402. Classification of borrowed (Latin) words. It thus appears that the Latin words of the Second Period amount to upwards of one hundred and forty, of which about two-thirds are original Latin words, and about one-third are borrowed from Greek, or (through Greek) from the East. If we examine these words a little more closely, we shall see that they can be roughly distributed into classes, as follows:—

(1) *Words relating to ecclesiastical matters, religion, and the Bible*: alms, altar, angel, anthem, apostle, archbishop, ark, bishop, candle, canon, Christ, church, clerk, cowl, creed, cummin, deacon, devil, disciple, font, martyr, mass, minster, monk, nun, pall, pasch, pope, priest, prime, psalm, sack (Gen. xlii), shrine, stole, temple; *most of which are rather Greek than Latin.*

(2) *Useful implements, materials, and food*: anchor, box, butter, chalk, cheese, chest, coop, copper, coulter, cup, dish, fan, fiddle, fork, kettle, kiln, kitchen, linen, mill, mint (for coins), mortar, must (*new wine*), pan, paper, pile (*stake*), pillow, pin, pitch, plaster, pole, post, pumice, punt, scuttle, shambles, sickle, strap, strop, tile, tun. *Articles of dress*: pilch, silk, sock, tippet, tunic. *Weights, Measures*, &c.: circle, coomb, inch, noon, penny, pound.

(3) *Birds*: capon, culver, pea(cock), phœnix, turtle. *Fishes*: lobster, mussel, peri(winkle), trout.

(4) *Trees*: box, cedar, palm, pear, pine, plum, rose, service(-tree). *Plants*: [balsam], beet, chervil, cole, fennel, feverfew, gladden, hemp, lily, lin(seed), mallow, mint, mul(berry), pea, pepper, periwinkle, plant, poppy, savine. *Here belongs* imp.

(5) *Miscellaneous*: canker, castle, chapman, cheap, cook, fever, fuller, lake, mount (*hill*), pit, sole (of the foot), school, shoal (of fish), verse.

(6) *Verbs*: dight, keep, offer, shrive, spend, stop.

(7) *Adjective*: crisp.

§ 403. Remarks. The number of Latin words of the Second Period which have been supplanted by French forms is probably considerable. We may notice Lat. *calix*, A. S. *calic* (E. and O. F. *chalice*). Lat. *ficus*, A. S. *fic* (E. *fig*, O. F. *fige*). Lat. *lactuca*, A. S. *lactuce* (E. *lettuce*, of F. origin). Lat. and A. S. *leo* (E. *lion*, F. *lion*). Lat. *marmor*, A. S. *marman-stán* (E. *marble*, O. F. *marbre*). Lat. *metrum*, A. S. *meter* (E. and F. *metre*). Lat. *organum*, A. S. *organ*, very rare (E.

organ, F. *organe*). · Lat. *ostrea*, *ostreum*, A. S. *ostre* (E. *oyster*, O. F. *oistre*). Lat. *persicum*, A. S. *persuc* (E. *peach*, O. F. *pesche*). Low Lat. *perula*, A. S. *pærl*, once only (E. *pearl*, F. *perle*). Lat. *prædicare*, A. S. *predician* (E. *preach*, O. F. *precher*). Lat. *sanctus*, A. S. *sanct* (E. and F. *saint*). Lat. *tabula*, A. S. *tæfl*, a game at tables (E. and F. *table*). The word *hymn* occasionally appears as A. S. *ymn*, *ymen*, but was little used; it was revived at a later time. The history of *pike* is obscure; *pipe* may be native English. There are also some Latin words in A. S. which are now disused altogether. One remarkable example is the Lat. *margarita*, a pearl, which was turned, by help of popular etymology, into the A. S. *mere-gréot*, as if it meant 'sea-grit.' It may be here observed, that Latin words were freely introduced into English at various later periods, without always passing through the medium of French. Thus *cell*, M. E. *celle*, occurring in the Ancren Riwle, about A.D. 1200, is perhaps directly from Lat. *cella*; *cubit* was introduced by Wyclif into his translation of the Bible; Spenser has *rite*, from Lat. *ritus*; *disc* is used by Dryden; and *crate* by Johnson.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Celtic Element.

§ 404. This is a difficult subject, and I can but treat it superficially. Owing to recent investigations, our views concerning Celtic words have suffered considerable change. It has been proved that, in the case of some words which were once supposed to have been borrowed from Celtic, the borrowing has been the other way. For example, our verb *to hover* is not derived from the Welsh *hofio*, but the Welsh *hofio* was simply borrowed from the M. E. *houen*, to wait about, of which *hover* is the frequentative form; whilst the M. E. *houen* is merely formed from the A. S. *hof*, a dwelling-place, still preserved in the diminutive *hov-el*. A list of some Celtic words found in English is given in Morris's Elementary Lessons in Historical English Grammar, and a fuller list in Marsh's Student's Manual of the English Language, ed. Smith, 1862, p. 45. The latter is taken from a still longer list given by Mr. Garnett, in the Proceedings of the Philological Society, i. 171. It is certain that these lists require careful revision, and the same may be said of the list given by myself at the end of my Etymological Dictionary. Many of the words formerly supposed to be Celtic are now known to be nothing of the kind. Thus the word *barrow*, in the sense of 'mound,' is formed with perfect regularity from the A. S. *beorg*, a hill; see all the various forms in Murray's New English Dictionary. *Kiln* is not from the Welsh *cilin*, but from the Lat. *culina*, which passed into A. S. in the form *cyln*, with the usual mutation. *Dainty* is not borrowed from

the Welsh *dantaeth*, but is of Old French origin, and really represents, in spite of the change of meaning, the Lat. acc. *dignitatem*. *Daub* is also pure French; O.F. *dauber*, from Lat. *de-albare*, to whiten. In my own list, I have included such words as *boast*, *boisterous*, which must certainly be struck out, along with the suggestion that *barrow* may be ultimately of Celtic origin.

§ 405. I am here principally concerned with the consideration of such words of Celtic origin as found their way into English before A.D. 1066. This greatly limits the inquiry, for I think it will be found that the words borrowed in the modern period from Welsh, Scotch Gaelic, and Irish considerably exceed in number the words that truly belong to the Old Celtic element. But as it will greatly clear the way if we can say with certainty which are the Celtic words of comparatively late introduction, I shall turn aside to consider these first.

§ 406. As regards the Celtic words that are of comparatively late introduction, it is easy to say, in many instances, from which of the Celtic languages they were borrowed. I shall therefore consider each language separately, beginning with Irish.

Words of Irish origin. It is surprising how little seems to be known of the Irish language in our old authors. Indeed, allusions to Ireland, of any sort, are not at all common in our earlier literature. In the Libell of Englishe Policye, written in 1436, there is a chapter 'Of the commoditees of Ireland,' &c.; but I find no Irish word in it. Stanyhurst's Description of Ireland was first published (as a part of Holinshed's Chronicles), in 1586, and probably was one of the earliest books to introduce Irish words into our literature. It contains, however, but few, the chief being *galloglass*, *glib* (lock of hair), *kerne*, *skein* (knife), and *shamrock*[1], of which

[1] I only give the etymologies of such words as are not in my Etymological Dictionary.

galloglass, *kerne*, and *skein* occur also in Shakespeare. Our great dramatist also employs the words *bog* and *brogue* (wooden shoe). Spenser's View of the State of Ireland, printed in 1633, also contains *galloglass*, *glib*, *kerne*, *skeane*, and *shamroke*, but adds to these the words *bard*[1], *pillion*, *tanist*. *Lough* occurs in Fairfax, tr. of Tasso, bk. i. st. 44. The word *tory* occurs as early as 1656, but did not come into more general use till about 1680. The word *orrery* first occurs about 1715. The word *fun* first appears in the eighteenth century. Other words are, for the most part, quite modern, and are to be found in books relating to Ireland, especially in such works as Carleton's Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry. On the whole, I think we may consider the following list as giving the principal Irish words that have found their way into English, viz. *bard*, *bog*, *brogue*, *dirk* (?), *fun*, *galloglass*, *galore*[2], *glib*, s., *kern*, *lough*, *orrery*, *pillion* (?)[3], *rapparee*, *shillelagh*[2], *skain* (*skene*, *skein*), *shamrock*, *spalpeen*, *tanist*, *Tory*, *usquebaugh*[4]. Of these, *bard*, *bog*, *brogue*, and *galore* may perhaps be also looked upon as having claims to a Gaelic origin.

Amongst the modern Irish words not given in my Dictionary, I may notice some which take the diminutive suffix *-in*, which is sometimes used as a term of endearment, or, as in the case of *spalp-een*, with some touch of contempt. Thus *colleen* is Irish *cail-in*, literally 'little girl,' from *caile*,

[1] Though this word first occurs in Holland's *Houlate*, and Sir John Holland was a Scotch writer, the word seems to have been regarded as *Irish*. Holland has: 'a *bard* out of Irland'; Shakespeare has 'a *bard* of Ireland'; and Spenser uses it of Irish poets.

[2] For these words, see the Supplement to my Dictionary.

[3] Ultimately of Latin origin, in any case; perhaps merely borrowed from Span. *pellon*, a long robe of skins or furs, if that be an old word.

[4] The following Old Irish forms, given by Windisch, may help: *bocc*, soft—*brócc*, shoe—*fonn*, tune, song—*gall*, foreigner, *óclach*, a youth—*cath*, battle (whence E. *kern* is a derivative)—*loch*, lough—*scían*, knife—*semar*, *semróc*, shamrock—*tánaise*, second—*toracht*, pursuit—*suce*, water, *bethu*, life. See Irische Texte, ed. Windisch, Leipzig, 1880.

a girl. *Mavourneen*, my darling, is compounded of *mo*, my, and *mhuirnin* (*mh*=*v*), a mutated form of *muirn-in*, a darling; from *muirn*, affection. *Shebeen*, a small public-house, is (I suppose) merely a diminutive of *seapa*, a shop, which can hardly be other than the English word *shop* transplanted into Irish. The word *shanty* is probably from the Irish *sean*, old, and *tigh*, a house.

§ 407. **Words of Scotch Gaelic origin.** A few Gaelic words have come to us, through Lowland Scotch, at various times, but the number of these which found their way to us at an early period is extremely small. The word *bannock* is generally considered as Gaelic, but it occurs in an A. S. gloss, and must therefore, if Celtic, be reckoned amongst the Old Celtic words. As such, it will be reconsidered below. Barbour's Bruce contains the words *bog* (6. 57), *crag*, *glen*, and *loch* (spelt *louch*). *Crag* answers to Gael. *creag*, a rock; but is a general Celtic term. *Beltane*, an old name for the first of May, or a festival held on that day, is mentioned, according to Jamieson, A.D. 1424, in the Acts of James I. of Scotland. It is doubtless of Gaelic origin (Gael. *bealltainn*), and we may rest assured that the first part of the word has nothing to do with *Bel*, or the *Baal* of Scripture, as was so amusingly and persistently maintained by the antiquaries of the last century. In Leslie's History of Scotland, 1596, edited for the Scottish Text Society in 1885, I find the words *capercalȝe*, p. 39, *clachan*, 14, *clan*, 56, *inch*, 13, *strath*, 12, and *Galloway*, 14, as the name of an 'ambling horse.' The notice of the first of these is of some interest. 'In Rosse and Loquhaber, and vthiris places amang hilis and knowis [*knolls*] ar nocht in missing fir trie sufficient, quhair oft sittis a certane foul and verie rare called the *Capercalȝe* to name with the vulgar peple, the horse of the forrest.' We should here note the correct spelling with the symbol ȝ, which should be represented in modern books by *y*, not, as usually and absurdly, by *z*. The explanation 'horse of the

forest' is the literal meaning of the Gaelic name *capull-coille*. *Clachan* is the Gael. *clachan*, a circle of stones, hence, a rude church, and finally, a small hamlet possessing a church. *Clan* is ultimately of Latin origin (Supp. to Etym. Dictionary). *Inch* is the Gael. *innis*, an island. *Strath* is a river-valley with a low, flat bottom; Gael. *srath*.

Duncan's Appendix Etymologiæ, 1595 (E. Dial. Soc.) contains the word *spate* as a gloss: '*Alluvio, vel -es, diluvium, inundatio*, a spate of water'; also the word *craig* (crag). *Creel* is represented in modern Gaelic only by the dimin. form *craidhleag*, 'a basket, a creel,' the original word being *criol*, the same as O. Irish *criol*, a coffer, a box; the entry 'A basket and iij *kreles*' occurs in the Wills and Inventories published by the Surtees Society, i. 224, under the date 1564. 'The *dh* in *craidhleag* is merely an orthographical device shewing that the preceding *ai* is a diphthong'; H. Maç Lean, in Notes and Queries, 7 S., iii. 44. Dunbar (see Jamieson) has the verb *wauch*, to drink up, whence was formed the sb. *waucht*, *waught*, a draught, as in the phrase 'a waught of ale,' and Burns's 'gudewillie *waucht*,' i.e. draught drunk for good will[1]. Hence was formed, needlessly, a new verb to *waucht*, with the same sense, used by Gawain Douglas. I have no doubt that this *wauch* is precisely the E. verb to *quaff*, from which a new verb was formed in precisely the same way; for Palsgrave has: 'I *quaught*, I drinke alle out.' And I further think that these verbs *wauch* and *quaff* (=*quaugh*) are both due to the Gael. *cuach*, a cup, a bowl, variously spelt in English as *quach*, *quaich*, *quaigh*, *quech*, *queff*, and *quaff*. The last spelling is used by Smollett, in his Humphrey Clinker. If these be so, then *quaff* and *quaich* are both Gaelic; and the Gael. word is itself a loan-word from the late Lat. *caucus*, a drinking-vessel, used by Jerome. *Slogan*, a war-cry, is curiously spelt

[1] Some people turn it into 'gude willie-waucht'; which presents us with a new word *willie-waucht*, with a sense unfathomable.

slogorne by G. Douglas, which some writers (including Chatterton and Browning) have turned into *slughorn*, as if it were a kind of horn! See *Slughorn* in Supp. to Etym. Dictionary.

Besides these, we have several words which are all (probably) only found in modern authors, viz. *banshee*[1] (also Irish), *cairn*, *cateran* (the Gaelic equivalent of the Irish *kern*), *claymore*, *collie* (*colly*)[1], *cosy*[1], *gillie*, *gowan*, *macintosh* (from a personal name)[2], *philibeg* (*fillibeg*), *ptarmigan* (?), *reel* (a dance), *spleuchan*, *sporran*, *whiskey*. Moreover, we have *ingle*, *kail*, and *plaid*, three words which are not original Celtic, but adapted from Latin. We might further add, from Scott's Poems, the fairly familiar words *coronach* and *corrie*. *Coronach* is the Gael. *corranach*, a lamentation, dirge, as at a funeral; lit. 'a howling together,' from *comh-* (Lat. *cum*), together, and *ranaich*, a howling, roaring, from the verb *ran*, to howl, cry, roar. *Corrie* is the Gael. *coire*, a circular hollow surrounded with hills, a mountain dell. The word *airt* in Burns is the Gael. *aird*, a height, also a quarter or point of the compass; cf. Gael. *ard*, a height, O. Irish *aird*, a point, limit[3]. The list might be slightly extended.

§ 408. Three words demand a special notice, viz. *brose*, *branks*, and *pibroch*. *Brose* I suppose to be the Gaelic *brothas* (as suggested by Macleod and Dewar), the *th* being silent. I further suppose it to be allied to Gael. *brot*, broth; but this can hardly be anything but a Gael. adaptation of the E. word *bròth*. From which it would follow that *brose* is a mere adaptation from the English; just as the O. French *broues* (in Roquefort), whence M.E. *brewes*, is a mere adapt-

[1] See the Supplement to Etym. Dictionary.

[2] So also *macadamise*, perhaps one of the strangest compounds in any language; for it is obviously a compound of Gaelic and Hebrew, with a French suffix, and is declined as an English verb.

[3] The following Old Irish forms, given by Windisch, may help here: *ben*, woman, *síde*, fairy—*carn*, cairn—*cath*, battle—*claideb*, sword, *mór*, great—*cuilen*, whelp—*cuasach*, concave, hollow—*gilla*, servant—*fill-im*, I fold, *bec*, small—*usce*, water—*aird*, point, limit (as above).

ation from the O. H. G. *brod*, which is the cognate word to our *broth*. *Branks* is certainly the same word as Gael. *brangas*, but when we compare this with the Du. and G. *pranger*, which had precisely the same sense, we can hardly doubt that the origin of the word is Teutonic. In fact, we find in Gothic the comp. verb *ana-praggan* (=*ana-prangan*), to harass, orig. to press tightly upon. As to *pibroch*, it is merely English in a Gaelic disguise. The Gael. words *piob*, *piobair*, are merely the English words *pipe*, *piper*, borrowed from English in the sixteenth century. 'From the latter, by the addition of a Celtic termination, was formed the abstract noun *piobaireachd*=piper-age, piper-ship, piping. . . . When the Sasunnach, having forgotten his own pipership, reimported the art from the Gael, he brought with it the Gaelicised name *piobaireachd*, softened into *pibroch*, where the old English *piper* is so disguised in the Highland dress as to pass muster for a genuine Highlander[1].'

§ 409. From what precedes, we may make out the following list of words borrowed from the Gaelic, viz. *banshee* (also Irish), *Beltane*, *bog* (also Irish), *branks*, *brose*, *cairn*, *caper-cailyie*, *cateran*, *clachan*, *clan*, *claymore*, *collie*, *coronach*, *corrie*, *cosy*, *crag*, *creel*, *galloway* (pony), *gillie*, *glen*, *gowan*, *inch*, *ingle*, *kail*, *loch*, *macintosh*, *philibeg*, *pibroch*, *plaid*, *ptarmigan* (?), *quaff*, *reel*, *slogan*, *spate*, *spleuchan*, *sporran*, *strath*, *whiskey*. We may also draw two conclusions; that the English has borrowed more freely from Gaelic than from Irish, and that the borrowing began at an earlier time. This is the natural consequence of the respective geographical positions and political relations of Scotland and Ireland to England. We should also bear in mind that *clan*, *ingle*, *kail*, and *plaid* are ultimately of Latin origin, from *planta*[2], *ignis*, *caulis*, and

[1] The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, by J. A. H. Murray, p. 54. Dr. Murray here mentions *tartan* as being a Gaelic word, but rightly says, in the Errata, that it is French.

[2] See Rhys, Lectures on Welsh Philology, 2nd ed., p. 352.

pellis; whilst *brose*, *pibroch*, are really of English origin, from *broth* and *pipe*; and *branks* is really Northern English, borrowed probably from Holland. Hexham's O. Dutch Dictionary gives the very word: '*Een Prange*, *Pranger*, *ofte* [or] *Hals-yser*, a shackle, or a neck-yron'; from the verb '*prangen*, to oppresse, constraine, compell, or to shackle.'

§ 410. **Words of Welsh origin.** The words of comparatively recent introduction may be considered first. Shakespeare has *cam*, crooked, awry, contrary to the purpose, which he may have picked up locally as a word that had strayed over the Welsh border; from Welsh *cam*, with the same sense. *Coble*, a small fishing-boat, seems to be the W. *ceubal*. *Clutter*, a confused heap, is apparently the W. *cludair*, a heap. *Flannel*, prov. E. *flannen*, is the W. *gwlanen*, from *gwlan*, wool. *Flummery* is the W. *llymru*, *llymruwd*. *Hawk*, in the sense to force up phlegm from the throat, is the W. *hochi*. *Coracle*, *cromlech*, and *metheglin*, are well known as being of Welsh origin. In Middle English, we find the words *braget*, *bragget*, a kind of mead, W. *bragod*; *croud*, *crouth*, later *crowd*, a kind of fiddle, W. *crwth*. I should therefore propose to draw up the list of words of Welsh origin as follows, viz. *bragget*, *cam*, *clutter* (heap), *coble* (?), *coracle*, *cromlech*, *crowd* (fiddle), *flannel*, *flummery*, *hawk* (to clear the throat), *kex*, *kibe*, *kick*, *metheglin*.

§ 411. Setting aside the words discussed above, which may be distinctly claimed as being borrowed from Irish, Gaelic, or Welsh later than the twelfth century, it remains that we should enquire (1) whether any Celtic words are found in late English which cannot precisely be traced back definitely to any *one* of these languages; and (2) whether any Celtic words can be traced in English of the earliest period. The former of these questions is one of great difficulty, and it is better to leave the question unanswered than to give unsatisfactory guesses. Amongst the words which perhaps have the most claim to be considered as Celtic, or founded

upon Celtic, are some of which the origin is very obscure. It may suffice to mention here the words *bald*, *bat* (thick stick), *boggle*, *bots*, *brag*, *bran*, *brat*, *brill*, *brisk*, *bug*, *bump*, *cabin*, *char* (fish), *chert*, *clock* (orig. a bell), *cob*, *cobble*, *cock* (small boat), *coot*, *cub*, *Culdee*, *curd*, *cut*, *dad*, *dandriff*, *darn*, *drudge*, *dudgeon* (ill humour), *fun*, *gag* (?), *gown*, *gyves*, *jag*, *knag*, *lad*, *lag*, *lass* (?), *loop*, *lubber*, *mug*, *noggin*, *nook*, *pilchard* (?), *pony*, *puck*, *pug*, *rub*, *shog*, *skip*, *taper*, *whin*. As to some of these, there does not seem to be much known. I wish to say distinctly that I feel I am here treading on dangerous and uncertain ground, and that I particularly wish to avoid expressing myself with any *certainty* as to most of these words. The most likely words are those which can be connected with real Old Irish words, such as those to be found in the Glossary to Windisch's Old Irish Texts. Thus *bran* probably meant 'refuse,' and is connected with O. Irish *brén*, stinking, foul. *Brat*, originally a cloak, pinafore, agrees with O. Ir. *brat*, a cloak. *Clock*; O. Irish *cloc*, a bell. *Cub*; O. Ir. *cuib*, a dog. *Culdee* is certainly Celtic; from O. Ir. *céle Dé*, servant or associate of God, where *De* is the gen. of *Dia*, God. *Fun*; O. Ir. *fonn*, a tune, a song. *Lag*; O. Ir. *lac*, *lag*, weak, feeble. *Brill* is Cornish; cf. W. *brith*, spotted.

§ 412. I now pass on to consider the words, which, though found in A. S., are nevertheless probably of Celtic origin. Such words are but few. Amongst them are: *bannock*, a kind of cake, A. S. *bannuc*[1]; cf. Gael. *bonnach*, a bannock. *Brock*, a badger, A. S. *broc*; certainly Celtic; Irish, Gaelic and Manx *broc*, Welsh and Breton *broch*[2]. *Cart*, A. S. *cræt*, O. Irish *cret*. *Clout*, A. S. *clút*, Ir. and Gael. *clud*. *Combe*, a hollow in a hill-side, A. S. *cumb*, Welsh *cwm*. Perhaps *cradle*, A. S. *cradol*, is also Celtic; cf. Irish *craidhal*, Gael.

[1] Dr. Murray quotes '*Bucellam semiplenam*, healfne bannuc' as a gloss given in Haupt's Zeitschrift, ix. 463.

[2] Cognate with Gk. φορκός, gray.

creathall, a cradle; in fact, a more primitive form, without the suffix, is seen in W. *cryd*, a shaking, also a cradle, O. Irish *crith*, a shaking; cf. Gk. κραδ-άειν, to quiver; so that a cradle is named from being rocked. *Crock*, A. S. *croc*, also *crocca*; Gael. *crog*, W. *crochan*, Ir. *crogan*, O. Ir. *crocan*. *Down*, *dune* A. S. *dún*, a hill; O. Irish *dún*, a fort (built on a hill); the cognate original E. word is *tún*, an enclosure, town. *Dun*, i. e. brown, A. S. *dunn*; O. Ir. *donn*, brown (whence *Don* as a Celtic river-name). *Slough*, A. S. *slóh* (stem *slóg-*); perhaps Celtic; see Etym. Dictionary. *Mattock*, A. S. *mattuc*, may also be Celtic, as we also have W. *matog* and Gael. *madag*; but these words look very like loan-words from English. Hence the E. words found in A. S., but of Celtic origin, are perhaps these, viz. *bannock*, *brock*, *carl*, *clout*, *combe*, *cradle*, *crock*, *down* (hill), *dun*, *slough*. I doubt if the list can be much increased.

The net result is, that the Old Celtic element in English is very small, and further research tends rather to diminish than increase it. The greater part of the Celtic words in English consists of comparatively late borrowings; and the whole sum of them is by no means large. A wild comparison of English words with modern Celtic forms, such as is so commonly seen in many dictionaries, savours more of ignorance than of prudence.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Scandinavian or Scandian Element.

§ 413. It has long been understood that many words found their way into literary English, and still more into several of our provincial dialects, from the language spoken by the Northmen of Scandinavia, at the time of their numerous incursions in the ninth and tenth centuries. Moreover, there were actually Danish sovereigns upon the English throne from A.D. 1016 till 1041. The period when this influence was greatest may be roughly dated between 850 and 1050, or more exactly, between 950 and 1050. But it is a very remarkable fact that, speaking broadly, the words thus introduced made their way into *literary* English at a very slow rate, so that it is often difficult to find examples of their use before about the year 1200[1]. Nevertheless we may rest assured, from our knowledge of the historical facts, that words of this class properly belong to the period *before*, rather than *after*, the Norman conquest.

§ 414. The language spoken by the Northmen was a kind of Old Danish, but has frequently been called Old Norse. As Norse properly means Norwegian, this is not a good name for it, being too limited. The same objection really applies, at the present day, to Old Danish also[2]. It is better

[1] One of the very earliest examples is the word *call*, borrowed from the Old Scandinavian verb *kall-a*. It is Englished as *ceallian* in the poem on the Battle of Maldon, which is dated, in the A. S. Chronicle, in the year 993. The poem was composed just after the battle.

[2] Yet the old title 'Dönsk tunga,' or Danish tongue, was once used as

to enlarge the title by calling it Old Scandinavian, and it is usual to drop the adjective 'Old,' because it is understood that the borrowings from Scandinavian nearly all took place, as far as we can tell, at an early period. The only objection to the title 'Scandinavian' is its length; on which account I shall take the liberty to shorten it to 'Scandian,' which is equally explicit[1].

§ 415. Owing to the colonisation of Iceland by the Northmen in 874–934, the Old Scandian has been fairly well preserved in Iceland to the present day; in fact, the language has suffered so little alteration, owing to the careful cultivation of the language and the early codification of the Icelandic law, that Scandian is almost synonymous with Icelandic; and it is by the help of Icelandic that we can best discover the true forms of Scandian words. Indeed, if we go so far as to say that certain English words are directly borrowed or derived from Icelandic, we usually express the fact, for philological purposes, with quite sufficient exactness, and no harm is done. I have already shewn that, owing to the scanty remains of the Old Northumbrian and Old Mercian dialects, we are constantly obliged, in practice, to speak of English words as being derived from Anglo-Saxon, i. e. from the dialect of Wessex; whereas we know, at the same time, that the word is far more likely to have belonged to Old Mercian, or even to the Old Anglian of Northumbria (§ 31). Precisely in the same way, it is frequently convenient to speak of words as being derived from Icelandic; and, in the absence of better materials, it is the best we can do. See p. 76. It should particularly be remarked that the Anglians

a wide and general term for Scandinavian; see *Danskr* in the Icelandic Dictionary. At a later period, the term employed was *Norræna* or Norse.

[1] The name 'Scandinavia' occurs in Pliny's Natural History, bk. iv. c. 13, where it is vaguely used of an island of uncertain size. But in c. 16 he speaks of the island of 'Scandia,' which probably means precisely the same country. See Lewis and Short's Latin Dictionary.

were themselves Scandians, as they came from the district of Angeln[1], which lies between the towns of Flensborg and Sleswig, in the south of Jutland. The difference between the language of the Angles and of the invading Northmen must have been but slight, and there is no doubt that they could well understand one another. There is not much exaggeration in the statement in the Saga of Gunnlaugr Ormstunga, cap. 7, that there was at that time (the eleventh century) 'the same tongue in England as in Norway and Denmark.' An earlier and more important statement is that of the author of the first grammatical treatise prefixed to Snorra Edda, from about 1150:—'Englishmen write English with Latin letters such as represent the sound correctly.... Following their example, since we are of one language, although the one may have changed greatly, or each of them to some extent ... I have framed an alphabet for us Icelanders,' &c.; Sn. Edd. ii. 12.; Dahlerup and F. Jónsson, Den förste og anden gramm. Afhandling i Snorres Edda, Kjöbenhavn, 1886, p. 20. Hence it is hardly possible to say, in the absence of evidence, whether a given word of Scandian origin was introduced by the Northmen or by the Angles before them. We may, however, usually attribute to the Northmen such provincial words (not found in A. S.) as occur in the modern Northumbrian and Anglian dialects, i. e. the dialects of the Lowlands of Scotland, the North of England, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and even Essex, Cambridgeshire, and counties lying still further to the west[2]. I also take occasion to make here an important remark, which I do not remember to have seen hitherto elsewhere, viz. that our own Scando-English words sometimes present forms *more archaic* than

[1] 'If you look at a map of Denmark or of Northern Germany, you will see on the Baltic Sea a little land called *Angeln*.'—Freeman, *Old Eng. Hist.*, p. 1. I have looked in several maps, without finding any such name. Only the best atlases recognise it.

[2] Scandian words may also be traced in many places lying on the coast, and even up the Severn and other large rivers.

are to be found in Icelandic. Thus the word *brink* presents the combination *nk*, which has been assimilated in Icelandic into *kk*, the Icel. form being *brekka*. Swedish and Danish have *brink*, like English. We must always bear in mind the possibility of such a result.

§ **416.** As I have considered, in Chapter V, the English long vowels, as compared with Anglo-Saxon, I shall now likewise consider the same (in words of Scandian origin), as compared with Icelandic.

The Icel. á (long a). The modern Icel. *á* is pronounced like *ow* in *cow*, but the original pronunciation must have been the same as that of the A. S. long *a*, which had the sound of *aa* in *baa*. See Sweet, Icel. Primer, p. 1. Consequently, it shared the fortunes of the A. S. *á*, and passed into the M. E. long *o* (pronounced as *oa* in *broad*), and finally into the modern E. long *o*, as in *stone*, *bone*. By referring to the tables in § 80, we see that the Icel. *á* commonly corresponds to the A. S. *á* or *ó*, Swed. *å*, Dan. *aa*, Goth. *e*, Teut. ê.

Examples. E. *both*, Icel. *báð-ir*; from **bá*, both, and *þeir*, they; cf. A. S. *bá*, M. E. *bo*, with the same sense. E. *bore*, sb., a tidal surge in a river, Icel. *bár-a*, a billow caused by wind; cf. Swed. dial.[1] *bår*, a mound. E. *fro*, Icel. *frá*, from; hence the adj. *fró-ward*, i. e. from-ward, perverse. E. *low*, adj., Icel. *lág-r*, where the *-r* is a characteristic suffix of the nom. case, like the (equivalent and older) *-s* so common in Gothic. E. *oaf* (put for **oalf*, the *l* being dropped as in *half* and *calf*), Icel. *álf-r*, an elf; Chaucer uses *elv-ish* with the sense of 'simple,' C. T. Group B, 1893; just as the Icel. *álfa-legr*, i. e. elf-like, means 'silly.'

Similarly the Icel. *blár*, livid, dark blue, became M. E. *blo*, livid; but is only preserved in the dialectal variant seen in Lowl. Sc. *blae*; whence *blae-berry*, a bilberry. So also Icel. *brá* (cognate with E. *brow*) only appears in the Lowl. Sc.

[1] Swedish dialectal words are taken from Rietz's Svenkst Dialect-Lexicon.

brae, the brow of a hill, M. E. *bro*. (The latter word is not Celtic, as is wrongly said in my Dictionary.)

§ 417. **The Icelandic é (long e).** This vowel commonly answers to Swed. *ä*, Dan. *æ*. In modern Icelandic, a parasitic *y*-sound is heard before the vowel, so that it sounds like the E. word *yea*; but the original vowel was free from this, and sounded like the A. S. *é*, or like *ee* in the German *See*. It therefore becomes *ee* in mod. E., just as the A. S. *é* does. I only know of two examples, viz. E. *kneel*, Dan. *knæl-e*, from Dan. *knæ*, Icel. *kné*, knee; and E. *lee*, as a nautical term, from Icel. *hlé*, lee (as in E. use), orig. 'shelter'; cf. Dan. *læ*, Swed. *lä*, lee, A. S. *hleow*, a covering, protection, shelter. The A. S. word is preserved in the prov. E. *lew*, shelter.

§ 418. **The Icelandic í (long i).** The mod. Icel. *í* still preserves the old sound, viz. that of the A. S. *í*, or *ee* in *beet*. It is also preserved in Danish and Swedish, whereas in modern Dutch and German the vowel has become a diphthong, having the same sound as mod. E. long *i* in *bite*. But in E. words of Scandian origin it has usually shared the same fate as in native words; as might be expected. There are, however, one or two interesting exceptions, so that the examples fall into two separate sets accordingly.

(*a*.) E. *leech*, as a nautical term, meaning the border or edge of a sail; Icel. *lík*, also *lík-sima*, a leech-line; Swed. *lik*, a bolt-rope; *stående liken*, the (standing) leeches. E. *sleek*, adj., M. E. *slīk*; Icel. *slík-r*, sleek, smooth. The E. *slick* is the same word, with a shortened vowel. E. *shriek*, M. E. *schrich-en*; another form of which is *screech*, M. E. *scrich-en*; Icel. *skríkja*, to titter with suppressed laughter; Swed. *skrika*, to shriek. The Icel. *skrækja*, to shriek, comes nearer in sense; but we do not find an M. E. form **screech-en*; and it is remarkable that Shakespeare uses *scritch*, though his editors often turn it into *screech*.

(*b*.) E. *grime*, a smudge, esp. on the face (cf. '*be-grimed*

with soot'); Icel. *grím-a*, a disguise, mask; Swed. dial. *grim-a*, a smut on the face; Dan. *grim*, grime. E. *liken*; Swed. *likna*, orig. to be like, resemble. E. *rife*; Icel. *ríf-r*, O. Swed. *rif*, abundant. E. *rive*; Icel. *ríf-a*, Swed. *rifv-a*, Dan. *riv-e*, to tear. E. *snipe*; Icel. *sníp-a*, as in *mýri-snípa*, a moor-snipe. E. *shive*, a thin slice; Icel. *skíf-a*, Dan. *skive*, Swed. *skifva*. E. *shrike*, the butcher-bird, Icel. *sól-skrík-ja*, a shrike, lit. 'sun-shrieker.' E. *tike*, a dog, a low fellow; Icel. *tík*, Swed. *tik*, a bitch. The difficult E. *gibe*, *jibe*, seems to answer to Swed. dial. *gip-a* (Icel. *geip-à*), to talk nonsense; cf. Swed. *mun-gipa*, the corner of the mouth; Norweg. *geip-a*, to grin, make grimaces.

§ 419. **The Icelandic ó (long o).** Pronounced as A. S. *ó*, or the German *o* in *so*. It would therefore regularly become the mod. E. *oo* in *boot*. It appears as long *o* in Swedish and Danish.

Examples. (*a.*) E. *bloom*, s.; Icel. *blóm*, *blóm-i*, a bloom, a flower. E. *boon*; Icel. *bón*. E. *loon*, the name of a water-bird, more correctly called *loom* in Shetland; Icel. *lóm-r*, Swed. and Dan. *lom*, a loon. E. *root*; Icel. *rót*, Swed. *rot*. E. *scoop*; Swed. *skop-a*. E. *toom*, empty; Icel. *tóm-r*; Swed. and Dan. *tom*.

(*b.*) The long *o* is preserved in E. *bow-line*, Icel. *bóg-lína*[1], Swed. *boglina*, but is altered in the simple word *bow* (of a ship); see below.

(*c.*) The long *o* also becomes *ou* (as in *cow*) in English, owing to the influence of a following guttural. E. *bow* (of a ship); Icel. *bóg-r*, Swed. *bog*, the shoulder of an animal, the bow or 'shoulder' of a ship; the cognate A. S. word is *bóh*, an arm, also the branch of a tree, which has become the mod. E. *bough*, with precisely the same sound, though spelt differently. E. *plough*, A. S. *plóh*, very rare and only a borrowed word from Scandian; Icel. *plóg-r*, Swed. *plog*; but it

[1] 'The alleged O. N. *bógllna* occurs only in . . . a rimed glossary composed probably in Orkney, and full of foreign terms'; Murray's Dict.

is remarkable that the Scandian word was also borrowed, and the origin of this word, so widely spread not only in the Teutonic but also in the Slavonic languages, is still undiscovered. The true A. S. word was *sulh*, whence prov. Southern E. *zool*[1]. E. *slouch*, orig. a sb. meaning 'a slouching fellow'; Icel. *slók-r*, with the same sense; cf. Swed. *slok-a*, to droop.

§ 420. The Icelandic ú (long u). Also long *u* in Swedish and Danish, and still preserving the old sound. It answers to A. S. *ú*, and should therefore pass into mod. E. *ou*, as it usually does. But in a few words, which I give first, the old sound is retained.

(*a.*) E. *booth*; Icel. *búð*. E. *cruse*; Icel. *krús*. E. *droop*; Icel. *drúp-a*. E. *gruesome*, *grewsome*, horrible; cf. Dan. *gru*, horror. Related words are E. Friesic *grú-s-en*, to shudder; G. *grau-en*, to shudder, *grau-sam*, horrible; the last of these is formed in the same way as the E. word. Hexham's Old Du. Dict. also gives '*grouwsaem*, horrible, abhominable, or detestable.' E. *hoot*; O. Swed. *hut-a* (*ut en*), to hoot (one out); Swed. *hut!* begone! E. *pooh*, interj.; Icel. *pú*, the same. In the words *hus-band*, *hus-tings*, both derivatives from Icel. *hús*, a house, the *u* has been shortened by the accentual stress, and then 'unrounded.' See Chap. XXV.

(*b.*) E. *boun-d*, adj., ready to go (with excrescent *d*); Icel. *búinn*, prepared, pp. of *bú-a*. E. *cow*, v.; Icel. *kúg-a*, to tyrannise over, Dan. *ku-e*, to coerce. E. *cower*; Icel. *kúr-a*, Dan. *kur-e*, to lie quiet, doze; Swed. *kur-a*, to doze, roost (as birds). E. *down* (1), soft plumage; Icel. *dúnn*, Swed. *dun*, Dan. *dun* or *duun*. E. *rouse* (1), to stir up, orig. intransitive, to rush (out of covert); Swed. *rus-a*, Dan. *rus-e*, to rush. E. *rouse* (2), a drinking-bout (Shakespeare); Swed. *rus*, Dan. *ruus*, drunkenness. Hence perhaps E. *row* (3), a disturbance, up-

[1] '*Sewl*, *Sule*, pronounced *zule* [*glossic* zeol *or* zuel], *sb.* a plow (the only name)'—referring to West Devon; Reprinted Glossaries, E. D. S., B. 6. 74.

roar; by dropping the final *s*, as in *shay* for *chaise*, *pea* for *pease*, &c. E. *scout* (2), to ridicule (an idea); Icel. *skút-a*, a taunt, *skút-yrði*, reproaches, lit. 'scout-words.' E. *scowl*; Dan. *skul-e*, to scowl, cast down the eyes. E. *snout*; Swed. *snut-a*, Dan. *snud-e* (for **snut-e*), E. Friesic *snut-a*, *snut*; cf. G. *Schnauze*. E. *spout* (put for **sprout*, like *speak* for **spreak*); Swed. *sput-a*, occasional form of *sprut-a*, to squirt, spout; Dan. *sprud-e* (for **sprut-e*), to spout. E. *sprout*, really the same word; E. Friesic *sprut-en*, to sprout. The Icel. *spretta* means both to spout or spirt, and to sprout; cf. G. *spritzen*, *spriessen*, both from the same root. E. *out-law*; Icel. *út-lág-i*, the same.

To these we may add the verb to *doze*, which should rather have become **douze*; Swed. dial. *dus-a*, to doze, slumber, Norweg. *dusa*, to repose; Icel. *dúra* (for **dúsa*), to nap, doze.

MUTATION.

§ 421. The *i*-mutation of A. S. vowels has already been explained in § 181; the results being that the original vowels in the row marked (A) below were changed to the secondary or mutated vowels in the row marked (B), whenever the letter *i* occurred in the following syllable in the original form of the derived word.

(A) a o u; á ó ú; ea, eo; éa, éo.
(B) e y y; ǽ é ý; ie (y); íe (ý).

The *i*-mutations in Icelandic are very similar to these, and may be thus arranged. Cf. Sweet, Icel. Primer, p. 4.

(A) a(o) o u(o); á ó ú; e(ja, jo); au; jú (jó).
(B) e ö y; æ œ ý; i; ey; ý.

The Icel. *æ* is always long, and its sound agreed with that of the A. S. *é*. The Icel. *œ*, though of different origin, is frequently written *æ*. In the modern language, both *æ* and *œ* are sounded alike, with the diphthongal sound of E. *i* in *bite*.

I shall now continue the history of the long vowel *y* and of the diphthongs.

§ 422. The Icelandic ý (long y). This was sounded like A. S. *ý*, or G. *ü* in *grün*, and the same is true of the Swed. and Dan. long *y*. The Swed. and Dan. long *y* still keeps its old sound, but the Icel. *ý* is now *í* (E. *ee* in *beet*). Like the M. E. *y*, this sound was completely confused (in English) with long *i* (A. S. *í*), and consequently becomes the mod. E. *i* in *bite*. As seen above, it properly arises from an *i*-mutation of long *ú*, or of *jú* or *jó*.

Examples. E. *fie!* Icel. *fý*, Swed. and Dan. *fy!* E. *mire*, Icel. *mýrr*, modern *mýri*, a bog; Swed. *myr-a*, Dan. *myr-e*, *myr*. E. *shy*, adj.; Dan. *sky*, shy; cf. Swed. and Norweg. *skygg*, E. Friesic *schôi* (G. *scheu*); the primitive diphthong occurs in A. S. *scéoh*, timid, where A. S. *éo* = Icel. *jó*. E. *sky*; Icel. *ský*, Swed. and Dan. *sky*, a cloud; the primitive diphthong occurs in the O. Saxon form *skio*, sky; cf. also A. S. *scú-a*, shade. E. *snite*, v., to wipe the nose; Icel. *snýt-a*, Swed. *snyt-a*, Dan. *snyd-e* (for *snyt-e*), to wipe the snout; derived by mutation from Swed. *snut*, snout. Thus *snýt-a* = **snút-ja*.

§ 423. The Icelandic long æ. This was originally sounded like A. S. *æ*, or E. *e* in *there*[1]. Consequently, it passed regularly into later E. *ea* or *ea*. The old sound is preserved in Swed. *ä*, Dan. *æ*, which are corresponding letters. We may divide the examples into those which contain E. *ea*; those which contain E. *ee*; and those which give the sound of E. *i* in *bite*, which is the sound of mod. Icel. *æ*.

Examples. (*a*) E. *scream*, M. E. *screm-en*; Icel. *skræm-a*, Swed. *skräm-e*, Dan. *skræmm-e*, to scare, terrify; here the E. word has preserved the original sense of the word, viz. 'to cry aloud,' the sense 'to scare' being secondary. E. *seat*;

[1] The Icel. *æ* and *œ* are now confused. The Icel. *œ* (*i*-mutation of *ó*) was different in origin, and equivalent to Swed. and Dan. *ö*; in England it was identified with *é* (*i*-mutation of *ó*), and passed into E. *ee*.

Icel. *sæt-i*, Swed. *sät-e* < . . ‖ *sát-um* [i. e. derived by vowel-change from a base[1] parallel to that of *sát-um*], pt. t. pl. of *sitja*, to sit. E. *squeak*; Swed. *sqväk-a*, to croak. E. *squeal*; Swed. *sqväl-a*, to squeal.

(*b*) E. *sneer*, M. E. *sner-en*, to deride; Dan. *snærr-e*, to grin like a dog, snarl. Here also we may place E. *seemly*, adj.; Icel. *sæmilig-r*, seemly, from *sæm-r*, becoming, fit. But in this case the *æ* was originally *œ*; cf. Icel. *sómi*, honour, *sóma*, to beseem, become; Dan. *sömmelig*, seemly, from *sömme*, to beseem.

(*c*) E. *eider-duck*, a late word, pronounced with *ei* as *i* in *bite*, though some pronounce it as *ee* in *beet*; Icel. *œðr*, an eider-duck. E. *fry* (2), the spawn of fishes, M. E. *fri*; Icel. *fræ*, *frjó*, spawn, fry, Swed. and Dan. *frö*, Goth. *fraiw*. [In this case the word seems to have been derived through the French, as we find the Anglo-French forms *frie*, *fry*, in the Liber Albus, pp. 507, 508.] E. *sly*, M. E. *sly*, *sléy*; Icel. *slœg-r*; Swed. and Dan. *slug*. Here, however, the vowel is *œ*, and it is connected with *slóg-*, stem of pt. pl. of *slá*, to strike; the orig. sense was, accordingly, dexterous with the hammer, cunning at a craft, which is the M. E. sense. Hence also E. *sleight*, Icel. *slœg-ð*, slyness, cunning, dexterity.

(*d*) E. *wail*; Icel. *vœl-a* (=**wœl-a*), from the base *vál-* seen in *vál-a*, *vól-a*, to wail; the suffix *-la* is frequentative, and the ultimate base is *vá*, woe. The E. vowel is affected by the allied interjection, viz. Icel. *vei* (=**wei*), wo! Curiously enough, the A. S. interj. *wá*, *lá*, *wá*, lit. 'woe! lo! woe!' often appears in M. E. as *wei-la-wei*, by substitution of O. Icel. *wei* for A. S. *wá*. Hence the unmeaning later E. *well-away*, and even *well-aday!*

§ **424. The Icelandic au.** The old sound was that of *au* in G. *haus*, E. *ow* in *cow*. The modern Icel. sound is quite un-English, being like G. *ö* followed by short *i*, or the *eui* in

[1] From the same base is Icel. *sát*, a sitting in ambush, an ambush.

French *fauteuil*. The proper corresponding Swed. and Danish letter is *ö*. The old *au* seems to have been apprehended by the English as approaching the sound of their own long *o*, as appears from two words of known antiquity, viz. *loose*, adj., and *stoop*, a beaker. In other instances it was turned into a *u*.

Examples. (*a*) E. *loose*, M. E. *loos*; Icel. *lauss*, Swed. and Dan. *lös*; the long *o* appears in O. Sax. *lós*, Du. *los*. E. *stoup*, *stoop*, a beaker, M. E. *stoop*, *stōp*; Icel. *staup*, a beaker; Swed. *stop*, a liquid measure containing three pints.

(*b*) E. *fluster*; Icel. *flaustr*, sb., hurry, *flaustra*, v., to be flustered. E. *trust*; Icel. *traust*, Swed. and Dan. *tröst*. An exception is seen in *gawk-y*, from M. E. *gowk*, a cuckoo, a simpleton, from Icel. *gauk-r*, cuckoo.

§ 425. The Icelandic ei. This important diphthong is very characteristic of Scando-English words. The sound is that of Icel. and A. S. *e* followed by that of Icel. and A. S. *i*; but there was no such sound in the oldest A. S. It appears, however, in native Early English, wherein it arose from the weakening of *g* in such words as A. S. *weg*, a way; E. E. *wei*. The sounds of *ei* and *ai* were confused; hence also the spelling *wai*, *way*, and mod. E. *way*. The Icel. *ei* commonly appears as *ai* or *ay* in mod. E.; as long *a* (in *hale*); as *ea* (in *steak*); or as *ei* and *ey* (in *their*, *they*); but the E. sound is usually the same in each case. See further below. It answers to Swed. long *e*, Dan. long *e*, formerly *ee*; also to A. S. *á*, Goth. *ai*.

Examples. (*a*) E. *aye*; Icel. *ei*, ever. E. *bait*, v.; Icel. *beita*, causal of *bíta*, to bite. E. *dai-ry*, from M. E. *dey-e*, a dairymaid; Icel. *deig-ja*, a maid, orig. 'kneader of bread'; from *deig*, dough. E. *hale*; Icel. *heill*, Dan. *hel*, *heel*, Swed. *hel*. E. *hail!* as an exclamation; Icel. *heill*, the same word, as used in greetings. E. *nay*; Icel. *nei*. E. *raid* (Northern); Icel. *reið*, a raid, riding, also a road; doublet of E. *road*, A. S. *rād*. E. *raise*: Icel. *reisa*, causal of *rísa*, to rise. E.

rein-deer, where the first element is Icel. *hreinn*, O. Swed. *ren*, a reindeer; a word of Lapp origin. E. *steak*; Icel. *steik*, a piece of meat stuck on a spit or peg, and roasted before the fire. E. *swain*; Icel. *sveinn*, Swed. *sven*, a boy, lad, servant; borrowed whilst the Icel. *v* was still *w*. E. *sway*; Icel. *sveig-ja*, to bend aside; a causal verb from an older verb *svíg-a*, to bend, still preserved in Swedish dialects. E. *their*; Icel. *þeirra*, of them. E. *they*; Icel. *þei-r*, nom. pl., they. E. *thwaite*; Icel. *þveit*.

(*b*) E. *weak*, M.E. *waik*, *weik*; Icel. *veik-r* (=**weik-r*), Swed. *vek*, weak, pliant < ‖ *veik*, pt. t. of *vík-ja*, to turn aside. E. *queasy*, feeling nausea; Norweg. *kveis* (=**kweis*), sickness after a debauch, Icel. *kveis-a*, or *iðra-kveis-a*, colic.

(*c*) E. *groin*, the same word as prov. E. *grain*, a branch, hence, the fork of the body; Icel. *grein*, a branch, arm.

§ 426. **The Icelandic ey.** This is the *i*-mutation of *au*; formerly pronounced as Icel. and A. S. *e*, followed by Icel. and A. S. *y*, but now pronounced simply the same as Icel. *ei*.

Examples. (*a*) It occurs in the modern Icel. *geysir*, lit. 'gusher' < .. ‖ *gaus*, pt. t. of *gjós-a*, to gush.

(*b*) It answers to M.E. *ey* in *dey-en*, E. *die* (Lowl. Sc. *dee*), now pronounced with *ie*=*i* in *bite*; Icel. *dey-ja*, to die.

(*c*) It is confused with E. long *e*. E. *steep*, to soak in a liquid; Icel. *steyp-a*, to make to stoop, pour out liquids, cast metals; Swed. *stöp-a*, to cast metals, steep corn. The Icel. *steyp-a* is the causal of *stúp-a* (pt. t. **staup*), to stoop.

(*d*) As the E. *trust* answers to Icel. *traust* (§ 424), so the E. *tryst* is used as a mutated form of *trust*, as if from Icel. *treyst-a* (i.e. **traust-ja*), to make trusty or strong or safe, confirm; hence the M.E. sb. *tryst* or *trist*, meaning originally a fixed station (a term in hunting); and hence, a sure meeting-place.

§ 427. **The Icelandic jó, jú.** These both answer to A. S. *éo*, Goth. *iu*, Teut. EU. The E. *sheal*, *shiel*, *shielin*, or

shealing, a temporary hut, answers to Icel. *skjól*, a shelter, cover; Swed. and Dan. *skjul*. The E. *meek* answers to Icel. *mjúk-r*, soft, meek. But it is difficult to believe that these can really be of Scandian origin; they are probably Anglian. The E. words would result at once from the equivalent A. S. forms **scéol*, **méoc*, but they are unauthorised. We find, however, the form *meoc* in the Ormulum.

§ **428. Mutation.** Some examples of vowel-mutation have already occurred. The following also deserve notice. Some of them involve gradation also. See § 421.

a > .. e. E. *beck*, a brock; Icel. *bekk-r*, Swed. *bäck*; see G. *Bach* in Kluge. E. *dregs*; Swed. *drägg*. E. *ged*, a pike (fish), Icel. *gedd-a*, is doubtless a derivative of *gadd-r*, a spike; the fish is called *pike* in English on account of its thin shape. E. *keg*; Icel. *kaggi*. E. *ken*, M. E. *kennen*, to teach, also to know; Icel. *kenna* (Goth. *kannjan*). E. *smelt*; Swed. *smält-a*, E. *hinge*, M. E. *henge*; from Icel. *heng-ja*, to hang; cf. E. *hang*. See § 192.

o > .. y. E. *drip*, M. E. *drypp-en*; Dan. *drypp-e*, to drip < .. || Icel. *drop-ið*, pp. of *drjúp-a*, to drop, drip. E. *filly*, Icel. *fyl-ja* < .. *fol-i*, a foal, Goth. *ful-a*. E. *flit*; Icel. *flytja*, to remove, used reflexively as *flyt-ja-sk*, to flit < .. || *flot-inn*, pp. of *fljóta*, to float. E. *lift*, Icel. *lypt-a* (pronounced as *lyft-a*), to exalt in air < .. Icel. *lopt* (pron. as *loft*), air, Goth. *luft-us*. So also *shirt*, *skirt*, *skittish*, *skittles*. See § 193.

u > .. y. E. *skim*, i. e. to take off scum, answers to an Icel. **skym-ja*, not found; cf. Swed. *skumm-a*, Dan. *skumm-e*, to skim, from Swed. and Dan. *skum*, scum. This is a remarkable instance in which the E. form is more archaic than the known Scandian forms[1]. See § 194.

Other mutations have already been exemplified in the

[1] Yet we have Swed. *skymma*, to darken, from *skum*, obscure. Practically, these are equivalent words; for E. *scum*, s., means a 'covering,' and Swed. *skum* means 'covering,' i. e. obscuring. All from the root SKU, to cover.

words *snite*, § 422, p. 461; *seat*, § 423 (*q*), p. 462; *geysir*, *steep*, *tryst*, § 426, p. 464.

It remains to be said that there is also a *u*-mutation, changing *a* into *ö*; thus *dag-r*, a day, makes *dög-um* in the dative plural. In this way we may explain E. *bark* (of a tree), from Icel. *börk-r* (stem *bark-u*); and E. *brindled*, formerly *brinded*, as in Shakespeare (Macb. iv. 1. 1), from Icel. *bröndóttr*, brindled, lit. marked as with a brand; cf. *bröndum*, dat. pl. of *brand-r*, a brand. E. *ledge* answers to Icel. *lögg*, the ledge or rim at the bottom of a cask < .·. || **lag* (now *lá*), pt. t. of *liggja*, to lie.

§ 429. **Gradation.** The Icelandic vowel-gradation has already been given, in § 153. Omitting conjugation 1, we have (2) *skak-a*, to shake, pt. t. *skók*; (3) *ber-a*, to bear, *bar*, *bár-um*, *bor-inn* (where *bar* is the pt. t. s. 1st person, *bárum* is the pt. t. pl. 1st person, and *borinn* is the pp.); (4) *gef-a*, to give, *gaf*, *gáf-um*, *gef-inn*; (5) *drekk-a*, to drink, *drakk*, *drukk-um*, *drukk-inn*; (6) *drífa*, to drive, *dreif*, *drif-um*, *drif-inn*; (7) *kjós-a*, to choose, *kaus*, *kus-um*, *kos-inn*. More briefly: shake, **a**, **ó**; bear, **e**, **a**, **á**, **o**; give, **e**, **a**, **á**, **e**; drink, **e**, **a**, **u**, **u**; drive, **í**, **ei**, **i**, **i**; choose, **jó**, **au**, **u**, **o**. These gradations appear in derivatives from strong verbs, which I shall here only enumerate; they can easily be worked out by help of my Dictionary. Some of these derivatives exhibit mutation as well. (*Dregs* exhibits mutation only.)

Shake-conjugation: *bloo-m*, *dregs*. Cf. § 172.

Give-conjugation: *seat*, *wag*. Cf. § 174.

Drink-conjugation: *band*, *brind-ed*, *brind-led*, *brun-t*, *clamb-er*, *shing-le* (coarse round crunching or 'singing' gravel), *slang*, *stang*. Cf. § 175.

Drive-conjugation: *bait*, *dirt*, *raid*, *raise*, *rift*, *sway*; § 176.

Choose-conjugation: *bigh-t*, *clif-t*, *cleft*, *drib-ble*, *drip*, *fledge*, *flit*, *geys-ir*, *gush*, *gus-t*, *ru-th*, *scud*, *scuff-le*, *scutt-le* (to run away quickly), *shuff-le*, *skitt-ish*, *skittles*; § 177.

It may here be remarked that Icelandic has contributed to

our use some strong verbs, viz. *fling*, *rive*, *take*, *thrive*; as well as the common and useful verbs *call*, *cast*, *die*, and, indeed, many others, as *bulge*, *clip*, *drag*, *drip*, *gasp*, *gaze*, &c. *Rott-en*, Icel. *rot-inn*, is evidently the pp. of a lost strong verb; see O. H. G. *riuzan* and *rózén* in Schade.

§ 430. The various Aryan suffixes have been so fully illustrated in Chapters XIII and XIV, that it is hardly necessary to shew how these suffixes appear in Icelandic. Indeed, some of the illustrations have been taken from Icelandic already, and the mode of forming words with suffixes in Icelandic is much the same as in Anglo-Saxon.

The Aryan suffix -TO occurs as *-th* in *boo-th*, Icel. *bú-ð*, from *bú-a*, to dwell; and in *ru-th* from *rue*, v.

The *-t* is also a suffix in *bigh-t*, *brun-t*, *cas-t*, *clef-t*, *fraugh-t*, *gus-t*, *raf-t*, *rif-t*, *sleigh-t*, *thrif-t*, *tigh-t*; and probably in *jaunt* and *stilt*.

§ 431. But there is another suffixed *-t* almost peculiar to Scandian, which requires special consideration, viz. the *-t* which marks the neuter gender in adjectives and pronouns. We have it in E. and A. S. in the words *i-t*, *tha-t*, *wha-t* (A. S. *hi-t*, *þæ-t*, *hwæ-t*), which are closely related, respectively, to E. *he*, *the*, *who*. The same suffix appears as *-d* in the Latin *illu-d*, *istu-d*, *qui-d*, *quo-d*, from *ille*, *iste*, *quis*, *qui*. It only appears in A. S. in the above three words, but in Icelandic it is the regular suffix of the neuter gender of strong adjectives, so that the neuter of *ung*, young, is *ung-t*; Sweet, Icel. Primer, p. 14. Moreover, this neuter singular is often used adverbially, and it is only thus that we can explain the final *-t* in the words *athwar-t*, *scan-t*, *thwar-t*, *tof-t*, *wan-t*, and *wigh-t*, adj. (valiant). All these words, from the nature of the case, are of Scandian origin. Thus *scan-t* (for **scamt*), is from Icel. *skam-t*, neuter of *skamm-r*, short, brief, whence *skamt-a*, to scant, stint, dole out. *Thwar-t* is M. E. *þwert*, adj., across; Icel. *þver-t* (orig. **þwer-t*), neut. of *þverr*, adj., perverse, cognate with A. S. *þweorh*. Hence

a-thwart, for *on thwart*, across. *Tof-t*, a green knoll; Icel. *top-t* (pron. *toft*), also *tom-t*, a knoll, toft, clearing, orig. neuter of *tóm-r*, empty (North E. *toom*). *Wan-t*, s., from M. E. *want*, adj., deficient; Icel. *van-t* (for **wan-t*), orig. neuter of *van-r*, lacking. Hence also *want*, v., Icel. *vant-a*, to lack, from the same neuter form. *Wigh-t*, adj., valiant, vigorous; Icel. *víg-t*, orig. neuter of *víg-r*, fit for war, from *víg*, war; cf. Swed. *vig*, nimble, active, clever.

§ **432.** There is another suffix, altogether Scandian, which only appears in the two words *ba-sk* and *bu-sk*, both of which were originally reflexive verbs; the former means 'to bathe oneself,' and the latter 'to prepare oneself,' to get ready. The *sk* stands for *sik* (cf. G. *sich*), the accusative case of a reflexive pronoun of the third person, of which no nominative occurs. *Bask* answers to Icel. **baðask*, orig. form of *baða-st* (an obvious corruption), to bathe oneself; from *baða*, to bathe, and *sik*, self[1]. *Busk* is from Icel. *búask*, to get oneself ready; from *búa*, to prepare, and *sik*, self; as before [2].

The suffix in *sis-ter* is discussed above, § 227 (*c*), p. 247; that in *blus-ter* in § 228 (*c*), p. 248; and the suffix *-st* in *tru-st*, *try-st* in § 233, p. 254.

§ **433. Verbal Suffixes.** These have been discussed above, in §§ 260–263. The Scandian verbs in *-en* or *-n* are *batt-en*, *faw-n*, *gai-n*, *happ-en*, *hast-en*, *lik-en*. The verbs in *-k* are *lur-k*, *scul-k*; to which we may add *fil-ch* (weakened from **fil-k*), a derivative of Icel. *fel-a*, to hide, which has also produced the prov. E. *feal*, with the very sense of 'filch' or 'hide slily' (Halliwell). 'He that *feels* can find,' says Grose, is a Northern proverb.

[1] The suggestion that *bask* means 'to bake oneself' is simply a bad guess, made in ignorance of the fact that the M. E. *bathen* was used reflexively in the very sense of *bask*; see Chaucer, Nonnes Prestes Tale, 446. So also Swed. '*badda sig i solen*, to bask in the sun'; Widegren's Swed. Dict. (1788).

[2] See Remarks on the Reflexive Pronoun in Icelandic, by G. Vigfusson, in the Phil. Soc. Transactions, 1866, p. 80. At p. 100, upwards of forty examples of *busk* are given, from A.D. 1320 to 1829.

The verbs in *-le* or *-el*, mostly frequentative, and formed from a Scandian base, are numerous, viz. *bung-le*, *bust-le*, *dagg-le*, *dang-le*, *dapp-le*, *dazz-le* (from *dase*), *dibb-le* (for **dipp-le*), *dragg-le*, *dribb-le* (for **dripp-le*), *gabb-le*, *grov-el*, *jumb-le*, *pratt-le*, *rif-le*, *ripp-le*, *rust-le*, *scuff-le* (from Swed *skuff-a*, to shove about), *scutt-le* (to *scud* away), *shriv-el*, *shuff-le* (from *shove*), *smugg-le*, *sniv-el*, *squabb-le*, *stif-le*, *strugg-le*, *stumb-le*, *tipp-le*, *wagg-le*. Those in *-l* seem to express *continuance* rather than *frequency*; thus to *knee-l* is to remain on the knees; to *wai-l* is keep on crying *wai l* (Icel. *vei l* wo !). The list is: *knee-l*, *pur-l*, *spraw-l*, *squea-l*, *swir-l*, *wai-l*, *whir-l*.

The verbs in *-er*, from a Scandian base, are *blund-er*, *blust-er*, *clamb-er*, *glimm-er*, *glitt-er*, *jabb-er*, *lumb-er* (to make a rumbling noise), *palt-er*, *shiv-er*, *simp-er*, *slav-er*, *slubb-er*, *smatt-er*, *splutt-er*, *sputt-er*, *squand-er*, *stagg-er*, *stutt-er*, *swagg-er*; in many of these, the *-er* is an E. addition.

The suffix *-se* in *clean-se*, answering to A. S. *-si-an*, Goth. *-is-on*, has been explained in § 263, where *rin-se* is noted as being a F. word of Scand. origin. We find this also, I think, in *glim-p-se*, from M. E. *glim-sen*, to glimpse; and in *clum-s-y*, allied to Swed. dial. *klumm-s-en*, benumbed. The suffix of *clum-sy* has been imitated in *tip-sy*, as well as in the E. word *trick-sy*. I should also explain *gasp* (Icel. *geispa*, Swed. *gäspa*) as being a derivative of the verb to *gape*; for just as we have *hasp* for *haps*, and *clasp* for *claps* (§ 263), we may explain Swed. *gäspa* as=*gäpsa*=**gap-sia*. Rietz explains Swed. dial. *gapsig*, noisy, as being from *gapa*, to gape.

§ **434.** The various modes of consonantal change enumerated in § 322 are all in operation in the case of Scandian words. I give some examples of most of them.

Palatalisation. There is a strong tendency in Scandian words to resist palatalisation, as is well shewn in comparing the Northern *kirk* (Icel. *kirk-ja*) with the Southern *church* (A. S. *cyrice*). This is particularly noticeable in E. words

beginning with the sound of *sk*, many of which are of Scandian origin, viz. *scald*, adj., scabby, *scald*, a poet, *scall*, a scab, *scant*, *scar*, a rock, *scare*, *scarf*, v., *scoop*, *scotch*, v., *scout*, v., *scowl*, *scraggy*, *scrap*, *scrape*, *scratch*, *scream*, *screech*, *scrip*, a bag, *scud*, *scuffle*, *sculk*, *scull*, a light oar, *scum*, *scuttle*, to scud away; also *skewer*, *skid*, *skill*, *skim*, *skin*, *skirt*, *skittish*, *skittles*, *sky*. But the tendency to turn *sk* into *sh* was so strong that we find amongst the words of Scand. origin such words as *sheer*, pure, *shelve*, *shirt*, *shiver*, a splinter, and some others. So also *mil-ch* is a derivative of *mil-k*; to which add *fil-ch* (§ 433), p. 468, and *slouch* (§ 419 *c*), p. 459.

Similarly, the Northern English *brig*, *rig*, stand in striking contrast to the Southern palatalised forms *bridge*, *ridge*, and the like. The number of Scand. words ending in *g* or *gg* is very striking. Examples are *drag*, *dreg-s*, *egg*, s., *egg* (*on*), v. *flag*, a paving stone, *flag*, an ensign, *hug*, *keg*, *leg*, *log*, *rig*, to fit a ship, *rig*, a ridge, *sag*, *slag*, *slug* (for **sluk*), *smug* (for **smuk*), *snug*, *stag*, *tag*, *wag*; to which may be added many words in which the *g* is doubled, such as *daggle*, *draggle*, *muggy*, *swagger*, &c.; and the remarkable form *ug-ly*, Icel. *ugg-ligr*. The verb to *egg on*, i.e. instigate, is sometimes written *edge on*. *Fledge* and *ledge* are instances of palatalisation in Scand. words.

The sb. *egg* is particularly noticeable. I have inadvertently given the derivation from the A. S. *æg*, but this is certainly wrong. For just as the A. S. *dæg* became *day*, so A. S. *æg* became *ay* or *ey*; and the curious A. S. pl. *æg-ru*, eggs, produced an M. E. *eire*, or (with the favourite Southern pl. suffix *-en*) the commoner form *eiren* or *eyren*. This form occurs, for instance, in Wyclif's Works, ed. Arnold, iii. 157, where the Glossary unluckily explains it as 'heirs[1].' Caxton, in his Eneydos, 1490, tells a good story of a Kentish woman who was asked by some Northern English sailors to sell

[1] In M. E., *heir* appears as *eir* or *eyr*. The plural is *eires*, *eyres*, *seiri*, or *eyris*, and cannot possibly become *eiren*.

them some '*eggys*,' which drew from her the remark that 'she coude speke no Frenshe.' Fortunately, a bystander interpreted the word as 'eyren'; whereupon 'the good wyf sayd that she understod hym wel[1].' The fact is, that *eggs* is the Northern form; and, as such, is derived, not from the A. S. *æg*, but from Icel. *egg* (Swed. *ägg*); just as the verb to *egg* is the Icel. *egg-ja*.

On the other hand, the Scandian *-sk*, when final, constantly becomes *-sh*; thus *dash* answers to Swed. *dask-a*; *gnash*, Dan. *gnask-e*; *pash*, Swed. *pask-a*, Norweg. *bask-a*, to dabble in water, Dan. *bask-e*, to slap; *smash*, Swed. dial. *smask*, a slight report, *smisk-a*, to slap; *swash*, Swed. dial. *svassk-a*, to make a swashing noise, as when one walks with water in the shoes; *bush*, Swed. *busk-e*, a shrub. But *-sk* remains in *whisk*, misspelling for **wisk*, from Swed. *visk-a*, 'a whisk, a small broom' (Widegren), Icel. *visk*, a wisp of hay; also, for distinctness, in *bask* and *busk*. We even find final *-sh* for final *-s*; as in *gu-sh*, Icel. *gus-a*; *flush*, v., to redden, Swed. dial. *floss-a*, to burn, flare; and, strangest of all, *sh* for initial *s* in *shingle*, the 'singing' coarse gravel on the sea-shore.

Initial *g* may pass into *j*; this seems to be the case in the difficult words *jabber*, *jaunt*, *jibe*, *jumble*, *jump*.

§ 435. Voicing of voiceless letters. See §§ 323, 362. Examples: $p > b$; *dibble*, from *dip*; *dribble*, from *drip*; *flabby*, from *flap*; *gaby*, from *gape*; *jumble*, from *jump*. See also *gibe*, *nab*, *snob*, *snub*, *squab*, *squabble* in my Dictionary. Also $k > g$; as in *fog*, *hug*, *slug*, *smug*, *snug*; *scragg-y*, probably allied to *shrink*; *stagger*, M. E. *stakeren*; *sprag*, for *sprak* (Merry Wives, iv. 1. 84). $T > d$; as in *scud*, with its frequentative *scutt-le*; allied to *shoot*. $F > v$; as in *rive*, *thrive*, *thrave*, Icel. *rif-a*, *þrif-a*, *þref-i*; the Icel. *f* being voiceless. $S > z$; as in *craze*, *daze*, Swed. *kras-a*, *das-a*, the Scand. *s* being voiceless;

[1] See the whole passage, cited in Halliwell's Dictionary, Introd. p. xxi, col. 2; and see p. 486 below.

so also in *maze, doze.* The same is true with regard also to *raise, queasy, rouse*; but our spelling takes no note of it. Englishmen mispronounce the Icel. *geysir* with the sound of *z*, and even turn the *ey* into E. *ee*; as if it were *geezer*. See note 1 on p. 475.

§ 436. **Vocalisation of voiced letters.** See § 362 (3). The medial or final Scand. *g* is frequently vocalised, as in *fawn*=Icel. *fagna*; so also in *bow* (of a ship), *gain*, profit, *how*, a hill, *low*, adj., *low*, *lowe*, a flame, *roe*, spawn (Icel. *hrogn*). Sometimes the *g* has been previously voiced from *k*, as in *flaw*, Swed. *flaga*, allied to *flake*; *fraught*, Dan. *fragt-e*, Swed. *frakt-a*.

§ 437. **Assimilation.** See § 362 (4). This is a marked feature of Icelandic, which has, for example, the forms *drekk-a, drakk, drukk-inn*, in place of our *drink, drank, drunk*. Examples are seen in *brad*, M. E. *brad, brod*, Icel. *brodd-r*, a spike, A. S. *brord*, Teut. BROZDA; *gad*, a wedge of steel, a goad, Icel. *gadd-r*, Goth. *gazd-s*, Teut. GAZDA; *ill*, Icel. *ill-r*, *íll-r* (=**yflr*), cognate with A. S. *yfel*, whence E. *evil*; *odd*, Icel. *odd-i*, orig. a triangle, allied to *odd-r*, a point, cognate with A. S. *ord*, Teut. ƿZDA; *ruck*, a crease, wrinkle, Icel. *hrukk-a*, Swed. *rynk-a*. *Ransack* is from Icel. *rann-saka*, to search a house, where *rann* (for **razn*= **rasn*) is cognate with the Gothic *razn*, a house. The Northern E. *force*, a waterfall, is the O. Icel. *fors*, mod. Icel. *foss*. E. *brink*, Dan. and Swed. *brink*, is assimilated to *brekka* in Icelandic.

§ 438. **Substitution.** See § 362 (5). *T* is substituted for *k* in *nasty*, formerly *nasky*; and in *milt*, substituted for *milk* (cf. Swed. *mjölke*, milt), by confusion with E. *milt*, the spleen. *Flaunt* answers to Swed. dial. *flanka*, to waver, to be tossed about[1]. *Sh* is put for final *s* in *gush, flush*; § 434, p. 471. A very curious substitution is that of *sledge* for *sleds*, a plural which was mistaken for a singular.

[1] Rietz gives the example: ökstokken *flankär* på vågo som en spån, the little boat is tossed about on the waves like a chip.

§ 439. **Metathesis.** See § 362 (6). *Gas-p* is probably for *gap-s*; § 433, p. 469. *R* is shifted in *dirt*, M. E. *drit*, Icel. *drit*.

§ 440. **Contraction.** See § 363. *Aphesis* or loss of initial *h* occurs before *l* in *lee*; and probably in *leak* (cf. A. S. *hlec-e*, leaky) and in *lurk*; before *n*, in *neif*, fist, and *nigg-ard*; before *r*, in *rap*, to seize hastily, *rape*, haste, *rape*, a county division in Sussex, *roe*, spawn, *ruck*, a fold, crease, *ruck*, a heap, *ruth*. Initial *w* is lost in *rack*, vapoury cloud, Icel. *rek*, drift, *ský-rek*, drifting clouds, put for **wrek*[1]; also in *root*, Icel. *rót*, if it be allied to *wort*. Initial *th* is lost in *riding*, by confusion between *North thriding* and *North riding*. Medial voiced *th* (*dh*) is lost in *bask*, put for **bathsk* (**badhsk*). Final *th* is lost in *quandary*, a corruption of M. E. *wandreth* (Icel. *vandræði*). A *d* is lost in *wall-eyed*, put for *wald-eyed* (Icel. *vald-eygðr*, itself a corruption of *vagl-eygr*). In the Wars of Alexander, both forms occur, viz. *wald-eyed* (=Icel. *vald-eygðr*), l. 608, and *wawil-eyed* (=Icel. *vagl-eygr*), l. 1706. *F* is lost before *l* in *whirl*, put for **whirfle*, Icel. *hvirfla*; and after *r* in *wherry*, answering to Icel. *hverfr*, easily turned, crank, unsteady (said of a boat). Doubtless more examples of various kinds of contraction might be added; and perhaps one of the most curious instances of loss of a final letter occurs in the word *roe* (of a fish). This is the Lowl. Sc. *roun*, *raun*, Lincolnsh. *roan*, mistaken for a plural (like *shoo-n* from *shoe*). Skinner, in 1671, made this very mistake, for his Dictionary gives us: 'The Roan or Roes of fish, *ova piscium*.' But the Icel. form is *hrogn*.

§ 441. **Unvoicing of voiced consonants.** See § 368. This process is rare, as the change is usually made the other way. *Blunt* is used in the Ormulum, 16954, to signify dull in mind, and may be connected with Icel. *blund-a*, to doze. *Shunt* is the M. E. *shunt-en*, to start aside, escape, a word so

[1] Icelandic always drops *w* in initial *wr*; Icel. *rek-a*, to drive = A. S. *wrec-an*, E. *wreak*.

well preserved in the North of England that it has been revived in literary English from the language of our navvies. It is allied to Icel. *skund-a*, to hasten, an extension of the verb to *shun*.

§ 442. **Additions to the forms of words.** See § 369. The most noticeable additions are due to the insertion of the excrescent letters *b* and *d* after *m* and *b*. Examples: *lum-b-er*, to rumble, Swed. dial. *lom-ra*, to resound, Swed. *ljumm*, a great noise; *stum-b-le*, Swed. dial. *stom-la*, Icel. *stum-ra*. The history of the *b* in *clamber* and *wimble* is obscure.

D is added after *n* in *boun-d*, i. e. ready to go, Icel. *búinn*; and in *boul-d-er*, Swed. dial. *buller-sten*, a large rolling stone, possibly from *bullra*, to thunder, crash. See *Boulder* in Murray's Dict. The *n* in *squa-n-der* seems to be an insertion, the Lowland Scotch word being *squatter*. The *n* in *slatter-n* is excrescent (after *r*), as in *bitter-n* (§ 347).

The *d* in *fon-d* is not excrescent, but a real addition, the M. E. form being *fonn-ed*, formed as pp. of *fonn-en*, to act foolishly.

Whisk contains a useless *h*, and should be *wisk* (§ 434); a *wisk* is properly a kind of wiper or brush, and 'to wisk past' contains the same metaphor as 'to brush past.' The *l* might seem to be intrusive in *wind-l-ass*, by confusion with *wind-lace*, a winding course; the usual Icel. word being *vind-áss* (for **wind-áss*), from *vind-a*, to wind, and *áss*, a pole. But Mr. Magnússon tells me that the Icel. form *vindil-áss* is also in common use, where *vindil-* is the stem of *vindill*, a winder. Mid. Eng. also had the term *windel*, as in *yarn-windel*, a reel for yarn; see Prompt. Parv., p. 536. Hence *windlass* may be explained as put for *windel-ass*, where *ass* = Icel. *áss*. And in fact, I now find that the Prompt. Parv. actually has the expression 'wyndynge with *wyndelas*, or *wyndas*'; which may be held to settle this disputed point at last.

§ 443. **Graphic changes.** See § 371. Of course Scandian words were spelt after an English fashion. The chief

exception is the modern E. word *geysir*[1], which is spelt as in Icelandic, but pronounced as if turned into an E. *geezer* (§ 435). Many Icel. words begin with *sk*, where English uses *sc* and *sk* indiscriminately (434).

A few peculiarities of Icelandic spelling may be here noticed. The vowels and diphthongs are numerous, viz. *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *y*; *á*, *é*, *í*, *ó*, *ý*, where the accent denotes length; *au*, *ei*, *ey*, *æ*, *œ*, *ö*[2]. The *æ* and *œ* are both now sounded as E. *i* in *bite*, and the same symbol (*æ*) often does duty for both. In the sounds denoted by *jó* and *jú*, the *j* (E. *y*) is almost a vowel, making *jó* and *jú* almost diphthongs, answering to A. S. *éo*; so also with regard to *ja*, *já*, *ju*, *jö*.

Initial *th* is always voiceless, like E. *th* in *thin*, and is denoted by *þ*. Medial and final *th* is always voiced, like E. *th* in *this*, and is denoted by *ð*[3]. *V* (though now sounded as E. *v*) had originally the sound of *w*, and several E. words beginning with *w* are of Scandian origin, such as *wag*, *want*, *weak*, *wing*. Similarly *hv* was originally sounded as A. S. *hw* (E. *wh*); so that E. *whirl* is from Icel. *hvirfl-a* (=*hwirfl-a*), the *f* being dropped. We have needlessly turned the words *wiking* and *Walhalla* into *viking* and *valhalla*; as both words relate to very early times, the initial *w* is better. So also the symbol *kv* had originally the sound of *kw*, A. S. *cw*, E. *qu*; the symbol *q* being hardly ever used. Thus E. *queas-y* is from Icel. *kveis* (=*kweis*), as in *kveisa*, colic. *C* is also disused, *k* being always employed for the *k*-sound. Hence E. *cast* is from Icel. *kast-a*. Other particulars must be learnt from books that deal specially with the language.

[1] Pronounce it as E. *gay seer*, trilling the *r*, and accenting *gay*; and this will come somewhat near the right sound.

[2] For the sounds of the Old Icelandic, see Sweet, Icel. Primer, and Vigfusson and Powell, Icel. Reader, p. 467; for the modern sounds see Sweet's Handbook of Phonetics.

[3] Mr. Magnússon considers the E. voiceless *th* as more nearly equivalent to Icel. þþ, and the E. voiced *th* as more like Icel. ðð. We may note that the Scand. *þ* becomes *t*, and *ð* becomes *d*, in Swedish and Danish, as a general rule. Cf. A. S. *þing*, Swed. *ting*; A. S. *wið*, Swed. *vid*.

§ 444. Misuse of symbols See § 372. The Icelandic spelling is very good, but there is one peculiarity which does not seem to be a happy one. This is the rather frequent use of *pt* to represent the sound of *ft*, as in Icel. *lopt*, pronounced *loft* (whence E. *loft*), and Icel. *lypt-a*, pronounced *lyft-a* (whence E. *lift*). This practice arose from a too close imitation of Latin *spelling*, in which *pt* appears frequently, and *ft* not at all. *Ft* is now used also, and it would be well if its use were universal; it occurs occasionally in very early MSS.

§ 445. Vowel-changes due to consonantal influence or other cause. See § 375. The clipping down to monosyllables of words once dissyllabic often has the effect of lengthening a vowel. In the Icel. *sala* both *a*'s are properly short, but in the E. *sale* the *a* is now a diphthong (romic *ei*). So also in *craze*, *daze*, *flake*, *gail* (better *gate*), *hake*, &c. This is even the case in *haste*, from O. Swed. *hast-a*. The Icel. *e* is lengthened in E. *leak*, Icel. *lek-a*; E. *neif*, Icel. *hnef-i*, the fist; E. *thrave*, Icel. *þref-i*, a number of sheaves. The Icel. *i* is lengthened in *riding*, a third part of a county; Icel. *þriðjungr*, a third part. The Icel. *o* is lengthened in *bole*, Icel. *bol-r*; and the *u* has become a diphthong in *clown*, Icel. *klunn-i*. The change of *en* into *in* in *hinge*, M.E. *henge*, from Icel. *heng-ja*, to hang, has been already noticed in § 377. So also E. *fling*, M.E. *fling-en*, *fleng-en*[1], answers to O. Swed. *fleng-a*, to strike, Dan. *fleng-e*, to slash, Icel. *fleng-ja*, to whip, with the notion of violent action.

On confluence of forms and homonyms, see §§ 385, 386.

§ 446. List of Compounds, of Scandian origin, in which the origin has been more or less obscured. A list of native words of this character has already been given in § 395; and may be usefully supplemented by one in which the compounds are from Scandian elements.

[1] 'He *flenges* to sir Florent'; Morte Arthure, ed. Brock, 2762.

Bulwark, really *bole-work*, a work made of the boles or trunks of trees.

Bylaw, a town-law, municipal law, from *by*, sb., in the sense of 'town'; cf. *Whit-by*, *Der-by*, &c. Usually misunderstood as being compounded with the preposition *by*.

Fellow, lit. a partner in a 'laying together of property,' or in an association relating to ownership. Icel. *fé-lag-i*, a partner in a *fé-lag*; from *fé*, property (E. *fee*), and *lag*, a laying together, an association.

Fetlock, a tuft or *lock* of hair growing behind the pastern-joint of horses. Not, as might be supposed, a direct derivative from *feet*, but only allied to *foot* in a more circuitous manner. This is proved by the occurrence of a M. H. G. *vizzeloch*, cited by Kluge, s. v. *Fuss* (but not in Schade), signifying the hinder part of a horse's foot, and of an O. Du. *vitlok*, *vitslok*; which (says Wedgwood) is given by Halma, s. v. *fanon*. Kluge concludes that the first syllable is due to a base *fet-* (allied to *foot*), which appears in Icel. *fet*, a pace, step; cf. also Icel. *fit*, the webbed foot of water-birds, the web or skin of the feet of animals. Indeed, we have the same *fet-* in our *fett-er*, which may be compared with Lat. *ped-ica*.

Flotsam, goods lost in shipwreck, and left floating on the waves; compounded of Icel. *flot-* (as seen in *flot-fundinn*, found afloat), and the suffix *-sam*, Icel. *-sam-r*, the same suffix as E. *-some*; see p. 262.

Furlough, a military term of Swedish origin, though it may have come to us through the Du. form *verlof*. It is the Swed. *för-lof*, leave; compounded of Swed. *för-* (=E. *for-*, prefix), and *lof*, praise, also leave, permission; cf. G. *Verlaub*, leave. *Lof* is cognate with G. *lob* (and *-laub* in *Ver-laub*), and allied to E. *leave* and *lief*.

Gantlet, Gauntlet, in the phrase 'to run the gauntlet'; corrupted, by confluence with *gauntlet*, a glove, from the older form *gantlope*, which again is altered from Swed. *gat-lopp*, a 'running down the lane' formed by two files of soldiers who

strike the offender as he passes. From Swed. *gata*, a lane, street, and *lopp*, a running, which is from *löp-a*, to run (E. *leap*). Thus *gant-let* = 'gate-leap'; taking *gate* in the sense of street, way.

Greyhound; Icel. *grey-hundr*. The Icel. *grey* is used alone in the same sense, and Icel. *grey-baka* means a bitch. The origin of *grey* is unknown; it does not mean *gray* (Icel. *grár*).

Handsel, Hansel, first instalment of a bargain. Icel. *hand-sal*, the conclusion of a bargain by shaking hands; but literally 'hand-sale.'

Harbour; Icel. *her-bergi*, lit. 'army-shelter.'

Husband, lit. 'dweller in a house,' and so the goodman of the house. Icel. *hús-bóndi*, the goodman of a house, from *hús*, house; and *bóndi*=*búandi*, dwelling in, pres. pt. of *búa*, to dwell. (In no way allied to *band*.)

Hussif, a case for needles; due to confusion with *hussif* =house-wife. But the Icel. word is simply *húsi*, a case.

Hustings, properly **Husting**; A. S. *hús-ting*, borrowed from Icel. *hús-þing*, a council, lit. 'house-thing.'

Jetsam, things thrown overboard from a wreck. Formed by adding the Icel. suffix *-sam-r* to the base of F. *jett-er*, to throw. See **Flotsam**.

Jollyboat, lit. yawl-boat; from Dan. *jolle*, a yawl.

Keelson, a piece of timber next a ship's keel. Swed. *köl-svin*, lit. 'keel-swine'; probably a corruption of the Norweg. term *kjöl-svil*, a keelson, lit. 'keel-sill[1].' [I find that Koolman, in his E. Friesic Dictionary, s. v. *köl-svin*, gives, independently, the same solution.]

Kidney, M. E. *kidnere*, *kidneer*; from Icel. *kvið-r*, womb, belly, and *nýra*, a kidney.

Narwhal, the sea-unicorn; Swed. *nar-hval*, Icel. *ná-hval-r*, lit. 'corpse-whale'; from its (occasional) pallid colour.

[1] Another Old Icel. name for the same was *kjöl-sýja* (or simply *sýja*), lit. 'keel-suture'; from *sýja*, to sew.

Quandary, perhaps the same as M. E. *wandreth*, evil plight, peril; Icel. *vand-ræð-i*, difficulty, trouble. From Icel. *vand-r*, difficult; with suffix *-ræði* (=E. *-red* in *hat-red*).

Rakehell, a dissolute man, a late corruption of M. E. *rakel*, rash; Swed. dial. *rakkel*, Icel. *reikall*, vagabond. From Icel. *reik-a*, to wander. Now shortened to *rake*.

Ransack; Icel. *rann-sak-a*, to search a house; from *rann*, a house (Goth. *razn*) and *sak-*, base of *sæk-ja*, to seek, cognate with A. S. *séc-an*.

Riding (of Yorkshire); for **thriding*, Icel. *þriðjung-r*, a third part.

Spick and Span-new, lit. 'spike-and-spoon-new,' where *spike* is a point, nail, and *spoon* is a chip; new as a nail just made or a chip just cut. Icel. *spán-nýr*, span-new, new as a chip; from *spán*, a chip, a spoon.

Tungsten, a heavy metal. Swed. *tung-sten*, lit. 'heavy stone'; Icel. *þung-r*, heavy.

Valhalla, better **Walhall**, the hall of the slain; Icel. *valhöll* (gen. case *valhallar*). From Icel. *val-r*, the slain, carnage; *höll*, *hall*, a hall.

Viking, better **Wiking**. Icel. *víking-r*, O. Icel. **wíking-r*, a creek-dweller; from Icel. *vík*, O. Icel. **wík*, a creek, bay, with suffix *-ing-r*, belonging to.

Wall-eyed, said of a horse; Icel. *valdeygðr*, corruption of *vagl-eygr*, lit. 'beam-eyed'; from *vagl*, a beam, also a disease in the eye; and *eyg-r*, formed by mutation from *aug-a*, eye. See p. 473.

Wapentake, a district; Icel. *vápna-tak*, lit. 'weapon-touching,' hence a vote of consent expressed by men touching their weapons; finally, a district governed by one elected by such a vote.

Walrus; a Dutch spelling of a Scand. word; Du. *walrus*, from Dan. *hval-ros*, lit. whale-horse. Cf. A. S. *hors-hwæl*, a horse-whale, seal. The Icel. form *rosm-hvalr* has not been explained.

Whitlow, historically a corruption of *quick-flaw*, a *flaw* in the *quick* or sensitive part of the finger near the nail. The word *flaw* is Scandian; Swed. *flaga*, a flake, crack. Cf. Icel. *flaka*, to gape as a wound. See § 436, p. 472.

Windlass, shortened from M. E. *windelas*, Prompt. Parv., p. 529; from Icel. *vindil-áss*, more commonly *vind-áss*; from *vind-a*, to wind, and *áss*, a pole, rounded beam. See p. 474.

Window, i. e. 'wind-eye,' an eye or hole to admit air and light. Icel. *vind-auga*, a window; from *vind*, wind, and *auga*, eye.

Note on Modern Scandian Words.

I may here add, by way of postscript, that the words borrowed from Scandinavian languages in the modern period, since 1500, are very few. The following list is taken from my Dictionary.

From Icelandic: *geysir, saga.* (The latter is given in my Dict. as Scandinavian; but is properly Icelandic.)

From Swedish: *dahlia, flounce*, v., *flounder* (a fish), *gantlet* (in the phrase *run the gantlet* or *gantlope*), *kink, slag, tungsten*; and perhaps *smelt, weld*, v., and *trap*(*-rock*).

From Danish: *cam, floe, fog, jib, jolly-boat, siskin.*

From Norwegian: *lemming.*

The Scand. words *furlough, walrus* have reached us through Dutch; *droll*, through Dutch and French; *knout*, through Russian. Several have reached us through the medium of French, viz. *abet, bet, blemish, bondage, brandish, brazier, braze, bun, equip, flotsam, frisk, frown, gauntlet* (glove), *grate*, v., *grimace, grudge, hale* or *haul*, v., *hue* (in phr. *hue and cry*), *jib*, v. (said of a horse), *jolly, locket, Norman, rinse, rivet, sound*, v. (to plumb a depth), *strife, strive, waif, waive, wicket.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Old Friesic and Old Dutch Element.

§ 447. When we consider that it has long been an admitted fact, that numerous English words were directly borrowed from Scandinavian, being brought over from Denmark in the tenth and eleventh centuries, it seems strange that so little is said in our grammars about the borrowing of English words from the Old Dutch and Old Friesic. Morris, in his Historical Outlines of English Accidence, gives a meagre list of thirteen words borrowed from Dutch, none of them being of any great antiquity in English. Koch, in his Grammatik, iii. 150, gives a list of about forty words which he supposes to be of 'Niederdeutsch' origin. Such a treatment of the subject is surely inadequate. It remains for me to shew that this element is of considerable importance, and should not be so lightly passed over, as if the matter were of little account.

§ 448. The first question is, at what period are we to date the borrowing of English words from the Netherlands? The right answer is, that the dates are various, and the occasions may have been many. It is conceded that several sea-terms are really Dutch. Dr. Morris instances *boom*, *cruise*, *sloop*, *yacht* (Du. *boom*, *kruizen*, *jagt*, older spelling *jacht*); as well as the word *schooner*. But the last instance is incorrect; the original name was *scooner*[1], and originated in America, but

[1] From prov. E. *scoon*, to glide over water. See the story as told in Webster's Dictionary; a story which I once doubted, but find to be true; see Whitney, Study of Language, 1868, p. 38. *Schooner* has no sense in Dutch, and is known to be borrowed from us.

was afterwards turned into *schooner* because such was the Dutch spelling of the word *after they had borrowed it from us!* It is just one more instance of drawing a false induction from correct premises. Because *should* and *would* are spelt with *l*, *could* is spelt so too; and because *sloop* and *yacht* are Dutch, *schooner* is supposed to be the same. But we may, I think, safely add to the list the nautical terms *ahoy*, *aloof*, *avast*, *belay*[1], *caboose*, *hoist*, *hold* (of a ship), *hoy*, *hull*, *lash* (to bind spars together), *lighter* (a barge), *marline*, *moor* (to fasten a boat), *orlop* (a kind of ship's deck), *pink* (fishing-boat), *reef* (of a sail), *reef* (a rock), *reeve*, *rover* (sea-robber), to *sheer off*, *skipper*, *smack* (fishing-boat), *splice*, *strand* (of a rope), *swab*, *yawl*; which, with the four already mentioned, give more than thirty Dutch words in nautical affairs alone. Even *pilot* is nothing but Old Dutch, disguised in a French spelling[2].

§ **449.** But there is another set of words of Dutch origin, of a different kind, which must also be considered. It is from the Netherlands that some at least of the cant terms current in the time of Elizabeth were borrowed, though a very few may be of Gipsy origin, and may thus be traced to the East. When Fletcher the dramatist wrote his play of the Beggar's Bush in 1622, it is remarkable that he laid the scenes in Ghent and in the neighbourhood of Bruges, and makes Gerrard, who is disguised as the King of the Beggars, and understands a cant dialect, the father of a rich merchant of the latter town. It is clear whence Fletcher obtained the cant words which he introduces into his dialogue so copiously. They are much the same set as may be found in Awdeley's Fraternitye of Vacabondes, first printed in

[1] In some senses, all obsolete, *belay* is a native English term. As a nautical term, it first appears in The Complaint of Scotland, ed. Murray, ch. vi. p. 41 (1549).

[2] See the note on this difficult word in the Supplement to my Dictionary.

1561, and in Harman's Caueat for Vagabones, printed in 1567; see Furnivall's edition of these books for the Early English Text Society, which contains a Glossary, and an additional list of words at p. xxii. Harrison, in his Description of England, bk. ii. c. 10 (ed. 1587), says that the trade of the vagabonds, or roving Gypsies, had begun some sixty years previously, and that their number was said to exceed ten thousand. I suppose they reached England by way of Holland, and picked up some Dutch by the way; though it will be found that the main portion of the cant language is nothing but depraved and debased English, coined by using words in odd senses and with slight changes, as when, e. g., food is called *belly cheer*, or night is called *darkmans*. The following are some of the old cant terms which I should explain from Dutch. *Bufe*, a dog[1]; from Du. *baffen*, to bark. *Bung*, a purse; Friesic *pung*, a purse. *Kinchin*, a child (Harman, p. 76); Du. *kindekin*, an infant (Hexham). *Pad*, a road, as in *high pad*, high road; Du. *pad*, a path; hence the sb. *padder*, a robber on the road, now called a *footpad*, and *pad-nag*, a road-horse, now shortened to *pad*. *Prad*, a horse; Du. *paard*, a horse. *Slates*, sheets; Du. *slet*, a rag, clout. Hexham, in his Old Dutch Dictionary (1658) records a verb *facken*, 'to catch or to gripe'; which suggests a plausible origin for the cant word *fake*, to steal. It is to be remarked that some of the cant terms seem to be borrowed from parts of the continent still more remote than Holland; for *fambles*, hands, is plainly Danish, from the Dan. *famle*, to handle; whilst *nase*, drunk, is precisely the High G. *nass*, used literally in the sense of 'wet,' but figuratively in the sense of 'drunk'; the Low G. form being *nat*.

§ 450. There was a rather close contact between English and Dutch in the days of Elizabeth, due to the war against Spain. After Antwerp had been conquered by the Duke of Parma, 'a third of the merchants and manufacturers of the

[1] The modern slang word for dog is *buffer* (Hotten).

ruined city,' says Mr. Green, 'are said to have found a refuge on the banks of the Thames.' We should particularly note such a poem as that entitled the Fruits of War, by George Gascoigne, where he describes his experiences in Holland. He and other English volunteers picked up Dutch words, and brought them home. Thus, in st. 136 of that poem, he says that he 'equyppt a *Hoye*'; where *hoy*, a boat (Du. *heu*) is a word still in use. In st. 40, he uses the adj. *frolicke*, to express cheerful or merry, which is borrowed from Du. *vrolijk*, spelt *vrolick* by Hexham; Ben Jonson, who also had served in Holland, spells it *frœlich*, as if it was hardly naturalised; in The Case is Altered, Act. i. sc. 1. In his Voyage to Holland, Gascoigne quotes several Dutch sentences, which he explains by means of notes. He also introduces the word *pynke*, which he explains by 'a small bote'; this is mod. E. *pink* (Du. *pink*).

In Ben Jonson's well-known play of *Every Man in his Humour*, we may find several Dutch words. Thus he has *guilder* as the name of a coin, Act. iii. sc. 1; this is a sort of E. translation of Du. *gulden*, lit. golden, also the name of a coin; Hexham gives: '*een Gulden*, or *Carolus gulden*, a Gilder, or a Charles Gilder; *een Philippus gulden*, a Philips Gilder.' Again, he has *lance-knights*, foot-soldiers, in Act. ii. sc. 4 [or 2]; this is merely the Du. *landsknecht*, which has also been taken into French (and even into English) in the form *lansquenet*. In Act. iii. sc. 1, he has the sb. *leagure*, and the derivative *beleag'ring*; we still use *beleaguer*, from the Du. *belegeren*, to besiege, the Du. sb. being *leger*, a camp. In Act. ii. sc. 1, he has *quacksalvers*, mountebanks, from Du. *kwakzalver*; the word is still common in the abbreviated form *quack* as applied to a physician.

There are several Dutch words in Shakespeare, who quotes one word as Dutch when he says—'*lustig*, as the Dutchman says'; All's Well, ii. 3. 47; where *lustig* means 'in excellent spirits.' The list of Dutch words in Shakespeare is a much

longer one than might be expected. I give it here, referring to my Dictionary for the etymologies. It runs thus: *boor*, *brabble*, *burgomaster*, *buskin(ed)*, *canakin*[1], *cope*, v., *copes-mate*[2], *crants* (Du. *krans* or G. *Kranz*), *deck* (of a ship), *deck*, v., *doit*, *foist*, *fop*, *frolic*, *fumble*, *geck*, a fool (Du. *gek*), *gilder*, a coin (see p. 484), *glib*, adj., *glib*, v. (M. Du. *gelubben*, to castrate), *groat*, *heyday* or *hoyday*, used as an interjection, *hogshead*, *hoise*, now *hoist*, *hold* (of a ship), *holland*, *hoy*, *hull* (of a ship), *jeer*, *jerkin*, *leaguer*, a camp (Du. *leger*), *link*, a torch, *linstock*, *loiter*, *lop*, *manakin*; *minikin*, *minx*[3], *mop*, *mope*, *rant*, *ravel*, *rover*, *ruffle*, *sloven(ly)*, *snaffle*, *snap*, *snip*, *snuff*, v., to sniff, *sprat*, *sutler*, *swabber*, *switch*, *toy*, *trick*, *uproar*, *waggon*[4], *wainscot*. Many of these terms are nautical, such as *deck*, *hoise*, *hold*, *hoy*, *hull*, *rover* (sea-pirate), *sprat*, *swabber*; others are just such words as might easily be picked up by roving English volunteer soldiers, viz. *boor*, *burgomaster*, *buskin*, *doit*, *fop*, *frolic*, *geck*, *gilder*, *heyday*, *hogshead*, *jerkin*, *leaguer*, *link*, *linstock*, *loiter*, *lop*, *manakin*, *minx*, *snaffle*, *sutler*, *switch*, *trick*, *uproar*, *waggon*; indeed, in the case of some of these, as *doit*, *gilder*, *jerkin*, *leaguer*, *link*, *linstock*, *snaffle*, *sutler*, *trick*, *waggon*, the connection with military affairs is sufficiently obvious.

For other words of (presumably) Dutch origin, see the list in my Etym. Dict., 2nd ed. 1884, p. 750; or my Concise Etym. Dict., p. 607.

§ 451. In the case of the majority of these words, the certainty of their being borrowed from the Low Countries is verified by their non-occurrence in Middle English. They

[1] '*Een kanneken*, A small Canne;' Hexham.

[2] From Du. *koopen*, to barter, and M. Du. *maet*, a mate (Hexham). But *mate* is also E., though hardly so in this compound.

[3] This difficult word has been at last explained by me, in the Phil. Soc. Trans. 1886. It is merely the Friesic (and Bremen) *minsk*, variant of Du. *mensch*, a man, or (when neuter) a wench.

[4] *Waggon* was re-introduced into England from abroad, long after the A. S. *wægn* had passed into E. *wain*.

nearly all belong to what I have called the modern period, viz. the period after 1500, when the introduction of new words from abroad excites no surprise. A more difficult and perhaps more important question remains, viz. as to the possible introduction of Dutch or Low German words into Middle English. We are here met by the difficulty that Old Dutch and Middle English had a strong resemblance, which may easily mislead an enquirer. Thus Mr. Blades, in his Life of Caxton, 1882, p. 2, speaks of 'the good wife of Kent, who knew what the Flemish word *eyren* meant, but understood not the English word *eggs*.' But the whole point of the story depends upon the fact that the word for 'eggs' was *eggis* in Northern and Midland English, but *eyren* in the Southern dialect; in fact, *eiren* occurs in the Ancren Riwle, p. 66, and is formed by adding the Southern *-en* to the form *eyr-e*, resulting regularly from the A. S. pl. *ægru*. Mr. Blades tells us we must 'bear in mind that the inhabitants of the Weald had a strong admixture of Flemish blood in their best families, and that cloth was their chief and, probably, only manufacture.' All this may be true, only the particular anecdote which is quoted to prove it does, in effect, prove nothing of the kind. It proves, rather, that the language of the Saxons who came to England did not originally differ from the language of those of their fellows whom they left behind; and the points we have to determine are rather, to what extent had the differentiation between these two tongues proceeded at any given date, and what evidence have we of the actual borrowing of Dutch, Friesic, or Low German words at various periods? A convenient period for consideration is that which extends over the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when there were especially close commercial relations between the English and Flemish. The Libell of English Policye, written in 1436, speaks of the 'commoditees of Flaundres' at some length, and reminds the Flemings that their great manufacture of cloth was de-

pendent upon England, as it was nearly all made of English wool, to which Spanish wool was inferior. The writer adds that merchandise from Prussia and even from Spain reached England by way of Flanders, which was indeed 'but a staple[1] to other landes.' We might expect such Flemish or Dutch words as occur in Middle English to apply to various implements used in such trades as weaving and brewing, and in mechanical arts, but it is very difficult to investigate these matters, since the English were already well supplied with necessary words. Still, I think the word *spool* is a clear instance of a borrowed word. It occurs, spelt *spole*, in the Promptorium Parvulorum, about 1440, and in another Vocabulary of the fifteenth century; and answers to M. Du. *spoele*, Du. *spoel*; Low G. *spole*. The native E. word is *reel* (A. S. *hreol*).

Other old words which I regard as having been borrowed from various forms of Low German rather than as forming part of the stock of native English are the following: —*botch*, to patch, *bounce*, *boy*, *brake* (for flax), *bulk* (in the obsolete sense of trunk of the body), *cough*, *curl*, *duck*, v., to dive, *fop*, *girl*, *groat*, *hawker*, *huckster*, *kails* (a game), *knurr* or *knur*, a knot in wood, wooden ball, *lack*, s. and v., *lash*, to bind together, *loll*, *loon*, *luck*, *mazer*, *mud*, *muddle*, *nag*, a horse, *nick*, *notch*, *orts*, *pamper*, *patch*, *plash*, a pool, *rabbit* (?), *rabble*, *scoff*, *scold*, *shock*, a pile of sheaves, *shudder*, *skew*, *slabber*, *slender*, *slight*, *slot*, a bolt, *spool*, *sprout*, *tub*, *tuck*, v., *tug*, *unto*. All these words are, I believe, found in the Middle English period, but not earlier; and in some cases the fact of the borrowing is certain. Thus *groat* is Low G. *groot*, the E. form being *great*; *mazer* is a bowl made of the spotted wood of the maple, the M. H. G. word for 'spot' being *mâse*[2]; *tub*, Low G. *tubbe*, may have been

[1] The very word *staple* is certainly Low German, slightly disguised by a French spelling.

[2] It may be a Scand. word, from Icel. *mösurr*; but *masar* is also O. H. German, and *maser* is O. L. German.

brought in by the brewing trade, together with *vat* (Du. *vat*); *hawker* and *hukster* are certainly not native words; *kails* is a Dutch game, from the Du. *kegel*, a cone, a sort of ninepins. Some of these words appear in Friesic, and it is possible that they belonged to the word-stock of the Friesians who came over with the Saxons, but this will always be, in the absence of evidence, a very difficult point.

The E. Friesic Dictionary by Koolman gives some help; I note the following:—*Bummsen*, to bounce, from *bumms*, the noise of a heavy fall; *boy*, a boy, nearly obsolete in Friesic; *brake*, a flax-brake; *kuchen*, to cough (the A. S. word is *hwóstan*); *krul*, a curl, *krullen*, to curl; *duken*, to duck, bend down; *foppen*, to befool (the M. E. *foppe* being used to mean a foolish person, see my Supplement); *grote*, *grot*, a groat; *höker*, a hawker; *kegel*, a kail; *knure*, a bump; *lak*, a defect; *lasken*, to lash together; *lóm*, tired, slow, whence M. E. *lowmish*, slow, stupid, and E. *loon* or *lown* (for **lowm*); *lük*, luck; *mudde*, mud; *muddelen*, to muddle; *ort*[1], ort, remnant; *plas*, *plasse*, a plash, pool; *rabbeln*, *rappeln*, to chatter, *rappalje*, a rabble; *schelden*, to scold; *schüddern*, to shudder; *slabbern*, *slubbern*, to slabber or slubber; *slicht*, smooth, also slight; *slöt*, a lock; *spole*, *spól*, a spool; *sprute*, a sprout, bud, *sprutten*, to sprout; *tubbe*, a tub. The difficult word *touch-wood* is easily explained when we find that the M. E. form was *tache*, tinder, or inflammable stuff, answering to E. Friesic *takke*, a twig, *takje*, a little twig.

Richtofen's O. Friesic Dictionary also gives some help; we should especially notice the following: *dekka*, to thatch; *fro*, glad (cf. E. *fro-lic*); *grata*, a groat; *luk*, luck; *minska*, a man, for *menska*, which is short for *manniska* (cf. E. *minx*); *pad*, a path (cf. E. *foot-pad*); *skelda*, to scold; *skof*, a scoff; *slot*, a lock; *snavel*, mouth (cf. E. *snaffle*); *spruta*, to sprout; *ond-*, *und-*, *on-*, a prefix, the same as E. *un-* into *un-to*.

[1] Koolman utterly misses the etymology; he seems to have trusted to Jamieson's Dictionary for English, as he mentions no other authority.

There is a glossary to Heyne's Kleinere altniederdeutsche Denkmäler, which gives several hints; I note particularly the words *be-scoffón*, to scoff at; *scok*, a shock of corn; *slot*, a lock; *unt*, unto. The Bremen Wörterbuch also throws much light upon Low German forms; for example, it gives *bunsen*, to bounce, from the interj. *bums*, signifying the noise of a fall, shewing that the *n* in this word is due to putting *n* for *m* before a following *s*.

A most useful Dictionary of Old Low German has lately appeared, by K. Schiller and A. Lübben. As a specimen of the information to be derived from it, I quote the following: —'*Bosse, botze, boitze*, Art grobes Schuhwerk';' which explains E. *botch*, to patch. The authors add the following curious passage: 'Nullus allutariorum ponet soleas sub calceis, quæ *botze* dicuntur.' Again, they remark that *gör*, a girl (whence E. *girl*) is much used in dialectal speech, though it seems scarce in books. I also find *hoken*, to hawk about, and *hokeboken*, to carry on the back, which makes me think that my guess as to *huckaback*, viz. that it originally meant 'pedlars' ware,' may be right. Other useful entries are: *knerreholt*, thin oaken boards (evidently wood with *knurrs* or knots in it); *lucke*, luck; *masele*, measles, spots; *maser*, maple, '*enen maseren kop*,' a maple cup, a mazer; *mudde*, mud; *ort*, ort; *placke*, a patch; *plasken*, to plash or plunge into water; *plump*, interjection, used of the noise made by King Log when he fell into the water; *plunder*, booty, *plunder-waare*, household stuff, especially bits of clothing; *rabbat*, a rabble, mob; *schock*, a shock, or heap of corn, *schocken*, to put corn into shocks; *schudden*, to shake, shudder; *slampampen*, to live daintily (cf. E. *pamper*); *sprot*, a sprat, &c. It is somewhat surprising to find in this work the phrase *ut unde ut*, which is precisely our *out and out*. We want all the light that is obtainable to guide us in this matter.

§ **452.** After all, some of the above words may be found

in A. S. glosses, or may occur in unpublished texts. The word *dog* seemed to me to be borrowed, the E. word being *hound*; in fact, we find Du. *dog*, M. Du. *dogge*, Swed. *dogg*, Dan. *dogge*, Low G. *dogge*. But in the A. S. glosses to Prudentius, we find: 'canum, *docgena*'; shewing that the A. S. form was *docga*. I have supposed the word *split* to be Scandian; but the occurrence in O. Friesic of the original strong verb *split-a* renders it probable that *split* may, after all, be of A. S. or Mercian origin. The word *mane* is not in the A. S. dictionaries, so that I believed it to be a borrowed word from Scandinavian. But the recent publication of Mr. Sweet's Oldest English Texts shews that the A. S. form was *manu*, which occurs in the very old Erfurt Glossary. We must also bear in mind that the Northumbrian and Mercian of the oldest period have almost entirely perished.

CHAPTER XXV.

Effects of the English Accent.

§ 453. As much has been said, in the preceding pages, about the necessity of attending to the length of English vowel-sounds, it is incumbent upon me to add a few remarks as to the effect of accent, or stress, in altering such length. It frequently happens that, especially in compound words, a long vowel, if accented, is sooner or later shortened. The results have been given by Koch, in his Englische Grammatik, i. 70, 71, 144, 152, 204, 205, 208–222, &c. An endeavour on my part to state these results succinctly was made in the pages of Notes and Queries, 7th Series, i. 363, 443, 482, ii. 42; and was criticised by Dr. Chance in the same, ii. 90, 235. I now repeat some of these remarks, adopting at the same time some of Dr. Chance's suggestions.

§ 454. **Rule 1.** When a word (commonly a monosyllable) containing a medial long accented vowel is in any way lengthened, whether by the addition of a termination, or, what is perhaps more common, by the adjunction of a second word (which may be of one or two syllables), then the long vowel (provided it still retains the accent, as is usually the case) is very apt to become shortened[1]. For example, the *ea*

[1] I copy the whole of this from a note by Dr. Chance, in N. and Q. 7 S. ii. 236; where he amends what I had said in the same, i. 363. It is almost enough to say that, 'in words of augmented length, an original long vowel is apt to be shortened by accentual stress.' It follows from this, that if a short vowel (as in A. S. *hara*) has been lengthened (as in E. *hare*), it remains short in the augmented form (as in *harrier*).

in *heath* is shortened in *heather* (though not in *heathen*); and the A. S. *gósling*, i. e. *goose-ling*, is now *gosling*.

I add several illustrations, confining them, however, to words of native origin. Most of them are to be found in Koch's work above alluded to.

(*a*) Words augmented by a suffix. *Heather* is from *heath*. *Rummage*, for *room-age*, is from *room*. In the word *throat*, the vowel was originally short, A. S. *þrote*, *þrotu*; it remains short in *throtl-le*; cf. M. E. *þrotlen*, v., to throttle. In the word *hare*, A. S. *hara*, the vowel was also originally short; it remains so in *harrier* (= *har-ier*). The A. S. short *i*, though lengthened in *child*, remains short in *children*.

Long vowels are especially liable to be shortened if followed by a cluster of two or more consonants; hence *wide* gives *wid-th*; *broad* gives *bread-th* (A. S. *brǽd-u*, M. E. *brēd-e*); *blithe* gives *bliss* (for **bliths*, A. S. *blíðs*). Such vowel-shortening is especially noticeable in the past tenses of some weak verbs; thus *lead* (M. E. *lēd-en*) made the M. E. pt. s. *lĕd-de*, owing to the doubling of the *d*; hence mod. E. *led*. Similarly *feed* (M. E. *fēd-en*) made the M. E. pt. s. *fĕd-de*, now *fed*. *Read* (M. E. *rēd-en*) made the M. E. pt. s. *rĕd-de*, now *read* (pron. as *red*). *Hide* (M. E. *hīd-en*) made the M. E. pt. s. *hĭd-de*, now *hid*. *Hear* (M. E. *hēr-en*) made the M. E. pt. s. *hĕr-de*, now *heard* (pron. as *herd*). It is not quite easy to say at what date such vowel-shortening commenced. The short vowels in the past participles *led*, *fed*, *hid*, &c., may be similarly explained as occurring in contracted forms; thus the pp. of A. S. *féd-an*, to feed, was originally *féd-ed*, later *fédd*, and lastly *fĕd*. Vowel-shortening has sometimes attacked even the infinitive mood, as in the case of A. S. *súc-an*, M. E. *souk-en*, E. *suck*; this was probably due to the fact that the pt. t. *souk-ede* and pp. *souk-ed* were contracted to *suckt*[1], whence the infinitive *suck* was easily evolved. Such a short-

[1] 'I would say thou had'st *suckt* wisdome from thy teat'; Romeo and Juliet, i. 3. 68 (ed. 1623).

ening was further assisted by the contraction of M. E. *soukest* and *soukes* to *suck'st* and *sucks*.

(*b*) In compound words the effect is very marked; in many cases the shortening is caused by the occurrence of *two* consonants after the accented vowel, as in the case of A. S. *gós-ling* already mentioned. Other examples of the same kind are these, the etymologies of some of which have been already explained. *Bone-fire* is now *bon-fire*, as shewn by the quotations in Murray's Eng. Dictionary. The *e* in A. S. *brecan*, originally short, has become long in mod. E. *break*, but it remains short in *breakfast*. *Craneberry* is now *cranberry* (it need hardly be said that the *e* in *crane* is only intended to indicate vowel-length, and is not sounded)[1]. *Foot-hooks* has become *futlocks*. *Goose-ling* is represented by *gos-ling*. *Husband* and *hustings* are both derivatives from *house* (A. S. *hús*, M. E. *hous*, riming with *goose*)[2]. *Housewife* was shortened to *hussif*, and even to *hussy*. A. S. *hláf-mæsse*, lit. 'loaf-mass,' became *hlammæsse* in the twelfth century, and is now *lammas*; where it should be particularly noticed that the A. S. *á* was shortened to *a* before it had passed into the M. E. *ō*, as it did in *loaf* (M. E. *lōf*, *loof*)[3]. *Leman* is properly *lemman*, M. E. *lemman*, *lefman*, *leofman*, i. e. 'lief man'; where *man* is applicable to either sex. *Mere-maid* has given us *mermaid*. *Nose-thirl* is now *nostril*, though here again the A. S. *o* in *nosu* was originally short[4]. *Sheriff* represents A. S. *scír-réfa*, later or variant form of *scír-ge-réfa*, a shire-reeve, so that the *r* was originally double.

[1] It may be said that the vowel in *crane* was originally short, but the compound may have been formed after it had become long. The example fairly illustrates the principle at work.

[2] In the M. E. *husebonde*, sometimes written for *husbonde*, the middle *e* merely marks the length of the *u*, and was not sounded. Hence the consonants *s* and *b* were in actual conjunction.

[3] It will be long before the despisers of history can be taught to leave off deriving *lammas* from *lamb*.

[4] Marked long in my Dictionary by mistake.

The A. S. *stéor-bord* became M. E. *sterebord*, later *sterbord*; whence, with the usual change from *er* to *ar*, came the mod. E. *starboard*. It meant, originally, the side of the ship on which the man stood who *steered* it. *White* yields the derivatives *Whitby*, *Whitchurch*, *whitster*, *whitleather*, and *Whitsunday* (formerly accented on the first syllable); but in the derivative *whit-ing* the long *i* remains. The A. S. *wínberige*, i. e. wine-berry, has given us the modern *wimberry* (for *winberry*). With such examples we may compare such names as *Essex*, put for *Est-sex*, where *est* is shortened from A. S. *éast*, east; *Sussex*, put for *Suthsex*, where *suth* is shortened from A. S. *súð*, south; *Suffolk*, put for *Suthfolk*, in the same way.

(*c*) In other cases, a similar shortening of the vowel has taken place, where the result seems to have been produced by stress only, independently of the effect caused by clusters of consonants. An easy example is seen in *heather*, from *heath*. Similar examples are the following.

The A. S. *cúsceote*, with long *u*, is now *cushat* (where the *sh* is a simple sound), but in provincial English it occurs as *cowshot* (E. D. S. Glos. B. 15)[1]. *Forehead*, i. e. fore head, is often pronounced as if riming with *horrid*. *Halyard* is for *hale-yard*, a rope that hales the yards of a ship. *Heifer* is from A. S. *héah-fore*, where *héah* is E. *high*, and *-fore* is allied to Gk. πόρις. *Knowledge* is often pronounced so as to rime with *college*. *Neatherd* is commonly called *netturd* by the people; *Neatherd Moor*, called *Netturd Moor*, lies close to East Dereham, in Norfolk. *Shepherd* signifies *sheep-herd*. *Steelyard* was sometimes called *stilyard*, and is so spelt in Blount's Glossographia (1681). *Stirrup* stands for *sty-rope*, A. S. *stíg-ráp*. Similarly *two pence*, *three pence*, *five pence* are

[1] My guess is, that the original sense was 'coo-shooter'; where *shooter* refers to swift flight. The A. S. *scéota* occurs in the sense of 'a trout,' lit. 'a shooter,' or darter, and is equally applicable to a bird. The syllable *cú* may have been imitative, like the modern *coo*.

familiarly called *tuppence*, *threppence* or *thrippence*, *fippence* (romic *tʰpəns*, *threpəns* or *thripəns*, *fipəns*). Trisyllabic words of the same character are seen in *holiday*, which is a familiar form of *holy day*; in *halibut* or *holibut*, lit. 'holy but'; and in *hollyhock*, which stands for *holy hock*, i. e. 'holy mallow.'

For other examples of syncope see § 366, p. 389.

§ 455. Rule 2. In dissyllabic compounds accented on the former syllable (as usual), the vowel in the latter syllable, if originally long, is almost invariably shortened by the want of stress.

Thus, in the A. S. name *Dúnstán*, which has an original long *a* in the second syllable, the *a* was shortened, giving *Dúnstan*. Moreover, by Rule 1 above, the *ú* was also shortened. Hence the mod. E. *Dunstan*, as usually pronounced. This name of *Dunstan* serves as a memorial word for remembering both rules; we have only to remember that, in the A. S. form, *both* vowels were originally long. Koch gives several examples, including words of Latin and French origin. I here mention some such words, restricting the examples to words of native origin.

In *boat-swain*, *cock-swain*, the long *ai* is not only shortened, but absorbed, giving the familiar *bos'n*, *cox'n*. *Brimstone*, *grindstone* are frequently reduced to *brimstun*, *grindstun* (or *grinstun*). *Foot-hooks* has become *futtocks*. *Housewife* has become *hussif*, and even *hussy*. *Neighbour* is from A. S. *néah-búr* or *néah-gebúr*, with long *u*. *Sheriff* represents *shire-reeve*; and *stirrup* stands for *sty-rope*, A. S. *stíg-ráp*, a rope to mount by. The A. S. *hús*, M. E. *hous*, when shortened, properly gives a mod. E. *hus*, not *house* (cf. *hus-band*, *hus-sy*); this is why the old word *bake-house* used to be pronounced extremely like the name of the god *Bacchus*; a pronunciation which may still be heard. So also the vulgar pronunciation of *wash-house* is *wash-'us*; of *brew-house*, *brew-'us*; of *malt-house*, *malt-'us*; and of *work-house*, *work-'us*. The latter is familiar to readers of Oliver Twist. *Waist-coat*, by the shortening of both

vowels, has become the familiar *weskut.* 'Dash my *veskit*, says my father, I never thought of that'—is an utterance of Sam Weller; Pickwick, ch. x.

Similarly, the A. S. suffixes *-dóm*, *-lác*, *-rǽden* have all suffered vowel-shortening. Hence the mod. E. *king-dom*, *beadle-dom*, &c. The suffix *-lác* should have given a mod. E. *-loke*, but appears with a short *o* in *wed-lock*. The suffix *-rǽden* is reduced to *-red* in *hat-red*, *kin-d-red* (for *kin-red*). The *e* in the suffix *know-ledge* is now short; but the Icel. suffix is *-leiki*. In *Monday*, *Tuesday*, &c., the *-day* is reduced to *-dy̆* or *-di̇* in familiar speech.

In like manner, short vowels in the second part of a compound are still further reduced; *forehead* is often called *forrid*, and the *-fore* in A. S. *héah-fore* is now the *-fer* in *hei-fer*.

Perhaps the most striking examples are seen in place-names, especially in words compounded with *hám*, i. e. *home*; *dún*, i. e. *down*; and *tún*, i. e. *town*. If *hám* occurs in the former half of a name, it commonly becomes *ham* by Rule 1; and if in the latter half, it commonly also becomes *ham* by Rule 2; and the same remarks apply to *dún* and *tún*. Hence we have *Ham-ton* or *Hampton* (with excrescent *p* after *m*) for A. S. *Hám-tún*; *Hampstead* for A. S. *Hám-stede*; and the familiar final *-ham* in *Bucking-ham*, *Tottten-ham*, &c. So also the A. S. *tún* has become *tun* in *Tun-bridge*, *Tun-stall*, *Tun-worth*; and has given us the final *-ton* in *Taun-ton*, *Nor-ton* (i. e. North-town), *Sut-ton* (i. e. South-town), *Es-ton* as well as *Eas-ton* (i. e. East-town), *Wes-ton* (i. e. West-town). The A. S. *dún* appears as *down* in *Down-ham*, *Down-ton*; but more frequently as *dun*, viz. in *Dun-bar*, *Dun-ham*, *Dun-mow*, *Dun-ton*, *Dun-wich*; and has given us the final *-don* in *Chal-don* (Surrey), A. S. *Cealf-dún*, lit. calf-down; *Elm-don* (Essex); *Farn-don*, i. e. fern-down (Cheshire); *Hey-don* (Essex), probably 'high down.' An excellent example of both rules is seen in *Stanton*, for A. S. *Stán-tún*, i. e. stone

town. In the same way the old compound *wild-deer-ness* is our *wilderness*.

§ 456. Two simple extensions of the principle seen in these Rules are worth a brief notice. I shall call them Rules 3 and 4 for the sake of clearness.

Rule 3. In dissyllabic words, the vowel of the unaccented syllable, if short, may disappear. A good example is seen in *hern*, the shortened form of *heron*. Such examples of what may be called 'crushed forms' chiefly occur in words of French origin, the word *heron* being one of them. In words of native origin, we may particularly notice the past participles in *-ed*, such as *lov-ed*, *look-ed*, &c.; these were formerly dissyllabic, but are now reduced to *lov'd*, *look't*, &c.; and, of course, the same principle applies to words of a greater number of syllables, such as *believ'd*. Hence we obtain the etymologies of the words *fon-d*, *lew-d*, *shrew-d*. *Fon-d* is for M.E. *fonn-ed*, made like a *fonne* or fool, and is of Scand. origin; cf. O. Swed. *fåne*, a fool, *fån-ig*, foolish. *Lew-d* is for M.E. *lew-ed*, A. S. *lǽw-ed*, unlearned, belonging to the laity. *Shrew-d* is for M.E. *schrew-ed*, wicked, originally accursed, pp. of *shrew-en*, to curse, from the M.E. adj. *schrewe*, malicious (whence E. *shrew*). Similarly the word *fold*, as occurring in *sheep-fold*, is really a contracted form, and has nothing to do with *folding*; the A.S. form is *fald*, shortened from an earlier *falod*, also spelt *falud* and *falaed*; see Sweet's Oldest Eng. Texts, and the Supplement to my Dictionary. *Holm-oak* is contracted from *holin-oak*, where *holin* is the M.E. form of *holly*, from A.S. *holegn*; our *holly* has resulted from the same M.E. *holin* by loss of the final *n*.

In extreme cases, the whole of the unaccented syllable disappears, as in the M.E. *mold-warp*, now shortened to *mole*. It is also variously obscured or disguised, as in *stalwart* for *stalworth*, *wanion* for *waniand*, *wanton* for *wantowen*. Other examples of 'crushed forms' are seen in *lark* for

laverock, *since* for *silhence*, *nor* for M. E. *nother*, and *or* for M. E. *other*. See § 366.

If, on the other hand, the dissyllabic word be accented on the latter syllable, then the former syllable (or a part of it) may disappear. Hence the remarkable forms *lone* for *alone*, and *drake* for *end-rake* or *and-rake*; cf. the O. Swed. form *anddrake*, a drake, given by Ihre; see p. 372.

The M. E. trisyllabic *esterling* had its accent shifted on to the second syllable, and has given rise to the mod. E. *sterling*. Even in A. S. we find such a form as *spend-an*, to *spend*, obtained from the Low Lat. *dispendere* (not, as often said, from Lat. *expendere*) by the loss of the two first letters. Other examples occur in words of Romance origin, such as *sport* for *disport*, *splay* for *display*, *fend* for *defend*, &c.

§ **457. Rule 4.** In trisyllabic words accented on the first syllable the effect of the accent is, in many cases, that the middle vowel, or even the middle syllable, disappears. The simplest example is *fortnight*, shortened from *fourteen-night*, with which compare *sennight* for *seven-night*. So also *forecastle* has become *fo'c'sle*. Most of the days of the week exhibit 'crushed forms'; thus *Sunday*, *Monday*, *Tuesday*, *Wednesday*, *Thursday*, and *Friday* are all trisyllabic in A. S., being spelt, respectively, *Sunnan-dæg*, *Mónan-dæg*, *Tíwes-dæg*, *Wódnes-dæg*, *Þunres-dæg*, *Frige-dæg*. But the chief examples occur in words of French origin, such as *butler* for M. E. *botiler*, i. e. *bottler*, and the like. *Sutler* is of Dutch origin, from the Du. *zoet-el-aar*, derived from the verb *zoetelen*, explained by Hexham as meaning 'to sullie, to suttle, or to victuall.'

The same principle is at work in place-names, which furnish very familiar examples. I may instance *Glo'ster* for *Glou-ces-ter*, *Lei'ster* for *Lei-ces-ter*, *Lem'ster* for *Leo-min-ster*, *Daintry* for *Daventry*. The reader will readily think of others of the same kind.

§ **458. Emphasis.** The effect of emphasis upon monosyllabic words is also well worthy of remark, as pointed out

by Mr. Sweet. Thus *to* and *too*, *of* and *off*, are distinguished by emphasis, the former being the unemphatic, the latter the emphatic forms. We can say 'I go *to* London *too*,' or 'I saw him *off*, and saw the last *of* him.' The word *him*, if emphatic, keeps the *h*, as in 'I did not see *her*, but I saw *him*'; but if we say 'I saw him yesterday,' the *h* is weak, and is by many speakers entirely dropped. Hence we can explain the loss of *h* in the unemphatic *it* (A. S. *hit*), so common in the phrases '*it* rains' or '*it* snows.' In such common words as *with*, *thou*, *the*, *they*, &c., the *th* was originally voiceless (p. 105, note 4), but is now voiced owing to lack of emphasis (p. 107). In a sb. like *goose*, the *s* is kept voiceless by emphasis; but in the common words *is* and *was* the *s* has become voiced, and is sounded like *z*, a change which probably took place at an early period. In the M. E. dissyllabic word *day-ës*, the *s* in the latter syllable, being entirely unaccented, soon passed into *z*; hence the mod. E. plural of *day* is really *dayz*. So also in numerous other cases, such as *bees*, *bows*, *hues*, where the *s* is unaffected by a preceding consonant. The same reasoning applies to verbs; as in mod. E. *runs* from M. E. *runn-es*.

The foregoing considerations may suffice to impress upon the reader the great part played by accent and emphasis in altering the forms of words from time to time. They frequently cause phonetic changes, of which our conservative spelling takes no notice.

NOTES.

Note to page 14, *last line.* 'It was directed by Act of Parliament that all pleadings in the law-courts should henceforth be conducted in English, because, as is stated in the preamble to the Act, French was become much unknown in the realm;' Morris, Hist. Outlines of Eng. Accidence, § 25, p. 31. The Act is that of 36 Edw. III. c. 15.

Note to p. 39. Compare the following passage. 'Our maker therfore at these dayes shall not follow *Piers plowman* nor *Gower* nor *Lydgate* nor yet *Chaucer*, for their language is now out of vse with vs: neither shall he take the termes of Northern-men, such as they vse in dayly talke, whether they be noble men or gentlemen, or of their best clarkes, all is a matter: nor in effect any speach vsed beyond the riuer of Trent, though no man can deny but that theirs is the purer English Saxon at this day, yet it is not so Courtly nor so currant as our Southerne English is, no more is the far Westerne mans speach: ye shall therefore take the vsuall speach of the Court, and that of London and the shires lying about London within lx. myles, and not much aboue. I say not this but that in euery shyre of England there be gentlemen and others that speake, but specially write, as good Southerne as we of Middlesex or Surrey do, but not the common people of euery shire, to whom the gentlemen, and also their learned clarkes do for the most part condescend, but herein we are already ruled by th' English Dictionaries and other bookes written by learned men, and therefore it needeth none other direction in that behalfe.'—1589, G. PUTTENHAM, The Arte of English Poesie; lib. iii. c. 4 (ed. Arber, p. 157).

Note to p. 73, l. 20. The notion that English is 'derived from German' is so strange, that I may be accused of caricature in asserting

its existence. But see p. 78, note 2; and compare the following statement made at a meeting of the College of Preceptors.

'Without pretending to be a German scholar myself, I venture to say that of all modern languages the most useful to English people is the German, partly because it is a grand original language, with no foreign admixture, and because it is the true parent of our own mother tongue;' Educational Times, March 1, 1887, p. 118, col. 2.

Note to p. 279, § 263. The word *grapsen*, to grasp, actually occurs in the Bremen Wörterbuch, and even in modern High German.

APPENDIX A.

FURTHER ILLUSTRATIONS OF §§ 60–65 (pp. 81–83).

§ 60. Teutonic d becomes German t. (Cf. § 119, p. 136).

(*a*, initially): daughter, *Tochter*; deaf, *taub*; death, *Tod*; deep, *tief*; dike, *Teich*; dough, *Teig*; doughty, *tüchtig*; dove, *Taube*; draw, *tragen*; dream, *Träum*; dreary, *traurig*; drink, *trinken*; drive, *treiben*; drop, *Tropfen*; dull, *toll*: (also) dale, *Thal*[1]; dear, *theuer*; deed, *That*; deer, *Thier*; dew, *Thau*; do, *thun*; dole, *Theil*; -dom (suffix), *-thum*; door, *Thür*. (*b*, medially): adder (formerly nadder), *Natter*; fodder, *Futter*; idle, *eitel*; ladder, *Leiter*; middle, *mittel*; saddle, *Sattel*; shoulder, *Schulter*; udder, *Euter*: widow, *Wittwe*. (*c*, finally): beard, *Bart*; bed, *Bett*; blade, *Blatt*; blood, *Blut*; bid (to offer), *bieten*; bid (to pray), *bitten*; bride, *Braut*; broad, *breit*; brood, *Brut*; -fold (suffix), *-falt*; gird, *gürt-en*; good, *gut*; hard, *hart*; head (A. S. héafod), *Haupt*[2]; heed, v., *hüten*; hide, *Haut*; hood, *Hut*; lead, s., *Loth*; lead, v., *leit-en*; mead (strong drink), *Meth*; mead (meadow), *Matt-e*; meed, *Mieth-e*; mood, *Muth*; need, *Noth*; reed, *Rieth*; red, *roth*; ride, *reit-en*; rood, rod, *Ruth-e*; seed, *Saat*; shide (a thin slice of wood), *Scheit*; shred, *Schrot*; spade, *Spat-en*; sward (rind of bacon), *Schwart-e*; sword, *Schwert*; third, *dritt-e*; thread, *Draht*; tide, *Zeit*; tread, *tret-en*; wad (wadding), *Watt-e*; wade, *wat-en*; word, *Wort*; world, *Welt*[3].

But *ld*, *nd* remain unchanged; as in mild, G. *mild*; end, G. *Ende*.

[1] The spelling with *th* makes no real difference; the G. *th* is pronounced precisely as *t*, and many good German scholars now drop the *h*, and write *Tal*, *teuer*, *Tat*, *Tier*, *Tau*, *tun*, *Teil*.

[2] A euphonic form for the unpronounceable *Haubt*.

[3] The G. *Brod*, bread, is pronounced *Brot*, and should be so spelt. *Welt* is for an older *Werlt*.

§ 61. **Teutonic t becomes German z (initially); or ss (medially); or z, tz, ss, or s (finally).** (Cf. § 117, p. 134.)

tale (number), *Zahl*; tame, *zahm*; tap, *Zapfen*; tear, s., *Zähre*; tear, v., *zehren*; teat, *Zitze*; tell, *zähl-en*; ten, *zehn*; tilt (of a cart), *Zelt*; tide, *Zeit*; timber, *Zimmer* (a room); tin, *Zinn*; tinder, *Zunder*; to, *zu*; toe, *Zehe*; token, *Zeichen*; toll, *Zoll*; tongs, *Zange*; tongue, *Zunge*; tooth, *Zahn*; tough, *zäh*; town, *Zaun* (hedge); twenty, *zwanzig*; twig, *Zweig*; twitter, *zwitschen*; two, *zwei*. But observe that, in the combination *tr*, the *r* preserves the *t* from change, as in: tread, *treten*; true, *treu*; trough, *Trog*[1]. *Medial*: better, *besser*; fetter, *Fessel*; gate (*in the sense of* street), *Gasse*; nettle, *Nessel*; rattle, *rasseln*; settle, s., *Sessel*; water, *Wasser*[2]. *Final* (i. e. ending the E. word): bolt, *Bolz-en*; heart, *Herz*; milt, *Milz*; salt, *Salz*; smart, s., *Schmerz*; snout, *Schnauz-e*; start, s. (a tail), *Sterz*; swart, *schwarz*; wart, *Warz*:—net, *Netz*; sit, *sitz-en*; set, *setz-en*; wort, *Wurz*; smut, *Schmutz*; whet, *wetz-en*:—bite, *beiss-en*; eat, *ess-en*; foot, *Fuss*; goat, *Geiss*; great, *gross*; greet, *grüss-en*; hate, *Hass*; hot, *heiss*; let, *lass-en*; nit, *Niss*; nut, *Nuss*; shoot, *schiess-en*; smite, *schmeiss-en*; sweat, *Schweiss*; sweet, *süss*; vat, *Fass*; white, *weiss*; wit, v., *wissen*; write, *reissen* (to tear, to design):—lot, *Loos*; that, *dass*, *das*; what, *was*. But observe that the final *t* is preserved from change when preceded by *ch*, *f*, or *s*, as in: fight, *fecht-en*; flight, *Flucht*; fright, *Furcht*; sight, *Sicht*; wight, *Wicht*; oft, *oft*; soft, *sanft*; brist-le, *Borst-e*; burst, *berst-en*; fist, *Faust*; frost, *Frost*; guest, *Gast*; hurst (wood), *Horst*; rust, *Rost*.

§ 62. **Teutonic th becomes German d.** (Cf. § 118, p. 135.)

thank, *danken*; that, *dass*; thatch, *Dach*; then, *dann*; thence, *dannen*; thick, *dick*; thief, *Dieb*; thin, *dünn*; thing, *Ding*; think, *denken*; third, *dritte*; thirl, thrill, *drillen*; thirst, *Durst*; this, *dieser*; thistle, *Distel*; thorn, *Dorn*; through, *durch*; thorp, *Dorf*; thou, *du*; though, *doch*; thresh, *dreschen*; thread, *Draht*; three, *drei*; throng, *Drang*; throstle, *Drossel*; thumb,

[1] And generally, observe that combinations of letters, such as *sp*, *st*, *fr*, *gr*, &c., do not shift at all.

[2] E. *butter* and G. *Butter* coincide only because they are both foreign words, being of Greek origin.

Daum-en; thunder, *Donner*; thy, *dein*[1]. Also: bath, *Bad*; both, *beid-e*; broth-er, *Brud-er*; cloth, *Kleid*; death, *Tod*; feath-er, *Fed-er*; foth-er (a cart-load), *Fud-er*; furth-er, *fürd-er*; heath, *Heid-e*; heathen, *Heid-en*; leather, *Led-er*; mouth, *Mund*; north, *Nord*; oath, *Eid*; other, *ander*; path, *Pfad*; seethe, *sied-en*; sheath, *Scheid-e*; smith, *Schmied*; withe (withy, willow), *Weid-e*.

§ 63. The Teutonic b, when initial, remains as such in modern German, though the O. H. G. often has p. There are a few exceptions, in which p appears. (Cf. § 122, p. 140.)

Examples are very numerous; it must suffice to quote the following:

bath, *Bad*; bean, *Bohne*; beard, *Bart*; bed, *Bett*; bee, *Biene*; beer, *Bier*; bench, *Bank*; bent (grass), *Binse*; berry, *Beere*; besom, *Besen*; better, *besser*, &c.

Exceptions are:

babble, *pappeln*; blare (to roar, blubber), *plärren*; bolster, *Polster*; brawl, *prahlen* (?).

But the medial and final b, preserved in Gothic and German, is f (=f, v) in Anglo-Saxon, and f (ff) or v (ve) in English. (Cf. p. 141)[2].

(*a*) calf, *Kalb*; deaf, *taub*; (be)lief, (*G*)*laube*[3]; half, *halb*; leaf, *Laub*; lief (dear), *lieb*; of, off, *ab*; self, *selb-e*; staff, *Stab*; thief, *Dieb*.

(*b*) carve, *kerben*; cleave (A. S. *cleof-an*), *kleben*; dove, *Taube*; drive, *treiben*; even, *eben*; give, *geben*; grave, *Grab*; have, *haben*; heave, *heben*; knave, *Knabe*; live, *leben*; liver, *Leber*; love, *lieben*; (be)lieve, (*g*)*lauben*; over, *über*; reave (rob), *rauben*; seven, *sieben*; shave, *schaben*; shove, *schieben*; shive (a slice), *Scheibe*; sieve, *Sieb*; silver, *Silber*; nave, *Nabe*; navel, *Nabel*; weave, *weben*.

The Teutonic p, when initial, is usually pf in German,

[1] E. *thousand* answers to O. H. G. (Old High German) *dúsunt*, afterwards altered to *túsunt*, G. *tausend*.

[2] Note that this is the only case in which the Anglo-Saxon fails to keep the original Teutonic consonant.

[3] The initial *G-*, for *Ge-*, is a mere prefix, like the *be-* in *be-lief*, *be-lieve*.

and sometimes appears as pf finally; but the regular German equivalent of Teutonic final p is f.

(*a*) path, *Pfad*; pipe, s., *pfeifen*; plight, v., allied to *Pflicht*.

(*b*) carp (fish), *Karpfen*; crop (of a bird), *Kropf*; damp, s., *Dampf*; drop, *Tropfen*; hop, *hüpfen*; stamp, *stampfen*; step, *stapfen*; swamp, *Sumpf*; top, *Zopf*.

(*c*) deep, *tief*; drip, *triefen*; gripe, *greifen*; harp, *Harfe*; heap, *Haufe*; help, *helfen*; hip, *Hüf-te*, O. H. G. *Huf*; leap, *laufen* (to run); nip, *kneifen*; pipe, *pfeifen*; ripe, *reif*; sap, *Saf-t*, O. H. G. *Saf*; sharp, *scharf*; sheep, *Schaf*; -ship (suffix), *-schaf-t*; sleep, *schlafen*; slip, *schleifen*; soap, *Seife*; step-mother, *Stief-mutter*; thorp, *Dorf*; up, *auf*; warp, *werfen*.

(*d*) ape, *Affe*; clap, *klaffen* (to bark, yelp); gape, *gaffen*; hope, *hoffen*; rap (to seize hastily), *raffen*; shape, *schaffen*; ship, *Schiff*; weapons, *Waffen*.

In the word *lip*, G. *Lippe*, the *p* is preserved, because it was originally double, as in A. S. *lippa*, *lippe*.

§ 64. The Teutonic initial f commonly remains as f in German; but some archaic words exhibit the O. H. G. v.

(*a*) fall, *fallen*; fallow, *fahl*; far, *fern*; fare, *fahren*; fast, *fest*; fathom, *Faden*; feather, *Feder*; feel, *fühlen*; fell (skin), *Fell*; felly, *Felge*; felt, *Filz*; fern, *Farn*; feud, *Fehde*; field, *Feld*; fiend, *Feind*; fight, *fechten*; finch, *Fink*; find, *finden*; finger, *Finger*; fir, *Föhre*; fire, *Feuer*; fish, *Fisch*; fist, *Faust*; five, *fünf*; flax, *Flachs*; flea, *Floh*; flee, *fliehen*; fleece, *Fliess*; flesh, *Fleisch*; flight, *Flucht*; flood, *Fluth*; fly, *fliegen*; foal, *Fohlen*; foam, *Feim*; fodder, *Futter*; fold, *falten*; follow, *folgen*; foot, *Fuss*; forth, *fort*; foul, *faul*; fox, *Fuchs*; free, *frei*; freeze, *frieren*; fresh, *frisch*; friend, *Freund*; fright, *Furcht*; frost, *Frost*; furrow, *Furche*; further, *fürder*.

(*b*) father, *Vater*; fee, *Vieh* (cattle); folk, *Volk*; for, *vor*; for- (as a prefix), *ver-*; four, *vier*; fowl, *Vogel* (bird); full, *voll*. Note that the difference is only apparent, for this German initial *v* is now pronounced as *f*, and might much more sensibly be so written.

§ 65. The Teutonic and English initial g usually remains as g in German. (Cf. §§ 113, p. 131; 116, p. 134.)

gall, *Galle*; gallows, *Galgen*; gape, *gaffen*; (for)get, (*ver*)*ges-*

sen; girdle, *Gürtel*; give, *geben*; glass, *Glas*; glide, *gleiten*; glow, *glühen*; go, *gehen*; goat, *Geiss*; God, *Gott*; gold, *Gold*; good, *gut*; goose, *Gans*; gore, *Gehren*; grasp, *grapsen*; grass, *Gras*; grave, *Grab*; gray, *grau*; great, *gross*; green, *grün*; greeting, *Gruss*; gripe, *greifen*; ground, *Grund*; guest, *Gast*; guild, *Gilde*; gums, *Gaumen*.

But in many cases the Eng. g becomes y. (See p. 131.)

yard (rod), *Gerte*; yard (court), *Garten*; yarn, *Garn*; yarrow, (*Schaf*)-*garbe*; yawn, *gähnen*; yearn-ingly, *gern*; yellow, *gelb*; yesterday, *gestern*; yield, *gelten*.

Medially and finally, the g is almost always lost in modern English (or forms part of a diphthong); it is retained in German. (Cf. p. 132.)

(*a*) day, *Tag*; lay, *legen*; may, *mögen*; play, *pflegen*; say, *sagen*; slay, *schlagen*; way, *Weg*.

Also: honey, *Honig*; holy, *heilig*; and all equivalent words ending in E. with the suffix *-y* (A. S. *-ig*) have the suffix *-ig* in German.

Also: eye, *Auge*; lie, *liegen*; lie, *Lüge*; roe (Icel. *hrogn*), *Rogen*; rye, *Roggen*.

(*b*) craw (of a bird), *Kragen*; draw, *tragen*; follow, *folgen*; gnaw, *nagen*; haw, *Hag*; maw, *Magen*; morrow, *morgen*; saw, *Säge*; saw, *Sage*; sorrow, *Sorge*; swallow, *schwelgen*.

(*c*) maid, *Magd*; hail, *Hagel*; nail, *Nagel*; sail, *Segel*; tail, *Zagel*.

(*d*) 'gainst, *gegen*; lain, *gelegen*; rain, *Regen*; wain, *Wagen*; stair, stile, *Steige*.

§ 66. The Teutonic k, when initial, appears as k in German; medially and finally, it commonly appears as ch. English has c or k, sometimes palatalised to ch. (See p. 126.)

(*a*) callow, *kahl*; can, *kann*; carve, *kerben*; clay, *Klei*; cleave, *kleben*; cleft, *Kluft*; cloth, *Kleid*; clover, *Klee*; coal, *Kohle*; cold, *kalt*; comb, *Kamm*; come, *kommen*; cool, *kühl*; corn, *Korn*; cow, *Kuh*; craft, *Kraft*; crane, *Kranich*; craw, *Kragen*; cress, *Kresse*; cripple, *Krüppel*; crop (of a bird), *Kropf*; crow, *Krähe*; crumb, *Krume*; keen, *kühn*; kernel, *Kern*; kid, *Kitze*; king, *König*; kiss, *Kuss*; knop, knob, *Knopf*; knot, *Knoten*; knuckle, *Knöchel*.

(*b*) chafer, *Käfer*; chary, *karg*; chew, *kauen*; chin, *Kinn*; choose, *kiesen*; churl, *Kerl*; churn, *kernen*.

(*c*) bleak, *bleich*; book, *Buch*; break, *brechen*; brook, v., *brauthen*; dike, *Teich*; eke, *auch*; hark, *horchen*; lark, *Lerche*; leek, *Lauch*; like, (*g*)*leich*; -like (suffix), *-lich*; make, *machen*; milk, *Milch*; oak, *Eiche*; reek, *rauchen*; sake, *Sache*; seek, *suchen*; speak, *sprechen*; spoke, s., *Speiche*; stick, *stechen*; stork, *Storch*; stroke, *Streich*; wake, *wachen*; weak, *weich*; week, *Woche*; wreak, *rächen*; yoke, *Joch*.

(*d*) beech, *Buche*; reach, *reichen*; rich, *reich*; speech, *Sprache*; such, *solcher*; which, *welcher*.

N. B.—In some combinations German keeps the final *k*; as in E. bench, *Bank*; birch, *Birke*; finch, *Fink*. Observe also such examples as E. bake, G. *backen*; naked, *nackt*; work, *Werk*; thatch, *decken*. The A. S. *sk*, written *sc*, commonly becomes E. *sh*, where German has *sch*, e. g. ash, *Esche*; ashes, *Asche*; flesh, *Fleisch*; fish, *Fisch*; thresh, *dreschen*; wash, *waschen*. So also initially, as in shape, *schaffen*; sharp, *scharf*, &c.

The Teutonic initial qu is almost ignored in German; thus E. *quick* is G. *keck*; but we find E. *quitch-grass* or *quick-grass* represented by G. *Quecke*, and E. *quicksilver* is G. *Queck-silber*.

The Teutonic h, when initial, remains as h in English and German, or is lost (before l, n, r); medially and finally, it appears as English gh, German h or ch, or is lost. (See p. 130).

(*a*). hail, *Hagel*; hair, *Haar*; &c.

(*b*). loud (A. S. *hlúd*), *laut*; nut (A. S. *hnutu*), *Nuss*; raven (A. S. *hræfn*), *Rabe*.

(*c*). high, *hoch*; laugh, *lachen*; nigh, *nah*; neighbour, *Nachbar*; rough, *rauh*; though, *doch*; through, *durch*; tough, *zäh*.

(*d*). eight, *acht*; fight, *fechten*; flight, *Flucht*; fright, *Furcht*; knight, *Knecht*; light, adj., *licht*; might, *Macht*; night, *Nacht*; plight, v., *Pflicht*, s.; right, *recht*; sight, (*Ge*)*sicht*; wight, *Wicht*.

The Anglo-Saxon initial hw (English wh) is w in German. (See p. 133.) wharf, *Werf-t*; what, *was*; wheat, *Weizen*; whelp, *Welf*; when, *wann*; where, *wo*; whet, *wetzen*; which, *welcher*; while, *weil*; whirl, s., *Wirbel*; whisper, *wispeln*; white, *weiss*; who, *wer*.

APPENDIX B.

Specimens of Spelling.

The following Specimens merely give a general idea of the appearance of English writing at various periods. Much longer and more numerous extracts are required for complete illustration.

(1) From the Ancren Riwle, ed. Morton, p. 384; Sweet's First Mid. Eng. Primer, p. 32. Date, about 1230. Dialect, Southern. (The long vowels are marked). Cf. p. 303.

Seint Pōwel witneð þet alle uttre herdschipes, and alle vlesshes pīnunge, and alle līcomes swinkes, al is ase nōut aȝean luue, þet schīreð and brihteð ðe heorte. 'Līcomliche bisischipe is tō lutel wurð; auh swōte and schīr heorte is gōd tō alle þinges;' (1 *Tim.* iv. 8). 'þauh ich kūðe,' hē seið, 'alle monne ledene and englene; and þauh ich dude o mīne bodie alle þe pīnen, and alle þe passiūns þet bodi muhte þolien; and þauh ich ȝēue pōure men al þet ich hefde; but ȝif ich hefde luue þēr-mide to God and to alle men, in him and for him, al wēre aspilled' (1 *Cor.* xiii. 1–3).

[*witneþ*, testifies; *uttre*, outward; *līcomes swinkes*, toils of the body; *schīreð*, purifieth; *Līcomliche bisischipe*, Bodily diligence; *swōte*, sweet; *schīr*, pure; *kūðe*, knew; *monne ledene and englene*, languages of men and of angels; *þolien*, endure; *ȝēue*, were to give; *hefde*, had; *but ȝif*, unless; *aspilled*, lost.]

As regards the spelling, we may note *k* for *c*, as in *kūðe* for A. S. *cūðe*; ȝ for *g*, as in *ȝif*, if, A. S. *gif*; *ȝeue*, were to give, A. S. *ġéafe*; *u* for E. *v*, A. S. *f*, as in *luue*, dat. or acc. of A. S. *lufu*, love; *ch* for A. S. *c*, as in *ich*, A. S. *ic*, I; *sch* for A. S. *sc*, as in *schir*, A. S. *scīr*, sheer, pure. Note that in the word *poure*, the *u* means *v*; cf. E. *pover-ty*; this word offers almost the sole exception, at least at a later period, to the rule that *u* can only mean *v* when a vowel follows. We do, however, sometimes find *eure* = *evre*, ever; and *neure* = *nevre*, never. A very curious spelling occurs in the M. E. *vuel* (P. Plowman); this represents *uvel*, i. e. evil; A. S. *yfel*.

The above specimen illustrates some of the remarks on p. 303; but, in order to understand the whole scheme, many extracts must be consulted from many works. This is why a

particular reference is made to the 'Specimens of English' in the Clarendon Press Series.

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(2) From Chaucer's Tale of the Man of Lawe, as given in the Ellesmere MS. Compare this with the edited text in my edition, p. 1. Date of MS., about 1400. Dialect, Midland. (See p. 307.)

In Surrye whilom dwelte a compaignye
Of chapmen riche | and therto sadde and trewe
That wyde where | senten hir spicerye
Clothes of gold | and satyns riche of hewe
Hir chaffare | was so thrifty and so newe
That euery wight | hath deyntee to chaffare
With hem | and eek | to sellen hem hir ware.

Now fil it that the maistres | of that sort
Han shapen hem | to Rome for to wende
Were it for chapmanhode | or for disport
Noon other message | wolde they thider sende
But comen hem self to Rome | this is the ende
And in swich place | as thoughte hem auantage
For hire entente | they take hir herbergage.

We may here note the equivalent use of *i* and *y*; there is no difference between the sound of *in*, prep., and the sound of *yn* in *satyns*. The Corpus MS. has *spicerie* for *spicerye*. The *gh* in *wight* represents the A. S. *h* in *wiht*. The *ey* in *deyntee* is an Anglo-French symbol; and so are the *ai* in *compaignye*, the final *ge* in *message*, the *ou* in *thought*, and the *ow* in *now*. In *whilom*, the *wh* is for the A. S. *hw*. In *riche*, the *ch* is for the A. S. *c* in *rice*; in *chapmen*, it replaces the A. S. *ce* in *céapmenn*. The double *e* in *deyntee* and *eek* denotes the length of the vowel; so also with regard to the double *o* in *Noon*. The A. S. þ and ð are replaced by *th*. The final *e* is suppressed in pronunciation in *Surrye*, *where*, *chaffare*, *message*, *wolde*, *entente*; it is elided (before a following vowel or *h*) in *dwelte*, *riche* (twice), *sadde*, *Were*, *chapmanhode*, *the* (in *the ende*), *place*, *thoughte*, *take*; but forms a distinct syllable in *compaigny-e*, *trew-e*, *wyd-e*, *spicery-e*, *hew-e*, *new-e*, *chaffar-e*, *war-e*, *Rom-e*, *wend-e*, *send-e*, *end-e*, *auantag-e*, *herbergag-e*. It is just this full pronunciation of the final *-e* in so many words that gives to Chaucer's metre its peculiar melody.

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(3) From Caxton's translation called the Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye; see Specimens of Eng. Literature from 1393–1579, ed. Skeat, p. 89. Date, 1471. (See p. 315.)

WHAN Dyomedes and vlixes [*Ulysses*] were retorned in to their oost. Athenor wente hym vnto the kynge pryant [*Priam*] and said to hym that he shold assemble all his folk to counceyll. And whan they were alle comen. Anthenor sayd to hem that for to come to þe peas of the grekes they muste nedes paye twenty thousand marc of gold and of good poys | and as moche of syluer | And also an hondred thousand quarters of whete. And this muste be maad redy with in certayn terme. And than whan they haue this | they shall sette sewrtee to holde the peas wyth out ony frawde or malengyne [*evil design*]. There it was ordeyned how this some shold be leueyed and whylis they were besy ther abowtes. Anthenor wente to the preest þ^t^ kepte the palladyum | the whiche preest had to name Thoant | and bare to hym a grete quantitee of gold. And there were they two at counceill Anthenor sayd to hym that he shold take this some of gold. whereof he shold be ryche all hys lyf | and that he shold gyue to hym the palladyum | and that noman shold knowe therof | ffor I haue. sayd he. grete fere and so moche drede as thou. that ony man shold knowe therof. And I shall sende hit to vlixes | and he shall bere the blame vpon hym. and euery man shall saye that vlixes shall haue stolen hyt | and we shall be quyte therof bothe two &c.

We may here note the very frequent use of *y* for *i*; the use of *oo* in *oost*; *ea* in *peas*; *oy* in *poys*; *ou* in *thousand*; *aa* in *maad*; *ay* in *certayn*; *ew* in *sewrtee*; *ee* in the same; *aw* in *frawde*; *ey* in *ordeyned*; *ei* in *counceill*; &c. The *ff* in *ffor* really denotes the capital *F*. *V* occurs for *u* in *vlixes*; *ue* for *ve* is common. It may be remarked that the final *ll* is printed with a stroke across it; this is in imitation of MSS., and was originally used as an abbreviated way of writing final *lle*; but it became unmeaning when the final *e* was lost, and frequently appears in a wrong place.

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(4) From the second Part of King Henry the Fourth; A. i. sc. 2; first folio edition. Date, 1623.

Fal. My Lord, I was borne with a white head, & something a round belly. For my voice, I have loſt it with hallowing and singing of Anthemes. To approue my youth farther, I will not: the truth is, I am onely olde in iudgement and vnderſtand-

ing: and he that will caper with mee for a thouſand Markes, let him lend me the mony, & haue at him. For the boxe of th' eare that the Prince gaue you, he gaue it like a rude Prince, and you tooke it like a ſenſible Lord. I haue checkt him for it, and the yong Lion repents: Marry not in aſhes and ſacke-cloath, but in new Silke, and old Sacke.

We may notice here the distinction between the *ea* in *eare*, and the *ee* in *mee*. The former word was pronounced with *ea* as *e* in mod. E. *ere*; but the latter like mod E. *me*. These symbols occur in words which had, respectively, the open and close *e* of Middle English. So also the *oa* in *cloath* represents the open *o*; and in fact we still pronounce *cloth* with the *oa* of *broad*. In the word *onely*, the insertion of the *e* shews that the vowel *o* was long; we still sound it so, but omit to shew this in our spelling.

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(5) From the History of England, by John Milton; bk. v. p. 248. Date, 1695. The spelling is, practically, that of Shakespeare's time, petrified and rendered nearly uniform. The chief difference is in the omission of final *e* where it is wholly idle. See p. 329.

He [King Alfred] was of perſon comlier than all his Brethren, of pleaſing tongue and gracefull behaviour, ready wit and memory; yet through the fondneſs of his Parents towards him, had not bin taught to read till the twelfth year of his Age; but the great deſire of learning which was in him, soon appear'd, by his conning of *Saxon* Poems day and night, which with great attention he heard by others repeated. He was beſides, excellent at Hunting, and the new Art then of Hawking, but more exemplary in devotion, having collected into a Book certain Prayers and Psalms, which he carried ever with him in his boſome to uſe on all occaſions. He thirſted after all liberal knowledge, and oft complain'd that in his Youth he had no Teachers, in his middle Age so little vacancy from Wars, and the cares of his Kingdom, yet leaſure he found ſometimes, not only to learn much himſelf, but to communicate therof what he could to his People, by tranſlating out of Latin into Engliſh, *Oroſius*, *Boethius*, *Beda*'s History and others, [and] permitted none unlern'd to bear Office, either in Court or Common-wealth.

INDEX OF ENGLISH WORDS.

In the following Index, Middle-English words are distinguished by being printed in *italics*. Anglo-Saxon words are further distinguished by being marked 'A.S.' But, in general, no references are given for A.S. words, as they are almost always to be found in close proximity to the mod. E. word to which they correspond.

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